

The Ties That Bind:
Kinship, Inheritance, and the Environment in Medieval Japan

by

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AK</i>	<i>Azuma kagami.</i> (吾妻鏡).
<i>CHS</i>	<i>Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū.</i> (中世法制史料集).
<i>CSSS</i>	<i>Chūsei seiji shakai shisō.</i> (中世政治社會思想).
<i>KKSI</i>	<i>Kagoshima-ken shiryō, kyūki zatsuroku shūi iewake.</i> (鹿児島県史料旧記雑録拾遺家わけ).
<i>KI</i>	<i>Kamakura ibun.</i> (鎌倉遺文).
<i>NBI-KA</i>	<i>Nanbokuchō ibun, Kantō hen.</i> (南北朝遺文関東編).
<i>NBI-KY</i>	<i>Nanbokuchō ibun, Kyūshū hen.</i> (南北朝遺文九州編).
<i>SNS</i>	<i>Shinano shiryō.</i> (信濃史料).

List of Units of Measure and Administration

Area (approximate):

- 1 *chō* (町) = 9,917 square meters
- 1 *tan* (段・反) = 360 *bu* = 991.7 square meters
- 1 *bu* (歩) = 2.75 square meters
- 1 *go* (合) = .275 square meters

Volume (approximate):

- 1 *koku* (石) = 180 liters
- 1 *to* (斗) = 18 liters
- 1 *shō* (升) = 1.8 liters
- 1 *gō* (合) = .18 liters
- 1 *shaku* (勺) = .018 liters
- 1 *hyō* (表) = .4 *koku* = 72 liters

Money:

- 1 *kan* (貫) = 1,000 *mon* (文, Chinese copper coins)
- 1 *hiki* (疋) = 10 *mon*

Administrative Categories:

- kuni* (国・國) = province
- gun* (郡) / *in* (院) = district
- gō* (郷) = “township,” containing multiple villages
- mura* (村) = village
- myō* (名) = individual named property

Land Categories:

- ta* (田) = paddy
- myōden* (名・名田) = named paddy
- shinkaiden* (新開田) = newly-cleared land/paddy
- denbaku/denpata/tahata* 田畠 = wet and dry fields
- hatake* (畠・畑) = dry field / upland
- sanya* (山野) = mountain land / field
- karikura* (狩倉) = hunting land / lodging
- yashiki* (屋敷) = residence (usually multi-structure, walled/fenced)
- zaike* (在家) = residence (variable size)
- sono / isono* (園・居園) = agricultural plot / garden / residence

Abstract

During Japan's early medieval period (ca. 12th-15h C.), warriors adapted new strategies of cultural kinship and group identity. The standard narrative of the evolution of the warrior class states that warriors shifted from divided to unitary inheritance to maintain and defend their territories as Japan descended into civil war in the early fourteenth century. This dissertation argues that shifts toward consolidation and unigeniture were neither uniform nor universal, and that medieval warrior society provides valuable examples for the study of the flexibility of kinship. I assert that social structures were contingent upon a range of locally-specific imperatives including the natural environments in which groups were situated and the political and military contexts of their individual positions. By integrating local context with documentary analysis and readings of native practices on their own terms, this dissertation enhances our understanding of warrior society. A combination of social and enviro-historical approaches allows for a holistic view of warrior groups and the inclusion of premodern Japanese kinship in broader conversations about the nature of human interconnectivity.

I base my analysis on a comparison of two disparate warrior kin groups, the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa, which had identical positions of land stewardship and controlled territories of roughly the same size. Each group left behind records of inheritance, military activity, and interfamilial legal battles that allow me to examine their relational structures in detail, and reveal distinct strategies of social organization. The pair of case studies that form the foundation of my analysis help us to take a more nuanced approach to the nature of social change, and lead me to refine systemic views of the warrior class in light of the flexibility and variability evident across its diverse population. I contend that warrior kinship involved a fluid and dynamic set of practices that defies broad categorization. Instead, I argue that warrior kin groups formed and reformed opportunistically and survived the chaos of the medieval period due to their adaptability, a deliberate feature that was the primary feature of medieval warrior kinship.

INTRODUCTION: THE TIES THAT BIND

This dissertation explores the development of two premodern Japanese warrior kin groups (the Nejime 禰寝 and Nakano/Ichikawa 中野・市河) through a series of thematic comparisons.¹ I seek to answer the key question: what was “medieval” warrior kinship, and how much can we learn about it? I will argue that while patrilineal proclivities increased over time, premodern Japanese kinship had few other normative or prescriptive elements. The lack of clearly defined customs of kinship was to the advantage of local warriors. I assert that structures of kinship were contingent upon the natural and political environments in which sets of relatives were situated, as well as on a range of other locally-specific imperatives, and that warrior society provides a valuable testbed for the study of human-environmental interaction and the flexibility of social institutions. Further, I demonstrate that we can enhance our understanding of warrior society by integrating local context with extended documentary analysis and readings of native practices on their own terms. A combination of social, political, and enviro-historical approaches allows for a holistic view of warrior kin groups, and for the inclusion of premodern Japanese kinship in broader conversations about the nature of human interconnectivity.

This study borrows opportunistically from the realm of kinship studies, largely the

¹ As a guide to non-Japanese speakers, “Nejime” is pronounced "*nedzime*" using the International Phonetic Alphabet. I have included genealogies of these two groups (Figure A and Figure B) at the end of this Introduction, which the reader may wish to copy or print out for reference, particularly while reading Chapters IV-VI.

“cultural turn” or “hot” side of kinship theory that has been fashionable among many anthropologists since the 1980s, when a polarizing critique of universal approaches to kinship developed by David Schneider sparked a wave of culturally-specified investigations.² At the root of Schneider’s critique was a lack of cultural specificity in previous approaches to kinship, and the perceived inability of anthropologists to study cultures on their own native terms.³ Schneider argued that this led to approaches to kinship built on universal applications of European standards of social organization and values, such as the classic idea that in all places “Blood Is Thicker Than Water,” that “kinship forms a system” or that kinship “can be understood and treated as an isolable institution, domain, or rubric.”⁴ Thus, it was a critique of both bioessentialism and cultural bias on the part of anthropologists.⁵

A wide field of scholars have maintained Schneider’s argument against biology, which was itself a revised and revived version of older concerns about objectivity voiced by Émile Durkheim.⁶ Marshall Sahlins argues that culture rests at the root of kinship, and for an alternative view that puts “mutuality of being” ahead of biology as the major determinant of kinship, which is thus a highly “culturally variable” phenomenon.⁷ The thesis of “new” kinship emphasizes

² On the designation of “hot” and “cool” approaches to kinship, see Trautmann and Whiteley, eds., *Crow Omaha*, pp. vii and 1, as well as Maurice Godelier, Thomas Trautmann, and Tjon Sie Fat, eds., *Transformations of Kinship*.

³ David Schneider, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*, p. 184.

⁴ David Schneider, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*, p. 175.

⁵ Efforts to reintegrate biology are ongoing, in response to Schneider, see Robert A. Wilson, “Kinship Past, Kinship Present: Bio-Essentialism in the Study of Kinship,” particularly the introduction on pp 571-572, the section on “Relocating Schneider,” on pp. 573-574, and “Understanding Bio-Essentialism in Schneider,” pp. 574-575. Wilson attempts to use homeostatic property cluster (HPC) theory to reintegrate biology with society to find a balanced model that utilizes new methods to do what might otherwise be termed “old kinship.”

⁶ For a concise recapitulation of Schneider’s critique and some of its earlier roots, see Linda Stone, “Introduction: Theoretical Implications of New Directions in Anthropological Kinship,” in Stone, ed. *New Directions in Anthropological Kinship*, p. 8-9 on biology and p. 1 on Schneider’s primary critiques.

⁷ Marshall Sahlins, *What Kinship Is – And Is Not*, p. 65. Sahlins’ idea of kinship as “mutuality” has been mostly lauded as groundbreaking; for example, see Janet Carsten, “What kinship does – and how,” in which Carsten lauds Sahlins’ “wonderful, scholarly, and humane account,” and Stephan Feuchtwang, “What is Kinship?,” where the review is mostly positive; Feuchtwang critiques Sahlins on the blurry lines of his definition of kinship as well as his reluctance to discuss the negative aspects of kinship. These are two parts of a broader symposium on Sahlins’ book found in *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3.2 (September, 2013). Another recent study to reiterate the significance of negative kin relations is Caroline Humphrey’s “Detachable Groups and Kinship Tensions,” in which

culture over blood, and social construction over biology in determining kin relations and how kinship works in individual societies. This is a valuable theoretical platform to use in approaching medieval Japan, where biological ties are almost always essentially unknown to historians, and, I will argue, were often not a priority in succession or descent for warriors. Blood relations could be prioritized or deprioritized opportunistically, and the freedom of will-writers and property holders to divide their estates, set rules for their heirs, and revoke or modify their designs over time, demonstrate the deliberately malleable nature of warrior kinship.

Though this project seeks to find what medieval Japanists might mine out from the theoretical realm of kinship analysis, there is also a great deal the field might give back, ranging from integrated terminological analysis of a broader premodern kinship lexicon to evidence of cultures of relatedness for which anthropologists have often called for further comparative examples (including concepts of “ghost marriage,” adoption, military kinship, and various forms of nonbiological kinship such as “milk kinship”).⁸

On their own, medieval warriors make poor, if not impossible anthropological subjects.

she highlights the “division, inequality of status, and uncertainty of personal relations” that are also coded in kinship. There has also been harder pushback against the wholesale rejection of biology; see Warren Shapiro, “Contesting Marshall Sahlins on Kinship,” wherein he contends (on p. 1) “that performative criteria are modeled upon procreative ones” and (on p. 33) that “all kinship constructs are derived from nuclear family relationships,” and that “other kinship notions are *modeled upon* – they *assume* – primary kinship notions – either as their *extensions*, as both the Fijian and the Mae Enga cases demonstrate, or as their *antitheses*, as can be seen in the latter case and in the Trobriands and Western Desert. It is fine to question, as these [Marx, Engels, Durkheim, Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham, Schneider] and other scholars have, the *assumption* of primacy; but this assumption, it turns out, has an empirical foundation of the most solid kind” (emphasis in the original).

⁸ I will return to most of these topics in Chapter VII. Male “milk fathers,” relatives of wet-nurses who took roles of fosterage out of milk kinship and could share terminological designations with wet-nurses themselves, may be particularly intriguing for those who study milk kinship and/or fosterage. See Appendix 1 on “wet-nurses” (*menoto* or *uba*), as well as the articles on male *menoto* (a homophonous term that can be written with either female 乳母 or male 乳父 characters) from Akiyama Kiyoko, Nishimura Hiroko, and Akiike Hiromi. No examples of milk fatherhood survive from the Nejime or Ichikawa, though at least a half-dozen such examples survive from the Kamakura period. On anthropologist’s calls for more comparative examples of milk kinship, see the work of Peter Parkes, especially “Fostering Fealty: A Comparative Analysis of Tributary Allegiances of Adoptive Kinship,” p. 771, where Parkes seeks to “resume an important collaborative project in the historical anthropology of adoptive kinship and its societal concomitants, so promisingly initiated by Steinmetz over a century ago.”

We cannot speak to them about the exact nature of their kin ties or social identity, interact with their communities, or observe their daily lives, all of which form the bedrock of anthropological inquiry, including that of kinship. This is precisely why I seek outside assistance in understanding the realm of medieval warrior society. By drawing out applicable lines of reasoning and social commonalities from anthropologies of other peoples, places, and times, we can better understand these groups, despite the expectation that there will not be a true equivalence between their differentiated temporal, physical, and social realities.

I would point out from the start that I do not seek to make direct comparisons with other groups and regions in the hope of rediscovering or reviving now-defunct theories of basic universal modes of human organization, though some comparisons might be warranted. For example, in my reading on kinship, I have found unexpected inspiration in the work of Audrey Smedley⁹ on women's vital participation in and support of patriliney in West Africa, and in Karen Sinclair's investigation into the margins of Maori primogenitary descent.¹⁰ Yet these comparative inspirations are theoretical, and do not draw from expectations of a real correlation between these cultures of kinship (each of which exhibit a pliable patriliney) and that of medieval Japan. Instead, I seek theoretical commonalities that can add to the relatively limited understanding of kinship available to us through medieval Japanese records, which rarely address topics of relatedness directly. I will return to a few of these theoretical comparisons in Chapter VII, after establishing an understanding of medieval Japanese warrior kinship.

Kinship in the Early Medieval Warrior Class

Japan's medieval period, spanning the mid-twelfth through the end of the sixteenth

⁹ Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patriliney: Gender and Environment in West Africa*.

¹⁰ Karen Sinclair, "Mischievous on the Margins: Gender, Primogeniture, and Cognatic Descent Among the Maori," and *Maori Times, Maori Places: Prophetic Histories*.

century, was a chaotic and unstable time in which the social order was upended and provincial warriors rose to elite status for the first time. My focus is on the “early medieval period,” traditionally defined as spanning 1185 through 1333, though my study reaches back further into the classical age and extends further forward into the medieval period than standard periodization accommodates. When I refer to “early medieval Japan” in this dissertation, I am referring roughly to the span of time between the rise of warrior power in the 1150s and 1160s through the mid-fifteenth century, when records from locals often run dry in the face of overwhelming political instability. This is the span of time during which detailed study of the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa is possible, and for my purposes I will simply stretch out the already vague “early medieval” period to accommodate it rather than inventing my own periodization. Some Nakano/Ichikawa and Nejime records come earlier and later still than this expanded version of “early medieval,” though they serve as prologue and epilogue to my study.

During the early medieval period, warriors adapted new strategies of kinship, familial structure, and group identity. The standard narrative of the evolution of the warrior class states that warriors shifted from divided to unitary inheritance to maintain and defend their territories as Japan descended into civil war in the early fourteenth century.¹¹ Yet shifts toward consolidation and unigeniture were neither uniform nor universal, and warriors established highly individualized forms of kinship across the archipelago in response to various internal and external factors. What were the forms and functions of these kin groups, and how and why did they shift over time? How did environmental, economic, political, and military exigencies influence kinship? To answer these questions, I examine two differentiated groups through a detailed set of thematic comparisons. The first, a hybrid of two name groups called the Nakano

¹¹ For an excellent and concise recapitulation of this narrative in overarching form, see Murai Shōsuke, ed., *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, pp. 165-166.

and Ichikawa, lived in the snowy mountains of the Japan alps on the northern edge of Shinano province. The second, called the Nejime, lived in southern Kyushu on the Ōsumi peninsula, a subtropical region surrounded by abundant coastlines.

I have selected these two groups for multiple overlapping reasons, which make them excellent subjects for comparative study. The Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa controlled territories of roughly the same size at the opening of the medieval period, and gained identical positions of land stewardship (called *jitō-shiki*) from the Kamakura warrior regime. They each left behind extensive records of inheritance, military activity, and interfamilial legal battles that allow us to examine their relational structures in detail. Their histories can be traced alongside the major currents of political and military events from the twelfth through early fifteenth centuries, and reveal insights about broader political shifts as seen from the ground level by local elites. Both groups endured into the early modern period (called Tokugawa or Edo and spanning from 1600 to 1868), yet the kinship strategies they developed to ensure survival and maintain control of their territories were highly dissimilar.

In the thirteenth century, the Nakano/Ichikawa transformed from a conflicted set of antagonistic Nakano rivals into a united entity through the adoption of an outside heir from the Ichikawa that led to cooperation among instead of competition between heirs. The Nakano and Ichikawa established and refined a position of title-holding leaders, called *sōryō*, whose control of a primary mountain stronghold signified authority over both their kin and the region they inhabited. The mechanics of this arrangement were cooperative and mutually beneficial, and gradually led to the consolidation of authority in one individual. In contrast, during the same period, the Nejime expanded into a broad, networked coalition of sub-lineages (as I call them) that reflected the open land and seascape around them. Each new sub-lineage had unique ties to

and varying levels of dependence on the Nejime main line, which supported and encouraged the development of these groups. Nejime collaterals were economically independent, permanent landholders with their own name groups and prerogatives as members of an extended network. This was completely different from the experience of Ichikawa collaterals, who had minimal inheritances and often “owned” land for only their lifetime, after which it returned to the *sōryō*.

Yet even in the more vertically structured Ichikawa group, the need for distributed control of the landscape led to permanent property lines on the periphery that endured in parallel to that of the main line, and served to protect the entire group from external threats. In both the Nejime and the Ichikawa, cognates and collaterals operated in cooperation with the group head, and each social structure was mutually beneficial to both main heirs and their relatives.

The environment was a key element in the determination of cognatic and collateral potential. The harsh mountains of northern Shinano where the Nakano/Ichikawa lived left the group with little room or resources to grow. Political and military factors further limited their expansion, as the borderland they lived on transformed into a contested space between powerful competing interests in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. For the Ichikawa, consolidation was necessary given these confining circumstances, and social organization was contingent on the strategic significance of the mountain pass where they lived. In comparison, the Nejime had no major neighbors or rivals in their immediate vicinity; almost all the battles they engaged in took place outside their home territory, which was never a site of major contention. Unbounded by their open, terraqueous environment, they spread throughout an ever-expanding networked territory as additional properties were acquired through land clearance, purchases and donations, or reward for military service.

The case studies utilized in this dissertation add valuable insight into the nature of kinship

in medieval Japan. The disparate stories that form the foundation of my analysis help me to take a nuanced approach to the nature of social change, and lead me to refine systemic views of the warrior class in light of the flexibility and variability evident across its diverse population. I contend that warrior kinship was fluid and dynamic, and defies broad categorization. Instead, I argue that warrior kin groups formed and reformed opportunistically and survived the chaos of the medieval period due to their adaptability.

The Historiography of Medieval Japan, the Nejime, and the Nakano/Ichikawa

The field of scholars working on medieval Japanese history in English is small but growing. Jeffrey Mass provides a foundational set of resources, especially in terms of research into the warrior government of the Kamakura period (1185-1333). Mass introduced the idea of an increasingly unigeniture-driven headship “system” (the *sōryō-sei*) to English scholarship; his book on the subject is the closest of all Western analyses of warrior kinship to my efforts in this dissertation, and is built on Mass’ top-down view of warrior society and the Kamakura polity.¹² Mass produced a short, self-reflective paper near the end of his career in 2000, an appeal to his own repeated calls for further study of warrior society and revisions of his own earlier work.¹³ This dissertation attempts to answer that call by looking at warriors society from the bottom up, through the lens of the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa as case studies.

Hitomi Tonomura’s numerous works on the prerogatives of women in warrior, aristocratic, and commoner society, have been highly influential on my work.¹⁴ Translated works

¹² See Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*.

¹³ Jeffrey P. Mass, “Family, Law, and Property in Japan, 1200-1350.” I have a great deal of respect for Mass, who was the adviser of both my M.A. and Ph.D. advisers. His work as a consummate documentarian and the scholarship of his many students inspired my early interest in warrior society and family, and has made my own efforts possible. It is in service to the continued enhancement of our understanding of medieval society that I take up Mass’ challenge to productively critique and refine his earlier conclusions on the topic of warrior headship.

¹⁴ See especially Hitomi Tonomura, “Women and Inheritance in Japan’s early Warrior Society,” “Black Hair and Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan,” and “Re-envisioning Women in the Post-Kamakura Age.”

(as well as the many more Japanese works) by Wakita Haruko and Kurushima Noriko on the medieval household, marriage, and women's roles reveal not only a great deal about medieval Japan, but also provide a direct window into a wider Japanese historiography of gender, marriage, and kinship.¹⁵ The entire corpus of medieval Japanese documents disadvantages our perspective on medieval women, and we regularly know much more about male members of a kin group than females due to the documentary bias toward men. I will draw from their expertise to explore the intersection of gender and textuality as well as the social shifts that are reflected in gendered documentary imbalances.

The work of Andrew Goble on the judicial nature of the Kantō polity, as well as his studies into the failure of the Kamakura regime, have been key resources particularly in relation to the documents that deal directly with these events as they impacted the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa.¹⁶ Studies by Karl Friday and Thomas Conlan into the military nature of the 1330s have aided me in understanding the setting in which warriors found themselves as the Kamakura government fell.¹⁷

Conrad Totman has dedicated decades of scholarship to the topic of the environment in premodern Japan, and has produced some of the most fruitful works on human-environmental interactions and the archipelago itself as a historical actor. Totman argues that “diverse strategies for coping with the consequences of growth within geographical constraints are visible...” across all eras of Japanese history, and I will explore two such strategies in this dissertation.¹⁸ Kären Wigen's work on early modern Nagano and on “geographic imagination,” has helped me to

¹⁵ Wakita Haruko, *Women in Medieval Japan*, and Kurushima Noriko “Marriage and Female Inheritance in Medieval Japan.”

¹⁶ Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution* and “The Kamakura Bakufu and Its Officials.”

¹⁷ Thomas Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan*, and Karl Friday, *Samurai Warfare, and the State in Early Medieval Japan*.

¹⁸ Conrad Totman, *A History of Japan*, p. 1.

understand the problems of the early “orientalist approach” to Japanese geography utilized in the foundational scholarship of George Sansom, among others, which treated Japan as a “unitary physical environment;” Wigen also provides useful revisions to the agriculturally-dominated approach to human-environmental connections in the earlier works of T.C. Smith, which remain the default view of medieval and early-modern Japan today.¹⁹ Wayne Farris investigates broad shifts in Japan’s medieval population, which link to issues of resource access and human-environmental interactions.²⁰ I have waded into the aquasphere of the Nejime with help from the works of Ethan Segal, Bruce Batten, and Peter Shapinsky, each of whom test old assumptions about Japan’s oceanic boundary, which is being redefined based on its permeability in their current scholarship.²¹

The bulk of my historiographical insight comes from a wider range of Japanese-language materials, and I have worked to bridge new connections with local scholarship that has seen little or no attention in English-language histories of Japan. To that end, I draw extensively from available materials related to the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa authored by local historians working in Kyushu and Nagano. The scholarship of prefectural experts has greatly enriched my understanding of the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa, as well as the environments they lived in.

Ihara Kesao is the premiere expert on the Takai region, where the Ichikawa lived, and has built up an impressive set of essays on several local groups in consultation with a large body of works extending back to the prewar period.²² Itō Tomio’s pre-war and early post-war studies of

¹⁹ Kären Wigen. “The Geographic Imagination in Early Modern Japanese History: Retrospect and Prospect.” See p. 8 on Sansom, and p. 11 on Smith. Wigen has several other works on Nagano in the Tokugawa period, which can be found in the bibliography.

²⁰ William Wayne Farris, *Japan’s Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age*.

²¹ Ethan Segal, *Coins, Trade, and the State: Economic growth in Early Medieval Japan*, Bruce Batten, *To the End of Japan: Premodern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions*, and Peter Shapinsky, *Lords of the Sea: Pirates, Violence, and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan*.

²² Ihara has a wealth of earlier articles on the Takai region, and his new book, *Takai chihō no chūsei shi*, has provided excellent context on the region the Ichikawa inhabited.

the medieval land system in Shinano permeate the ongoing study of the region, and hold up well today.²³ I have consulted the continuing works of the Takai historical society (*Takai chihōshi kenkyukai*), active since 1966 and having produced 198 editions of their *Takai* journal at the time of this dissertation, as well as various other local periodicals including the *Shinano* history journal and the Bulletin of the Nagano Prefectural Museum of History, itself a fantastic local resource with an excellent attached archive where I gained many insights into how to study the Takai region (and how to get there in winter!).²⁴ These two journals contain dozens of articles related to the Nakano, the Ichikawa, and their home region.

Hinokuma Masamori's works on the Heian (794-1185) roots of the Nejime and Kozono Kimio's expertise on the medieval layout of the Ōsumi peninsula serve as foundational materials to my study.²⁵ Gomi Yoshio's work on Ōsumi province, the Sumino sub-lineage of the Nejime, and the Shijime, a northern relative and neighbor, have helped contextualize the Nejime in terms of their social geography and administrative ties.²⁶ The two-volume regional compendium of the Nejime historical society (*Nejimechō kyōdoshi hensan iinkai*) has been invaluable as a resource for background knowledge on the region, including climatic and topographical data.²⁷ Seno Seiichirō's work on Chinzei *gokenin* (a term meaning literally "honorable men of the house" and signaling a close relationship to the Kamakura warrior government) and the governance of

²³ See Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, which includes reproductions of multiple earlier articles, including an eight-part set of short essays on Nakano Yoshinari, which were originally published in 1937 and 1938 in the first edition of the *Shinano* journal (under the title *Nakano Gorō Yoshinari*).

²⁴ The journals are titled *Takai*, *Shinano* (three editions), and *Nagano kenritsu rekishikan kenkyū kiyō*. Of additional help in finding parts of the Ichikawa territory was the short meeting report from the Takai journal, in which editors and interested members of the public gathered to visit the ruins of various sites of the Ichikawa and neighboring Takanashi families. See *Takai* (高井), issue 30, unauthored concluding section titled "Ichikawa, Takanashi-shi no shiseki o tazunete." Also of note, issue #28 of that journal (*Takai*), which prompted the meeting, is a special edition dedicated to the Ichikawa, and includes a map of medieval Takai-gun.

²⁵ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, as well as the article "Ōsumi no kuni gokenin Sata-shi no shihai kankei ni tsuite." Hinokuma Masamori has an abundance of articles on the Nejime, listed in the bibliography.

²⁶ Gomi Yoshio, "Ōsumi no kuni Nejime gunji shoke Sumino-shi ni tsuite."

²⁷ See especially Nejime-chō, eds. *Nejime kyōdo-shi*.

Kyushu by successive warrior regimes has provided political background.²⁸ Prefectural histories of both Nagano and Kagoshima have helped with valuable background on the land systems of each locale, particularly as described in this introductory chapter.²⁹

In the field of warrior social history, a variety Japanese scholars in the early post-war period contributed to an evolving perspective on power, inheritance, and headship in warrior kin groups, and worked against a view of total slave-like dominance of cognates by *sōryō* that had its origins in Marxist theory introduced by Matsumoto Shinapachirō in the 1950s.³⁰ Toyoda Takeshi,³¹ Uwayokote Masataka,³² and Haga Norihiko³³ emphasized the inability of *sōryō* to tamper with the possessions of their siblings, a material and economic reality that undergirds the flexibility of warrior social organization and kin structure.

As a part of his review of this field, Jeffrey Mass pointed out the differences in several broad views of the *sōryō-sei*, such as those of Nagahara Keiji and Nitta Hideharu.³⁴ Nagahara Keiji's views rely on a perception of increasing power by *sōryō* who were relatively weak in the early thirteenth century and at their strongest during the early fourteenth century. Nagahara also emphasized the particularly powerful position of eastern provincial military governors (*shugo*),

²⁸ Seno Seiichirō, *Chinzei gokenin no kenkyū*.

²⁹ See Nagano-ken, eds. *Nagano ken-shi Nagano ken-shi* and Kagoshima-ken henshū, *Kagoshima ken-shi*, particularly the opening and medieval volumes of each set.

³⁰ Matsumoto Shinpachirō, *Chūsei shakai no kenkyū* (originally published in 1956), chapters 3 and 5. Mass discusses Matsumoto on pp. 59-60 of *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*. See also Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*, pp. 61 and 84-87, as well as Toyoda Takeshi, Ōae Akira, and Uwayokote Masataka, “‘Sōryōsei’ ni kansuru ni, san no mondai ten.”

³¹ Toyoda Takeshi, *Bushidan to sonraku* (1963), “Sōryōsei ni kansuru saisho no rongi” (1968), and more recently, *Chūsei no bushidan* (1982), pp. 209-347, which reproduces and revises much of Toyoda's earlier work.

³² Uwayokote Masataka, “Sōryōsei josetsu” (1962), and more recently, *Nihon chūsei kokkashi ronkō* (1994), pp. 179-201.

³³ Haga Norihiko, *Sōryōsei* (1966) and more recently, *Tenkei no chūsei: buke no hō to shakai* (1997), pp. 39-62. On pp. 61-62, Haga point out the absence of the *sōryō-sei* from recent scholarship (いつの頃からか惣領制という語はほとんど用いられなくなったようである).

³⁴ See Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*.

which may have accelerated moves toward unified headship by individual *sōryō* under them.³⁵

Nitta Hideharu claimed the opposite; that *sōryō* power was strong in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries but waned thereafter.³⁶ Nagahara's viewpoint had more staying power and is frequently referenced in recent works.³⁷ In my view, the division between Nagahara and Nitta rests at least partially in the differences driven by the specifics of their subjects and sources, and reinforces the sense of variation I will stress throughout this dissertation. Nagahara built much of his analysis on warriors from the northeastern heart of the Kantō (largely on Utsunomiya records), while Nitta examined records from Aki province, on the western end of Honshu.

Since the 1980s, the few new studies (those not republished from earlier works) of the *sōryō-sei* have increasingly focused on the individualized features of local groups. This trend follows in the footsteps of Gomi Yoshio, who (perhaps unintentionally) pioneered the study of *sōryō* from the bottom-up rather than the top-down in his treatment of the Nejime sub-lineages (the Sumino in particular) in 1977.³⁸ More recent studies continue this trend toward local specificity, often describing the “*sōryō-sei*” of a single kin group (or several in contrast), thus skirting the problematic application of a “system” to medieval warrior society as a whole. There are many such studies; Inuma Kenji complicates the conception of *sōryō* by combining his

³⁵ Nagahara Keiji, “Tōgoku ni okeru sōryōsei no kaitai katei,” (originally published 1952), pp. 193-224. The updated version of this article includes a subsection on *kokujin ikki* and *sōryō*, titled “Kokujin no ikki to sōryōsei no kaitai,” available in the edited collection *Nagahara Keiji chosaku senshū*, vol. 2, pp. 377-386.

³⁶ Nitta Hideharu, “Aki no kuni Kobayakawa-shi no sōryōsei ni tsuite,” (originally published 1951): 22-26. See also Nitta Hideharu, “Chūsei sōzokusei,” especially pp. 40-46 on the *sōryō-sei*. On p. 45, Nitta describes the system as a shifting one in which early Kamakura warrior *sōryō* initially served as the conduit through which secondary heirs interacted with the shogunate, while in the later Kamakura period secondary children became independent and interacted with the shogunate directly.

³⁷ For example, see Ishibashi Kazunobu's 2005 “Muromachi zenki no tōgoku ni okeru nairan no saikentō,” and Matsumoto Kazuo's 2011 response to that article, “Ishibashi Kazuhiro ‘Muromachi zenki no tōgoku ni okeru nairan no saikentō: Koyama-shi, Oda-shi no ran to Kamakura bakufu’ o yomu.” Nagahara's original 1952 article was also republished in 2007 in the collection *Nagahara Keiji chosaku senshū* (2).

³⁸ Gomi Yoshio, “Ōsumi no kuni Nejime gunji shoke Sumino-shi ni tsuite.”

analysis of headship with that of widowhood.³⁹ Kimura Nobuyuki integrates analysis of naming practice and Buddhist retirement with an examination of the *sōryō* of the Yoshikawa of Aki province from the Muromachi period (1392-1573).⁴⁰ Morimoto Masahiro views the relationship of main heirs and secondary heirs through specific lenses such as the distribution of taxes and service costs by *jitō* officers among their relatives.⁴¹ Suzuki Katsuya, whose work I will discuss in Chapters IV through VI, developed three articles (written several decades apart) on *sōryō* as conceptualized by the Nejime and the Chikama (of Owari province) with an eye for local particularity and the networked social foundations of some medieval warlords.⁴²

Several studies of *sōryō* in the Sengoku period have pushed out the temporal boundaries of the system, which was postulated by earlier scholars to have been in decline after the mid fourteenth century (at the latest). Instead, recent works see a continuance of the *sōryō-sei* that stretches well past the end of the Nanbokuchō period (1336-1392) up until local warriors like the Nejime and the Ichikawa became the official vassals and other supporters (known collectively as *kashindan* 家臣団) of powerful daimyo as late as the end of the sixteenth century.⁴³ Tamura Hiroshi compares the structure of the Mōri Sengoku daimyo of Aki province to a Mōri branch

³⁹ Iinuma Kenji, “Goke to sōryō: kanai o tsukasadoru onna to shite no goke,” within the surrounding chapter “Goke no chikara: sono seirtsu to yakuwari o megutte,” which outlines the evolution of widowhood in medieval Japan.

⁴⁰ Kimura Nobuyuki, “Kokujin ryōshu Yoshikawa-shi no kenryoku hensei,” pp. 6-11 on *sōryō* and thereafter on retirement (*inkyō* 隠居). As I have observed with both the Nejime and the Ichikawa “retirement” had little effect on the authority of a family head, even after official status, titles, and lands had been passed on. This is critical to Kimura’s analysis.

⁴¹ Morimoto Masahiro, “Kuji fuka to kippu: Kamakura, Nanbokuchōki ni okeru sōjitō no kuji haibun,” pp. 12-25. See especially pp. 15-16 for three documentary examples of debates between *sōryō* and *shoshi* on matters of taxation, which are also clearly visible in both the Nakano and Ichikawa as outlined in Chapter IV.

⁴² In addition to his pair of articles (from 1983 and 1984) on the Nejime, see Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei Owari Chikama-shi ni kansuru: kōsatsu: sōryōsei no kanten kara.”

⁴³ For example, see the pair of studies of the Takeda, including the “collapse” of the *sōryō-sei* in the Urano (浦野) under the Takeda daimyō by Utagawa Tokuya, “Takeda-shi kashindan ni okeru sōryōsei hōkai ni tsuite: ‘Urano Monjo’ o chūshin ni” and “Takeda-shi no Suwa-sha shihai.”

lineage that moved to distant Echigo in the Kamakura period through an analysis of their *sōryō*.⁴⁴ In addition to producing several books on notable Sengoku daimyo households, Tanaka Hiroki has written two articles on the internal institutionalization of *sōryō* through *sōryō-shiki* “offices,” largely in relation to late-medieval social developments.⁴⁵

The least “systematic” works on *sōryō* that I have found come from Ishida Haruo,⁴⁶ who has analyzed the dual-*sōryō* structure (which he conceptualizes as a “dual-clan” structure) of the Yamanaka in the late medieval period, and Shimizu Ryō, who has produced several studies on the varied conception of kin units (*ichizoku*) and their use of *sōryō-shiki*.⁴⁷ Although these works have pushed the concept of locality and individuality to the forefront, and brought the differences in theoretical implementations and timelines of the *sōryō* “system” to light, they still postulate that such a system functions as a viable avenue of unified social inquiry into warrior society for historians today. The dedication to a single system surrounding the word *sōryō* leaves the reader with an umbrella-term that shades a wide body of inconsistent practices under a system that did not exist until historians created it; the *sōryō* “system” described by scholars is theirs, not the warriors’ – it is a historian’s tool more than it was a social reality.

In our two case studies, the issue of overemphasizing predefined notions of theoretical social structure is presented most clearly through Kozono Kimio’s study of the Nejime, published in 1998.⁴⁸ Kozono’s knowledge of the Nejime region is beyond compare, and his

⁴⁴ Tamura Hiroshi, “Kamakura kōki, Nanbokuchō-ki ni okeru Echigo Mōri-shi to Aki Mōri-shi: Mōri Yasuda-shi no seiritsu o chūshin to shite.” The records of the Mōri appear in *Dai Nihon komonjo*, *iewake* 8, *Mōri-ke monjo* (毛利家文書), in four volumes.

⁴⁵ Tanaka Hiroki, “Sōryō-shiki no seiritsu to ‘shiki’ no henshitsu,” and “Kenkyū yoroku: Gimonjo ni shirusareta ‘sōryō-shiki.’”

⁴⁶ Ishida Haruo, “Ryo-Yamanaka uji to Kōga ‘gunchūsō.’”

⁴⁷ Shimizu Ryō, “Nanbokuchō-ki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu no ketsugō keitai: Echigo no kuni Koizumi-shō Kanō-gata jitō Irobe ichizoku,” pp. 1-15 and “Nanbokuchō-ki, Muromachi-ki Hitachi no kuni Makabe-shi no sōryō to ichizoku,” pp. 1-17.

⁴⁸ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*.

ability to locate medieval sites of habitation and map the Nejime and Sata provides a phenomenal degree of geographical clarity regarding these groups, which I have relied on in my own direct local investigations. However, Kozono retains theoretical dedication to the idea of a Nejime *sōryō-sei*, and especially to one in which *sōryō* must have thoroughly dominated their kin, even though the successive leaders of the group worked cooperatively with collaterals and cognates to construct a broad social network.

The adaptation of the Nejime to fit the narrative of a vertically structured *sōryō-sei* leads Kozono to make major assertions about the power that “*sōryō*” exercised over their various collateral kin, in this case including the Nejime sub-lineages, which were otherwise semi-independent and economically powerful in their own right.⁴⁹ Kozono is not the only one to assert that the leaders of the Nejime were *sōryō* or that the theoretical underpinnings of the *sōryō-sei* can be uncritically applied to the Nejime case. In his 1984 study, Suzuki Katsuya highlighted the Nejime and a short breakdown of its sub-lineages in an essay on the Kamakura *sōryō-sei* without mention that the Nejime did not even regularly use the term, or that the Nejime heads never used it self-referentially.⁵⁰ In the article, Suzuki calls for reinterpretation of the *sōryō-sei*, and in general his approach to the Nejime is novel. He suggests that the Nejime may represent an alternative form of kinship (still somehow contained within the *sōryō-sei*) developed in the Nanbokuchō period as an *ichizoku ikki* or “*ichizoku* league,” a phenomenon emergent among warriors and commoners in the fourteenth century, which rejected central authority and sought to develop local cooperative forms of regional control.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*. See pp. 72-113 on the Nejime “*sōryō-sei*.”

⁵⁰ Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite,” and “Chūsei zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō to tenkai - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni.”

⁵¹ *Ikki* were each highly unique and variously enduring. See Kurushima Noriko, ed. *Ikki to Sengoku daimyō*, and Kurushima Noriko, “Ryōshu no ikki to chūsei kōki shakai.” On contractual *ikki keiyaku* (一揆契約) documents, see Goza Yūichi, “Oyako keiyaku, kyōdai keiyaku, ikki keiyaku,” in which he argues that *ikki* took a form of kinship, and highlights contractual “parental” relationships, which did not involve blood ties. One such *ikki keiyaku* is

Suzuki's explanation of the Nejime-*ikki* (another term they did not use in their records, though they did refer to their kin group using the common vernacular of *ichizoku*) reflects control over cadet houses, or *shoke* (庶家 – another retroactive appellation) by the *ikki* leader.⁵² The essence of Suzuki's argument is that the “*shoke*” cadet houses of the Nejime were a more broadly conceived version of *shoshi* (庶子) secondary children, and that the proposed Nejime *ikki* was thus a larger networked manifestation of a natal familial framework. As such, for Suzuki, the sub-lineages were under the direct control of the *ikki* leader whose role paralleled that of a domestic *sōryō* household head and “father” to the broader scale of the Nejime network, whose collateral households were the “children” of the “parent” line.

Suzuki starts from a view of social variation that still assumes that the *sōryō-sei* is viable, and requires only some fine tuning to fit even those who had a wholly unique social structure that is at basic odds with the unified, vertical conception of the *sōryō-sei*. I will point out the detailed ramifications of these misinterpretations in my own Nejime case study, and the critique of Kozono's *sōryō-sei* approach to the Nejime also fits for Suzuki's *ichizoku ikki*. The theorized Nejime “league” had none of the basic foundational tenets of an *ikki*; the Nejime and its sub-lineages operated increasingly through the mandate and authority of a singular figure, and although the Nejime-*dono* was not a *sōryō*, the Nejime network was also not a strictly horizontal

included in Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 395-414, from the Yamanouchi *ichizoku ikki*, which sometimes signed documents in a well-known circular style (to avoid the implication or indication of any singular leader for the cooperative league unit, insulating individual members from censure). For two such examples of circular signatures, see pp. 407 and 409. For more examples of *ikki keiyaku*, see Goza Yūichi, “Shirakawa Yūki monjo no *ikki keijō*,” especially pp. 293-295 on non-blood bonds. David L. Davis has several works on the subject of *ikki*; see “*Ikki* in Medieval Japan” and “The Kaga ‘*Ikkō-ikki*,’ 1473-1580.” Lorraine Harrington studied the revolutionary and “outlaw” spirit of *ikki* in “Social Control and the Significance of *Akuto*.” Finally, for another example of an *ikki keiyaku*, see Murai Shōsuke, ed., *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, pp. 81-84, which includes analysis of the *ikki keiyaku* of Date Masamune, one of the most well-known *ikki* leaders of the sixteenth century, as well as an investigation of Imagawa Ryōshun's *ikki* through Nejime records on p. 83.

⁵² Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei: Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite,” p. 23.

league, and exhibits significant hierarchical elements that sat atop of a wide base.⁵³

Suzuki's desire to fit the Nejime into both a system of *sōryō* and *ikki* is unfounded, though it is understandable since the group stretches the bounds of commonly understood warrior group structure and competed with other actual *ikki* for predominance in southern Kyushu.⁵⁴ Such problems seem to be extremely common in locally-focused readings of medieval warrior documents, which often begin from a position of basic acceptance of a system which is to be either applied wholesale or slightly tinkered with through the context of localized research which ignores the actual situation of individual warriors to do so. I remain unconvinced about the conversion of the Nejime into an *ichizoku ikki* from or through a *sōryō-sei*, as neither term adequately explains the dynamic of the group.

But Suzuki's work on the Nejime is a valuable half-step. The concept of a broad, network-driven *ichizoku ikki* kin structure that replaced or augmented the top-down *sōryō* "system" beginning in the fourteenth century is a significant development in the study of warrior relatedness. Although Suzuki wrote about the topic in 1984 through the Nejime,⁵⁵ he was not even the first to use *ichizoku ikki* terminology.⁵⁶ The wider proliferation of the *ichizoku ikki* concept is often accredited to Kobayashi Kazutake, who expanded on ideas like Suzuki's conception of the Nejime to theorize the idea of a system of *ichizoku ikki* in 1986, and has

⁵³ This sort of internal cooperative (and sometimes contentious) division and retainer base is well-known and even definitive of later *daimyo* houses, numerous examples of which can be found in Murai Shōsuke's *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, pp. 70-72. The divisions of the Nejime seem to be a half-step between *ichizoku ikki*, which we might call horizontal group divisions, and *daimyo* divisions as *ichimon*, which were more vertically aligned.

⁵⁴ In this case, the *kokujin ikki* of southern Kyushu organized under Imagawa Ryōshun, detailed in Chapter V.

⁵⁵ Suzuki Katsuya, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei: Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite."

⁵⁶ The earliest secondary approach to the topic of *ichizoku ikki* that I have located comes from Koshino Takashi, who wrote an article titled "Aki no kuni Kobayakawa-shi no ichizoku-ikki ni tsuite" in 1971. This article serves as a response to Nitta Hideharu's 1951 "Aki no kuni Kobayakawa-shi no sōryōsei ni tsuite," and represents an early effort to complicate top-down views of *sōryō* in Aki. On the evolving historiography of the Aki Kobayakawa, see Nishikori Tsutomu, "Kamakuraki no Kobayakawa-shi ni kansuru jakkan no kōsatsu."

continued to produce works on the topic since.⁵⁷

Kobayashi also provides an analysis of *ichimon hyōjō* (一門評定) or kin-group councils, which developed in the Kamakura period.⁵⁸ Tanaka Hiroki has provided a dozen examples of these councils, and has argued for a detailed conception of late Kamakura familially-driven councils that evolved out of the judicial influence of the Kantō, and that at least some *ichimon hyōjō* later morphed into contract-driven *ichizoku ikki* in the Nanbokuchō period.⁵⁹ Numerous clear records from such councils exist, often from groups of *higokenin* (non-Hōjō or Ashikaga retainer) status who opted out of the Kamakura or Ashikaga-based legal system (which, while nominally impartial, was always stacked in the favor of allied *gokenin*) to take more direct control of their own affairs and avoid the potentially damaging oversight of the Kantō, which often ruled against them when they were pitted against the friends of the warrior court. Ihara Kesao has written in detail on the *ichimon hyōjō* of the Takanashi, neighbors and longstanding rivals of the Ichikawa in Takai-gun, and has outlined the correlation between *higokenin* and the development of their *ichimon hyōjō* and its ten internal ordinances, which later led to the development of an *ichizoku ikki* that included multiple name groups.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Kobayashi Kazutake, “Zaichi ryōshu kan sōron to ikki no hō,” “Kamakura~Nanbokuchōki no ryōshu ‘ikki’ to tōchigyō,” and *Nihon chūsei no ikki to sensō*. In the latter book, Kobayashi covers *ichizoku ikki* development as a shift from blood-based kinship to earth-based kinship evidenced in *ikki keiyaku* contracts on p. 139-144, and examines *ichizoku ikki* as bodies of conflict resolution on pp. 148-176.

⁵⁸ Kobayashi Kazutake, *Nihon chūsei no ikki to sensō*, pp. 123-127. See also pp. 133-135 on *ichimon hyōjō* in Iriki-in and pp. 180-182 on the “Fujiwara Nejime” of Kitamata (the Shijime, who were socially distinct from the Nejime main line and its affiliate sub-lineages), who settled at least some of their disputes internally.

⁵⁹ Tanaka Hiroki, “Ichimon hyōjō no tenkai to bakufu saiban” (circa 2004). Tanaka’s conception of the purpose of *ichimon hyōjō* involves two key reasons for the development of internal councils, which are predictable: 1) to reduce the frequency and severity of disputes within kin groups, and 2) to cut Kamakura out of the equation to as great a degree as possible when disputes required settling. See pp. 1-2 on these two factors, and thereafter for multiple documentary examples of *ichimon hyōjō* arrangements. On p. 17, Tanaka concludes that *ichimon hyōjō* records allow for a more detailed approach to both the logistics of families and the Kamakura and Nanbokuchō courts, as they are reflections of each other and are mutually connected (*sōgo kanren* 相互関連).

⁶⁰ Ihara Kesao, “Takai chihō no chūsei-shi (2).” The 10-article *ichizoku hyōjō* record of the Takanashi, as described by Ihara, on pp.15-18; 1) called for *ichimon* members not to quarrel or engage in physical conflicts with each other, 2) ordered members not to exploit the commoners (*hyakushō* 百姓) or to seek the repayment of old debts from new cultivators, 3) ordered members not to meddle in the affairs of fellow *jitō* regarding the debts of commoners under

Shimizu Ryō has summarized the *ichizoku ikki* trend, and weighs in through research into the Irobe (色部), who he concludes, much like the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa, were highly opportunistic in their divisions and unifications, and developed a complex set of relationships and identities over time as necessitated by external and internal exigencies.⁶¹ The Irobe, like the Ichikawa, developed a codified post for their *sōryō* (a *sōryō-shiki*), which was built upon a base of support from secondary heirs that, in the Irobe case, grew into an *ikki*.⁶²

The idea of a shift from *sōryō-sei* to *ichizoku ikki* as overlapping and evolutionary forms of post-Kamakura kinship, often involving contractual *keiyaku* documents and *ichimon hyōjō* tribunals requires further study, particularly regarding how shifts between these broad organizational categories occurred in some instances and how they may have been hybridized in others. In nearly two decades of works on warrior *ikki*, Kurushima Noriko has published several books that embrace the significance of warrior *ichizoku ikki* as a new and important form of broadening kin or quasi-kin structure that significantly shaped the evolution of powerful local warriors and daimyo houses in Muromachi and Sengoku Japan.⁶³ Kurushima's voluminous efforts are especially promising for their local particularity. For example, she has examined the Masuda (益田) of Iwami province, which retained *sōryō* structure and a precise policy of the transmission of headship through the sixteenth century. Simultaneously, the Masuda also exhibit

them, 4) required the accurate documentation of all loans to commoners (rice / cash / seed loans are mentioned), 5) served as an exclusion of outsiders (*tanin* 他人) from the judgement of the council, 6) stated that *jitō* cannot blindly seize the property of absconding commoners if they owed debts to other group members (who had to be repaid using their abandoned goods) 7) limited acts of violence or the seizure of the goods of residential underlings (listed as *chika* 地下), 8) prohibited the grazing of post-horses on the land of commoners or the taking of horse-fodder without compensation to them, 9) banned the employment of deputies or housemen of other *jitō*, and 10) prohibited the appropriation of the *genin* servants of others, even if they owed debts. This set of codes was clearly designed to mitigate internal dissonance and develop a set of rules for neighboring property holders, whose conflicts were often driven by these sorts of issues of jurisdiction and economic conflict.

⁶¹ Shimizu Ryō, "Nanbokuchō ni okeru zaichi ryōshu no ketsugō keitai," pp. 2-3.

⁶² Shimizu Ryō, "Nanbokuchō ni okeru zaichi ryōshu no ketsugō keitai," p. 12.

⁶³ See especially Kurushima Noriko, "Ryōshu no ikki to chūsei kōki shakai" and *Ikki no sekai to hō*.

ichizoku ikki characteristics from the early fifteenth century onward, developed by secondary kin who sought to form a power base of their own, which thereafter existed in collaboration with the *sōryō* line.⁶⁴ In a more general treatment of the *ichizoku ikki* phenomenon, Kurushima has produced a list of forty *ikki* contract records from across Japan.⁶⁵ Kurushima follows Suzuki's lead in describing the Nejime as an *ichizoku ikki* based on a military alliance document from 1336, which she categorizes as an *ikki keiyaku*.⁶⁶ Kurushima also charts and details a dozen other *ichizoku ikki* records from across Japan, and multiple other examples she cites bear more concrete markers of *ikki* status, including the *kokujin ikki* document found in the Nejime records, which the Nejime did not sign themselves.⁶⁷ Most of these other records bear more concrete markers of *ikki* status than the Nejime, and the underlying phenomena of a trend toward interfamilial cooperation was certainly driven by military alliance in many cases.

While I disagree with Suzuki and Kurushima's application of the term *ichizoku ikki* to the Nejime, who hybridized collective, communal, and individualistic elements of kin structure,

⁶⁴ Kurushima Noriko, *Ikki to Sengoku daimyō*, pp. 125-126. The Masuda transmitted their main line property while the *sōryō* was still healthy, often resulting in the passage of land from grandfather to grandson, codified through father-son joint-signature bequests to the *chakuson* (嫡孫), in this case meaning literally the "main grandson." This practice continued into the sixteenth century, and Kurushima notes that we can trace it consistently until at least the Tenbun era (天文, or 1532-1555), and that the practice was clearly an effort to prevent fragmentation and division of the kin group or the main line's succession, which was further reinforced through prior consultation with Matsuda retainers, who were involved in the process of selecting new leaders (a well-known phenomenon). However, despite the best efforts of the Matsuda, problems within the *ichizoku* cropped up anyway beginning in the early fifteenth century, when group head Kanetada and his main heir (嫡男) died together in a battle in Kyushu. Although Kanetada had warned against fragmentation of the group in his bequests, his surviving son drafted up a contract with 105 signatories, which led to the development of an *ichizoku ikki*.

⁶⁵ Kurushima Noriko, "Ryōshu no ikki to chūsei kōki shakai," p. 108 for the chart of *ikki keiyaku* records. See also pp. 109-112 on *ichizoku ikki* and pp. 131-134 on "*ikki*-like" structures in *ie*, driven by the conception of *kachū* (家中) cooperative units, which included both kin group members and retainers and agreements between main heirs and secondary heirs.

⁶⁶ Kurushima Noriko, "Ryōshu no ikki to chūsei kōki shakai," p. 108, and Kenmu 3 (1336).1.11 *Takebe Kiyonari no hoka go-mei ichizoku rensho keijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #738).

⁶⁷ Kurushima Noriko, "Ryōshu no ikki to chūsei kōki shakai," pp. 108-109, and Eiwa 3 (1377).10.28 *Ikki shinsui keijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #314). *Kokujin* literally means "people of the province(s)," but also designates the rise of independent authority after the fall of the Kamakura regime, which resulted in diverse kinship strategies that complicate views of headship such as the *sōryō-sei*, which is often seen as in decline following the rise of *kokujin*.

recent *ichizoku ikki* studies are promising because they each account for variability by building neither rules nor exceptions, and instead rely on reading closely for the local particularity of their subjects. I believe my research fits with at least some lines of what we might call “*ichizoku ikki* scholarship,” and even further blurs the lines between formerly rigid structures of horizontal and vertical kinship alignments.

A complex lattice of relational structures is always apparent in both the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa (though its visibility and full shape is filtered by documentary categories), and I will argue that lines of headship and lines of horizontal kinship are neither mutually exclusive nor automatically oppositional, at least in these two groups. If this viewpoint seems too egalitarian, it is only because the relational structures of the Ichikawa (but not the Nakano) and the Nejime needed to be mutually reinforcing for these two groups to survive within their specific environments; I readily concede that many other records exhibit vertical and horizontal structures that existed in open opposition to one another (as is clearly the case in the divisive lawsuits of the Nakano). However, I would also caution that the pessimistic view of forever-conflicted warrior groups and purely self-interested “family heads” has always been the default view of early warrior kinship, and may not deserve to be in light of concepts like *ichizoku ikki* and *ichimon hyōjō*, as well as the close reading of individual sets of documents I have conducted.

Dissertation Overview

The basic structure of the project begins and ends in wide view, zooming in more closely for a detailed analysis of the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime in the central chapters.

CHAPTER I serves as a general introduction to the rise of the warrior class. I will briefly explain the sociopolitical sphere that allowed for the remarkable variety of kinship configurations that emerged among warriors during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and provide the reader with

a brief historical background. I will also introduce the earliest documented traces of the Nakano and the Nejime, the formation of the areas they controlled as distinct administrative entities, and their known ties to central elites.

CHAPTER II draws from the official legal and military frameworks that warriors operated within from the late twelfth through mid-fourteenth centuries. It provides an analysis of warrior kinship as defined and understood by the Kamakura judiciary and the laws that governed early warriors. It then details the histories of the Ichikawa and Nejime documents, and explains broad trends in the shifting nature of medieval texts. By emphasizing the significance of shifting textual practices, I will provide an alternative view on social change in this period, which I argue is often miscategorized due to the rapid shift in documentary production that occurred after the overthrow of the Kamakura regime. I will assess the utility and shortcomings of warrior documents in terms of examining warriors as kin, and explore what methods we can apply to recover as much data as possible on kinship from the legal, military, and political records that predominate warrior archives.

CHAPTER III examines human-environmental interactions to develop a sense of natural and material influences on kin structures. It compares the differentiated and highly distinct climatic features and topography of northern Shinano and southern Ōsumi provinces, the home regions of the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime. This chapter also investigates the specific types of resources and potential for food production in each region through a combination of documentary inquiry, direct examination of the landscape, and consultation with local histories and archives. After establishing the environmental and political settings for each of our two warrior groups, taking a falcon's-eye view of their respective home regions, I will map basic elements of social structures onto the landscape to draw conclusions about the agency of the

environment over the development of group identity, relational distribution in physical space, and modes of kinship in the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime through their social geographies.

CHAPTER IV builds on the foundations laid in the opening three chapters to provide a comparative look at the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime in the early medieval period. This chapter is focused on early inheritance practices, internal conflict resolved through the Kamakura judiciary and its satellite courts, and the initial conception and development of headship and cognatic relationships in each group. Tracing the course of the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa documents from their earliest histories in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this chapter brings details the founding generations of social practice, political integration, and economic development of each group. The most documentarily productive figures from each group, as well as their wider set of relatives, will be examined in detail, providing a sense of the early conception of kinship and group identity that emerged in the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa of the late Heian and Kamakura periods.

CHAPTER V begins with the countrywide-shock of the fall of the Kamakura regime and the end of 150 years of relative peace. As Japan descended into enduring conflict, warriors returned to their violent profession in earnest. I argue that kin structures were the foundation for military organization for both the Nejime and the Ichikawa, and that their highly-differentiated approaches to kinship led to distinct military structures. Growing military networks rested on frameworks of relatedness and mutuality that developed prior to the outbreak of warfare; as extensions of earlier structures of internal power employed on a larger militarized scale, warriors often used the language of kinship to facilitate new alliances.

CHAPTER VI focuses narrowly on the micro-realm of the Nejime cognatic kin, who split into a half-dozen minor sub-lineages beginning in the 1270s, a practice that endured into the

fourteenth century and defined the social and military structure of the group until the start of the early modern (1600-1868) period. I will describe the known fate of each of the sub-lineages, some of which endured alongside the main line, while others were re-absorbed in the first few generations of large-scale military conflict. I will argue that rather than being a case of lord-servant connection in which the main line profited at the expense of the sub-lineages, the Nejime network was a mutually beneficial structure that saw the elevation of the Nejime head for not only individual, but also group gain.

CHAPTER VII concludes with a thematic look back at the history of the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa, and engages several key issues related to warrior social development and medieval Japanese kinship. The primary focus is on forms of kinship that developed in both locales, and which were common across the warrior class, with a focus on kinship that was not biologically-driven. Specific themes include adoption, marriage, “marriage adoption,” widowhood, and military kinship as developed through the conception of military allies as kin or “housemen.” I will engage with prevailing ideas on shifting prerogatives and access to property, conceptions of the kin unit, and the development of increasingly distinct, singular scholarly visions of relatedness and headship, which I will test in relation to the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa case studies.

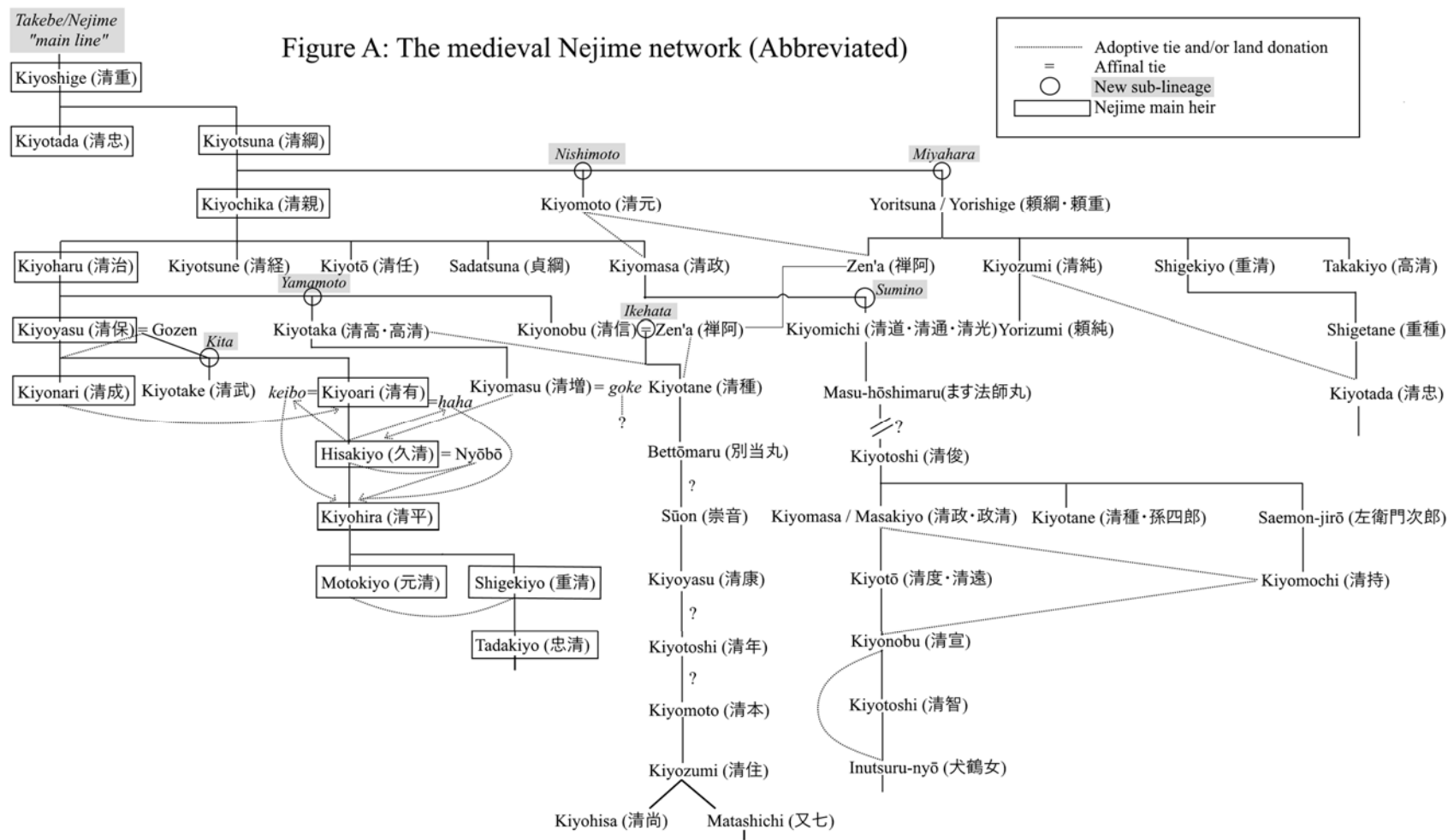
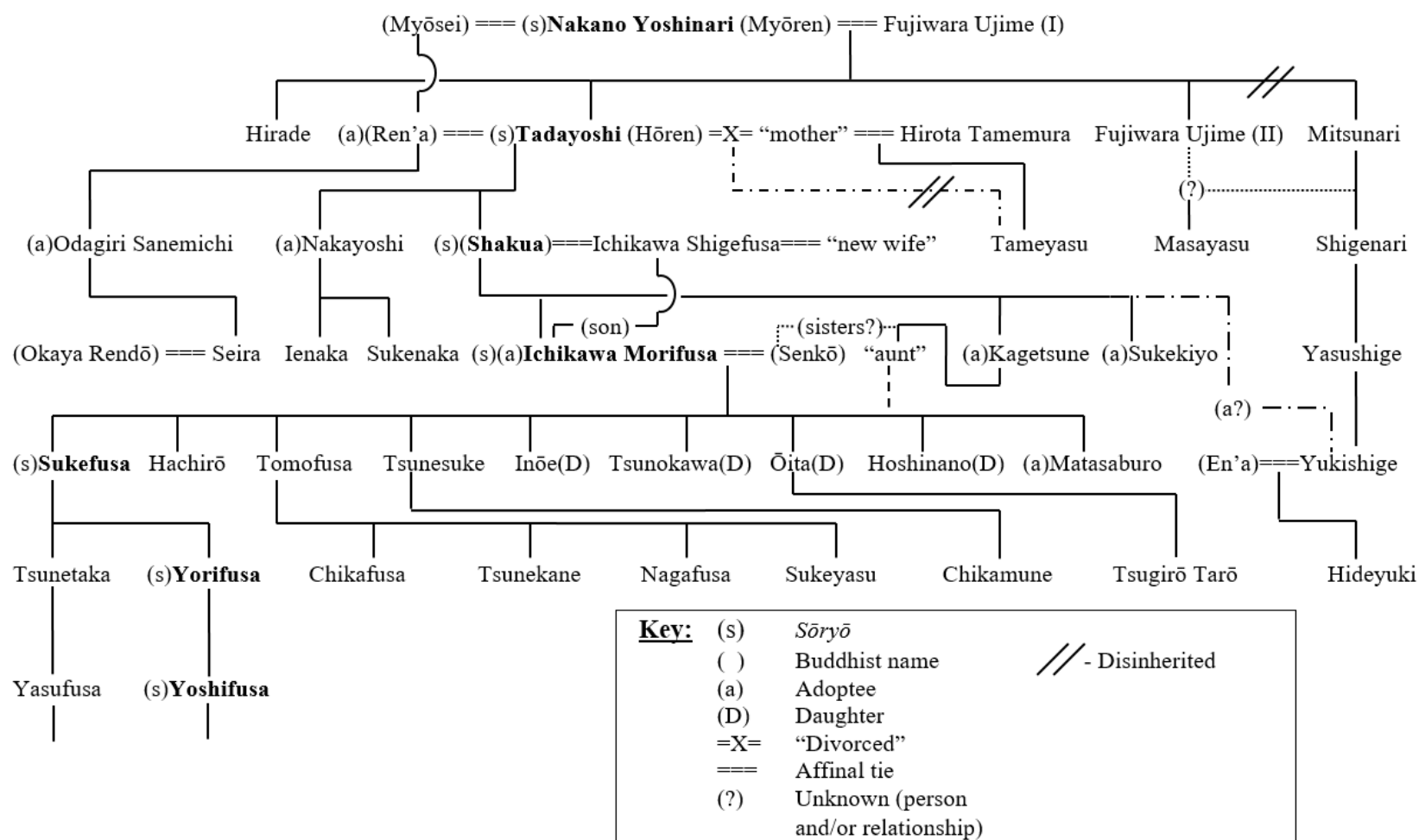


Figure B: The medieval Nakano and Ichikawa network (Abbreviated)



CHAPTER I: MEDIEVAL JAPAN

To provide a broader framework for the following chapters, I will begin with a brief overview of the inception of Japan's first warrior polity, solidified under the Kamakura regime. Often referred to as the Kamakura "*bakufu*," or warrior government, the Kamakura polity was a secondary political body that forged the way for the emergence of warriors as largely-independent local and central elites.⁶⁸ There are dozens of excellent books and articles on Kamakura, and my concern in this chapter is to present an overview of the emergence of Japan's warriors so that we may move quickly on to the specific local worlds and practices of the Nejime and the Ichikawa/Nakano. The lives of these provincial groups were altered in vital ways by the continuing set of developments in Japan's dual political centers, and it is important to present at least the broadest strokes of warrior history before moving out to study the hinterlands. I will begin with an overview of the political revolution of the Kamakura period, and then define the early legal sphere that developed out of their new eastern base. Lastly, I will introduce warrior kinship through extant historiography, though a more detailed exploration of this topic will reappear in the final chapter of this dissertation.

⁶⁸ I choose not to employ the term "*bakufu*" in this study (except in citations of other scholarship) because it was not in use during the Kamakura period. Instead, I refer to the warrior government in Kamakura as the Kantō polity, the Kamakura regime, or merely the Kantō and Kamakura.

The Rise of Warriors on the Land

From the late-Heian period (794-1185) onward, local elites formed the base of a nascent class of warriors (*bushi* or *samurai*) that eventually seized control of provincial and local administration to expand their share of access to landed wealth, resources, and prestige. In most cases, this was a shift toward greater independent local control and a larger share of authority by entrenched military figures who had already served the imperial court through provincial *kokuga* offices and estate (*shōen*) holders for generations. While the most powerful warrior houses struggled against each other to gain recognition and authority at the Heian capital during decades of civil conflict in the mid-to-late 1100s, many local warriors of lower status carved out unique and variable positions across the Japanese archipelago in their home regions.⁶⁹ This study traces two such local groups; but before examining their early positions, I will briefly explain the broader political and economic contexts of the period in which they emerged.

By 1185, allied warriors under Minamoto no Yoritomo gained strength in the east (the Kantō) as the traditional court in the Imperial capital of Heian (then under control of the Taira, a rival warrior clan) faltered.⁷⁰ In a well-known story, Yoritomo defeated the Taira, his chief rivals, and established a second, parallel power base in the small coastal town of Kamakura, leaving the imperial capital of Heian (thereafter Kyoto) and its aristocratic court intact.⁷¹ The

⁶⁹ These powerful groups fit under the umbrella term *kizoku* (貴族), which includes both powerful noble groups like the Fujiwara and early courtly warriors such as the Taira and Minamoto. The rise of *kizoku* in the tenth and eleventh centuries led, in part, to the rise of the *shōen*, control of the court and imperial succession by elite families such as the Fujiwara, and to the predominance of courtly “clan” names (choronyms) across the archipelago, often used by provincial landed figures to delineate fictive relationships to powerful central elites. See Terauchi Hiroshi, “Kizoku seiken to chihō shihai.”

⁷⁰ For a retelling of the 1156 Hōgen and 1159-1160 Heiji conflicts, which served as the initial major incursion into courtly life by the Taira under Taira no Kiyomori, see Ishii Susumu, “Jū-ni: jū-san seiki no Nihon: kodai kara chūsei he,” pp. 25-43.

⁷¹ Although Kamakura became a military power base, Kyoto retained strong authority in the west, especially in the initial decades after Kamakura’s emergence. For further information regarding the survival of the influence of Kyoto, specifically in legal terms, see Cornelius Kiley, “The Imperial Court as a Legal Authority in the Kamakura Age,” pp. 29-44.

new eastern warrior capital in the Kantō neither replaced nor eclipsed Kyoto, and instead integrated with existing hierarchies as an additional outgrowth of elite status.

After a short period of control by the Minamoto, the Hōjō took over leadership of the new Kamakura regime following Minamoto no Yoritomo's death in 1199. The mother of Yoritomo's children, Hōjō Masako (sometimes called the nun-shogun or *amashōgun* 尼將軍),⁷² successfully installed her natal kin group at the head of the warrior government only a few years later through careful manipulation of political succession and the elimination of Yoritomo's two sons, ineffectual leaders who held little real power.

Before the rebellions of the mid-twelfth century that sparked the rise of warrior power, provincial military figures were largely confined to the relatively low position of servants of and peacekeepers for the imperial court and its landholders.⁷³ Thereafter, as Kyoto's political influence slowly waned, Kamakura and its many provincial client warriors took control of land allocation, taxation, and the distribution of new and competing administrative positions within the limits of its domain. The result was what historians have characterized as “the emergence of the Kamakura Bakufu,” and a network of military and administrative power at the state, provincial, and local levels.⁷⁴ This network persisted beyond the end of the Kamakura period (1185-1333), and served as the precedential foundation for warrior political power that endured until the start of Japan's modern period in 1868.

⁷² For example, see Sōgō jōsei-shi kenkyūkai, eds., *Shiryō ni miru Nihon jōsei no ayumi*, pp. 48-49. The Japanese characters for all authors and works cited in this dissertation appear in the bibliography.

⁷³ For more on the emergence and evolution of warrior society in the Heian Period, see Karl Friday, “Teeth and Claws. Provincial Warriors and the Heian Court.” An impetus for Minamoto control in 1185 had already emerged by a series of earlier conflicts. The Taira held control in Kyoto from 1160 until 1180, and destroyed most of the rival Minamoto in the Heiji Rebellion in 1160. Early conflicts, including the Genpei war (1180-1185), were famously muddled, as warriors from the same household took different sides in each conflict to settle sibling rivalries on the battlefield. For more on Yoritomo and earlier rivalries, see Jeffrey P. Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu*.

⁷⁴ Peter J. Arnesen, “Suō Province in the Age of Kamakura,” p. 92.

Yoritomo and the Hōjō that followed him sought to infiltrate the provinces by injecting or confirming local officers under a new structure of authority that relied on the Kamakura polity to confirm local positions and lands and manage disputes over them. The basis of classical and early medieval land control fell largely into two broad categories; that of *shōen* (莊園) and *kōryō* (公領) or *kokugaryō* (国衙領).⁷⁵ *Shōen* were independent estates (or “manors”) controlled by religious institutions (shrines and temples, or *jisha* 寺社) and powerful noble families (*kizoku* 貴族) centered in Kyoto and administered locally by satellite institutions and officers.⁷⁶ *Kōryō* or *kokugaryō* were older divisions of state or “public” imperial tax lands that fell under the administrative jurisdiction and taxation of provincial absentee governors, or *kokushi* (国司), and their deputies in provincial headquarters, or *kokuga* (国衙).

Shōen originally emerged beginning in the eighth century as property that was exempt from taxation or intrusion by the *kokushi*, often due to the religious status of their central constituents. By the end of the Heian period, even the imperial family had developed *shōen* of their own.⁷⁷ Although by the start of the Kamakura period the majority of productive land in

⁷⁵ Now regularly amalgamated as an overarching *shōen-kōryō-sei* (莊園公領制) that includes both as halves of a system. See the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for *shōen-kōryō-sei*, as well as Kimura Shigemitsu and Ihara Kesao, eds., *Tenbō Nihon rekishi* vol. 8: *Shōen-kōryō-sei*, especially pp. 1-12 on the broader field of *shōen* studies and the emergence of *shōen-kōryō-sei* as a new approach to *shōen* that began in 1973 but saw major revision from Amino Yoshihiko in 1993 with the foundational paper “*Shōen-kōryō-sei no keisei katei*,” available in the edited collection of his works on *shōen-kōryō* titled *Shōen-kōryō-sei no kōzō*. Regionally-focused historians have also taken up this topic as it applied to many individual locales; such as Hinokuma Masamori’s study of the *shōen-kōryō-sei* in Satsuma, “*Satsuma no kuni ni okeru shōen-kōryō-sei no keisei katei*,” the edited collection by Fujiki Hisashi and Kobayashi Kazutake entitled *Sankan shōen no jitō to sonraku: Tanba no kuni Wachi-shō o aruku*, the edited collection by Haga Norihiko entitled *Kita Nihon chūsei-shi no kenkyū*, and chapters II and II of Satō Kazuhiko’s, *Chūsei no ikki to minshū sekai*, which focus on the *shōen* of Tōji temple in the Kamakura and late medieval periods. The *shōen-kōryō-sei* view of the medieval landscape is more inclusive and flexible than previous versions of the *shōen-sei*, which largely considered *shōen* as a single predominant landholding pattern with only a small degree of variation across the archipelago.

⁷⁶ On the types of land and human developments encompassed within *shōen*, see Ōyama Kyōhei, “*Shōen-sei*,” p. 143. Ōyama maps and analyzes several specific examples throughout the rest of this chapter, demonstrating the variable nature of *shōen* as nonuniform and locally-specific divisions.

⁷⁷ “Manor” is the default term for *shōen*, passed down from early twentieth century scholarship, much of which retains utility despite a tendency toward now-outmoded feudal terminology. For example, although his initial

Japan (agricultural or otherwise) had been converted to *shōen* estates, many areas remained as the leftover holdouts of the older *kōryō* tax base, and large chunks of liminal “wild” regions remained wholly unconquered by humans.

The replacement of *kōryō* by *shōen* was incomplete, and the ratio of one to the other varied by province. Control of *kōryō* by *kokushi* was already dwindling well before the rise of the warrior class, as *shōen* undermined and replaced them as the predominant form of central landholding in the latter half of the Heian period, with a significant expansion of *shōen* over *kōryō* from the late eleventh through late twelfth centuries.⁷⁸ Nagahara Keiji estimates that as an average across all provinces, *shōen* outnumbered *kōryō* by about a 60 to 40 margin by the end of the Heian period, which was the peak of *shōen* development.⁷⁹ The mechanics by which *shōen* developed were variable, but followed a general trend wherein powerful elites from the imperial court gifted them to religious institutions or aristocrats as sources of otherwise untaxed income that they could profit from directly.⁸⁰ Nagahara argues that there were three general ways in which *shōen* were created: “(1) by opening new land; (2) by first obtaining rights to various taxes and corvée; and (3) through commendation.” The second and third methods were common in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, although the opening of new fields was also still periodically practiced when lands were available.⁸¹

statement that “The *shō* was largely an illegal growth” is incorrect, Asakawa Kan’ichi’s treatment of *shōen* stands as an otherwise excellent treatment of the subject. See “Feudal Land Tenure in Japan,” p. 5 in Asakawa Kan’ichi, *Land and Society in Medieval Japan: Studies by Kan’ichi Asakawa*. I will use native terminology for *shōen* and *kōryō* as much as possible.

⁷⁸ Nagahara Keiji, *Shōen*, p. 94.

⁷⁹ See the *Nippon daihyakka zensho* (or *Nipponica*) entry for “*shōen*,” and the subsection titled “*kishin seikō shōen zenkokuteki tenkai*” by Nagahara Keiji. (荘園と公領の割合は全国的にみるとほぼ6対4前後と推定されている).

⁸⁰ Nagahara Keiji, *Shōen*, p. 102. Nagahara describes a process of the transmission of formal records (*seishiki monjo* 正式文書) by powerful state officers and ministers such as first, the *Dajōkan* (太政官), the *Minbushō no fu* (民部省の府), and later the *kokushi* themselves. As a result of these direct transmissions by managers of *kōryō* interests, Nagahara stresses the legal nature of the development of *shōen*, which were officially sanctioned and sponsored.

⁸¹ See Nagahara Keiji, “Landownership under the *Shōen-Kokugaryō* System,” p. 270.

The variable development of *shōen*, as well as the system of taxation and multilevel management that grew up around them, constitutes a field of study unto itself, and is the subject of over a century of extensive historiographical debate. It is difficult to define *shōen* in general terms, because as Nagahara notes, “the individual scope and management system of each *shōen* was not uniform, and *shōen* proprietors [*ryōshu*] and tax structures, etc. were highly unique. The variety in status of the people involved in *shōen* was also non-uniform.”⁸² As this dissertation is a study of local warriors and not central proprietors, I have little to contribute on the subject of *shōen* development, other than to remind the reader that not all of medieval Japan was *shōen* or *kōryō*, and of particular significance to this study, that not all areas operated identically vis-à-vis either polity or the court elite.⁸³ Further, central proprietors were often not in control of what went on in the provinces, and regularly had little influence on the direct management or control of land. This study will demonstrate the convoluted nature of medieval landholding from the perspective of the local elite who managed small chunks of *shōen* and *kōryō*. Local warriors began to carve out their own parts of the local landscape even before the start of the Kamakura period, and their territories fell increasingly out of the purview of the court elite, especially in the fourteenth century and beyond.

Warriors at all levels sought to weave themselves into the local management of as many *shōen-kōryō* management structures as possible, in such a way that their presence later became integral to the operation of these properties. In *shōen*, this could involve the incursion by

⁸² Nagahara Keiji, *Shōen*, p. 2. (個々の荘園の規模とか管理の方式も画一的なものではないし、荘園領主や収取体制などもけっして均一的なものではない。荘園にかかわるさまざまな人びとの身分のあり方さえも、とても一様なものとはいえないのである)。For an example of *shōen-kōryō* development in a single province, see Hinokuma Masamori, “Satsuma no kuni ni okeru shōen -kōryō-sei no keisei katei.” Many other such articles exist, and make for useful comparative material when studying the irregularity of *shōen* development.

⁸³ For example, although the Nejime lived within the bounds of a *shōen* as *jitō*, they were also the direct deputized representatives of the local shrine that managed the estate, and had no competition with other local managers (a situation common for early *jitō* officers appointed by Kamakura as an addition to an extant structure of control).

warriors into the rights of local *shōen* estate officers, usually *azukaridokoro* (預所), who held *shiki* (職) offices or posts that involved taxation and management at the local level and had proliferated in the eleventh century.⁸⁴ Similar efforts were carried out on surviving areas of *kōryō* land, where many warriors replaced (or were already in place) as officers in charge of the taxation and administration of *kōryō* lands through posts tied to ancient land divisions such as *gun* (and *gunji* 郡司 posts, like the one held by the Nejime) or *in* (and *in-shi* or *in no tsukasa* 院司 posts), among others.⁸⁵ Many local warriors, including both the Nakano and the Nejime, already had some level of local authority in their homeland (be it *shōen*, *kōryō*, or the small shares of inhabited land not under either broad category) prior to the development of divided warrior power. The Kamakura authority added to this overlapping set of landed categories and extant offices of the nobility through an emphasis on one type of post of local administration: the *jitō-shiki* (地頭職), or office of estate stewardship.⁸⁶

While largely-independent, and in some cases never coming under the influence of a *jitō* or the warrior class at all, many *shōen* became an integrated part of the Kamakura political network through the *jitō-shiki*, which were coveted by local warriors as both symbols of status and productive sources of siphoned tax income. In order to control and curtail the power of its

⁸⁴ On the local operations of *shōen* and *kōryō* vis-à-vis the dual management structures of *jitō* and *shōen* officers, see Okuno Yoshio, “Shōen-kōryō sei ni okeru ‘shōmu’ to ‘shomu’ o megutte.” “Shomu” (所務) refers to the local managerial operations of encroaching *jitō*, who were in competition for local authority with *shōen ryōshu* (莊園領主) and their overlapping “shōmu” (莊務) management activities, as two halves of a broader grouping of local power-holders, broadly classified as *zaichi ryōshū* (在地領主). For an English language examination of one *shōen* as an example of the “the fundamental economic, social, and political institution in Japan,” see Yamamura Kozo, “Tara in Transition: A Study of a Kamakura Shōen.”

⁸⁵ On *inshi* and *gunji*, see the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*. These posts were part of the hereditary rights of powerful local families over the *kōryō* dating back to at least the eighth century, and represented the *kokushi*.

⁸⁶ On the replacement of earlier *shiki* by *jitō-shiki*, see Nagahara Keiji, *Shōen*, p. 102. Amino Yoshihiko studied numerous different *jitō* for their locally-specific economic and administrative prerogatives. See Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol. 4, pp. 56, 292, 307, and 381 for examples. *Jitō* were as varied as their locales, and often developed highly specific

new local officers, beginning in the 1190s the Kamakura regime dispatched “military governors” or *shugo* (守護) to each province.⁸⁷ Continuing until the end of the fourteenth century, there were two “governors” for each province, an extension of the dual polity; the longstanding but declining *kokushi* (国司) absentee governor based in Kyoto, and a *shugo* in residence in the provinces as managers of its corps of *jitō* officers. Importantly to this study, unlike *shugo*, who were always male, *jitō-shiki* were not gendered positions, and many women held these offices as prominent figures in warrior groups.⁸⁸

Early Kamakura *shugo* had three major functions, known as *taibon sankajō* (大犯三箇条), which limited them to major police activities involving first, the pursuit and arrest of murderers, second, the same police rights for hunting down rebels, and third, the command of Kamakura *gokenin* (御家人) “retainers” and the *jitō* (two groups that often overlapped) in their professional duties such as guard duty in Kyoto.⁸⁹ As an extension of these duties, the *shugo* were also judiciary agents, who handled the transmission of documents, the gathering of testimonies, and the dispersal and enforcement of judgments made by the Kamakura judiciary. *Shugo* were not able to freely enter (or send deputies into) *shōen* unless they were carrying out these functions. The right of non-entry, known as *funyū no ken* (不入の権) or *fuyu funyū* (不輸不入), stems back to the inception of *shōen* in the Heian period, and is a major element that has led historians to characterize *shōen* as “private” lands or “private estates,” which were immune to outside incursion or taxation, first by the *kokushi* governors and their deputies in the Heian

⁸⁷ On the “shugo-jitō-sei,” see Kondō Shigekazu, “Chūsei zenki no seiji chitsujo,” pp. 176-183.

⁸⁸ On *shugo* as a gendered position and *jitō* as a gender-neutral one, see Kurushima Noriko, Nagano Hiroko, and Osa Shizue, eds., *Jendā kara mita Nihon shi: rekishi o yomikaeru*, pp. 82 and 88. For multiple examinations of affinal ties, lineal succession, and the transfer of offices including *jitō-shiki* through female lines, see Amino Yoshihiko, “Chūsei ni okeru kon’in no ichikōsatsu,” especially pp. 16-19.

⁸⁹ See the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for “*taibon sankajō*” (大犯三箇条).

period, and also by the Kamakura *shugo* military governors in each province, whose non-entry rights are also subcategorized as *shugo funyū no ken* (守護不入権).⁹⁰

Jitō-shiki posts were a new local expansion (or imposition) by the Kamakura regime constructed on a pre-existing set of multilayered rights to tax income, which included the above-mentioned local *azukaridokoro-shiki* (預所職) holding deputies, who operated under provincial *ryōke-shiki* (領家職) officers and institutions, and capital *honke-shiki* (本家職) holders, the imperial court elite of powerful nobles and religious institutions who stood at the top of the hierarchy of *shōen* taxation.⁹¹ *Shugo* were charged with maintaining existing channels of documentation, official service duties, taxation, and perhaps most of all, keeping the *jitō* in line, as these new local warrior officers often clashed with established local *shōen* officials, village heads (*myōshu* 名主), and each other in contentious property disputes and quarrels over their overlapping rights and territorial boundaries.⁹² As we will see, *jitō-shiki* often comprised a

⁹⁰ See the *Kokushi daijiten* on *fuyu funyū* (不輸不入) and *shōen* (莊園). *Fuyu* (不輸) is a reference to the “untaxable” nature of *shōen*, while *funyū* (不入) refers to the sovereign nature of *shōen* borders. On *shōen* as “private,” see John W. Hall, *Terms and Concepts in Japanese Medieval History*, p. 29, Yamamura Kozo, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 3: *Medieval Japan*, p. 698, Janet Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds*, p. 161, James McClain and Wakita Osamu, *Osaka: The Merchant’s Capital of Early Modern Japan*, p. 278, and John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass, eds., *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, p. 258. Considering recent trends away from the segregation of *shōen* and *kōryō*, which were functionally similar or even identical from the local perspective, I will avoid the application of “private” and “public” distinctions to these two types of central proprietorship.

⁹¹ On the proliferation of *shōen* and the creation of the *honke-shiki* and *jitō*, specifically through the lens of Tōji (東寺), as well as through a list of 71 *shōen* lands, their ties to Tōji, their status after the fall of Kamakura, and whether a *jitō* was present, see Nagahara Keiji, *Shōen*, pp. 244-250. On warrior *jitō* as an imposition on *shōen* (particularly in eastern Japan) through direct control (*tōchigyō* 当知行) of land, see Fukushima Noriko, “Tōgoku *shōen* ni okeru *tōchigyō* to *shiki*,” pp. 165-166. On late-developing *honke shiki* from the late Kamakura period onward, see Takahashi Kazuki, “Kamakura *kōki*~Nanbokuchōki ni okeru *honkeshiki* no seiritsu,” p. 103. Takahashi extends the staying power and period of generation of new *honke-shiki*. He argues that *honke-shiki* continued to develop into the late Kamakura period and endured into the Muromachi period, when most earlier theories of *shōen* predict their downfall at the hands of ascendant provincial elites.

⁹² Disputes occurred between adjacent officers of various categories (including adjacent *jitō* engaged in border disputes with one another), but were most pronounced when officers from different parts of the landholding spectrum held offices in the same territories simultaneously, most commonly in the form of *azukaridokoro* and *jitō* on *shōen* land. In such cases, the presence of two offices with similar functions was both superfluous for central elites and contentious for the local officers, who were at odds with each other for income shares and land use rights. Some of these feuds lasted for generations. For a description of one lengthy quarrel between successive *jitō* and *azukaridokoro* that lasted over 30 years through three generations of local officials and involved repeated violent

significant element of wealth for local warriors as the most reliable source of minor administrative authority and income that could be passed on to heirs. In many warrior inheritance disputes, the *jitō-shiki* was a major object of contention, and was often packaged together with the core, on-site residential landholdings of local warriors. In some cases, inheritance disputes or predilections for property division led to the splitting of *jitō shiki* into halves or smaller portions.

Various local representatives of the *shōen*, *kōryō*, and Kamakura interfaced with villagers below them and the provincial *ryōke*, *kokuga*, and *shugo* above them.⁹³ These locally-powerful figures were often warriors, and were regularly officials with *shiki* that were effectively the precursors to *jitō*.⁹⁴ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, local elites often engaged in the clearance of new paddies, fields, and in the construction of residences, which were either held independently by these figures or donated to local religious institutions and folded into their *shōen*, with donors gaining *shiki* in these exchanges and continuing on as the on-site managers of the properties they cleared and donated.⁹⁵ From the early-Heian period onward, wealthy local

incursions by the *jitō* (at least according to the *azukaridokoro*), see *Iinohachimangū monjo*, p. 153. Not all violations by *jitō* involved land or border disputes, as Nagahara Keiji elucidates through a dispute between a *jitō* and *azukaridokoro* in Ategawa-*shō* (阿氏河莊), which culminated in the *jitō* driving the *azukaridokoro* physically out of the area, seizing 28 commoners (*hyakushō* 百姓) and 8 head of cattle and horses, and sparking a petition to the *shōen* authority directly from the villagers themselves. For much more on this case, including the contents of the letter from the *hyakushō*, see Nagahara Keiji, *Shōen*, pp. 183-188. On *jitō* conflicts in *shōen* land, see pp. 174-192. *Jitō* and commoners clashed directly regardless of the presence of *azukaridokoro* officers; for additional examples, see Satō Shin'ichi, Amino Yoshihiko, and Kasamatsu Hiroshi, *Nihon chūseiishi o minaosu*, pp. 47-53.

⁹³ Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Tochi seido-shi*, pp. 148-151. These lands were named, transferrable, and could also be bought and sold. Village heads (*myōshu* 名主) were another form of so-called “*zaichi ryōshu*,” though they usually fell below the authority of a local officer, who would administer multiple villages within an administrative district or community.

⁹⁴ On the nature of these local elites, see Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Tochi seido-shi*, p. 278, and Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol. 6, p. 75; Amino lists *jitō* (地頭), *gesu* (下司), *kumon* (公文), *azukaridokoro* (預所), *hoshi* (保司), etc., all of whom strove to develop their own independent properties (which Amino lists as *shitaku* 私宅 or “private residences” and their surrounding areas, which were worked by both commoners or *hyakushō* 百姓 and indentured, heritable servants). Note that Amino is particularly careful to avoid categorizing *hyakushō* as “farmers” (農民 *nōmin*), and wrote extensive critiques of the conflation of *hyakushō* with agricultural activity. For one such critique, see Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol. 17, pp. 243-278.

⁹⁵ On the topic of land clearance, which continued throughout the early medieval period, as well as the gradual incursion of humans into the mountain land through premodern slash-and-burn techniques, see Kitazume Masao, “Chūsei ni okeru sanya ryōyū riyō o meguru sho mondai,” especially pp. 113-118 on border disputes, which often

figures who cleared “new” land were allowed individualized income rights over it, instigating a continuous process of reclamation and seizure of small patches of cleared ground that led to the proliferation of the inheritable properties of local figures in the commoner and warrior classes and furthered the stratification of landed wealth within communities.⁹⁶ Such individually-held lands, when they were not conferred to *shōen*, were divisible and heritable, and were confirmed and reconfirmed by successive polities including the Kantō, through *andojō* (安堵状) documents of confirmation.⁹⁷ They appear in the inheritance records of the Ichikawa and the Nejime alongside *shiki* and other heritable properties.

In many *shōen* the creation of new *jitō-shiki* posts was a major incursion into existing political structures and the prerogatives of both local and provincial managers, particularly in cases when a preexisting local officer was not the one selected to be *jitō*.⁹⁸ However, in some other *shōen* holdings, *jitō* terminology and positions even predated the rise of the Kamakura regime, or were created based on existing official structures, and the reconfirmation of existing land stewards as *jitō* changed little on the local level.⁹⁹ Takeuchi Rizō divides the creation of *jitō-shiki* into these two broad conceptual categories, first, in which Kamakura and the *honke* of a *shōen* were in alignment, and passed orders through the same individual, who was both a warrior *jitō* and a *shōen* officer; and second, in which these two positions were held by two different,

broke out as local *zaichō kanjin* and *zaichi ryōshu* clashed over who would take over and possess newly-opened chunks of land. This subsection of Kitazume’s article lists fifteen examples of such disputes.

⁹⁶ Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Tochi seido-shi*, p. 303.

⁹⁷ Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Tochi seido-shi*, pp. 162-164.

⁹⁸ Such conflicts also occurred as *shōen* were carved out of *kōryō*. See Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol. 3, p. 58 on *kokuga* conflicts with *shōen*.

⁹⁹ On early *jitō*, see Tanaka Satoshi, “Jitō-shiki no koyū no naiyō ni tsuite,” which examines the background and early implementation of *jitō-shiki* through primary documents, and includes a useful list of mentions of the term “*jitō*” that predate the implementation of *shiki* on pp. 51-53. See also pp. 54-58 on *jitō-shiki* and *gesu-shiki* (下司職), the type of office the Nakano originally held prior to the Kamakura period.

opposing figures at the local level.¹⁰⁰ Neither of our two case studies involves the latter scenario, as in both the Nejime and Ichikawa territories, they were the only on-site officers (with minor periods of interruption in each case). Each held positions that predated the establishment of the warrior polity, and there was no conflict of interest involved in the addition of a *jitō-shiki* (at least at the local level) as a parallel to their existing prerogatives.

In *kōryō* and other unincorporated land where no *shōen* was present, *jitō-shiki* were created to integrate as much of provincial administration (which ran through local *kokuga* offices to absentee *kokushi* governors, also a part of the capital elite) into the warrior hierarchy as possible. The Nejime retained the vernacular of such a state system of administration into the Sengoku period (1467-1600), referring to themselves continually as *gunji* (郡司) deputies of the *kokuga* despite the commission of their home area and titular seat of power to a *shōen* near the end of the twelfth century. In both of our case studies, as *jitō*, the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa oversaw land that fell into both broad categories. Over the past several decades, the differences between *shōen* and *kōryō* have been de-emphasized, especially after the development of the Kamakura *jitō*, who encroached on each equally and with little distinction between the two. Further, the long history of each locale often led to confused sets of terminology (as in the Nejime case), and links to *shōen* and *kōryō* are only vaguely hinted at in the Nejime and Ichikawa documents. In the bulk of these two sets of records, while the existence of a higher taxing body is clear, the nature of the relationship between central proprietors in Kyoto and our two sets of local proprietors in the provinces goes largely unstated.

Jitō, like other residential managers such as *azukaridokoro* who preceded and paralleled

¹⁰⁰ Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Tochi seido-shi*, pp. 295-296. The two types are categorized as type “A,” those in which one officer served as liaison for both *shōen* and *bakufu*, and type “B,” in which two different officers served these central institutions, and often collided locally.

them, lived on-site in the areas they managed, and had a much greater degree of direct control of the territories they administered than any higher authorities. Their residences took the form of *yashiki* (屋敷), *zaike* (在家), or *isono* (居園) which warriors might own one or many of and possessed individually. *Yashiki* is the most common term in our case studies, and usually indicates a small fenced complex of a few buildings such as stables and servant's quarters, and usually abutted or included heritable and divisible individual fields that were held independently by locals (*shiryō* 私領, or in the case of specific reward land earned for military service, *onryō* 恩領 or *onchi* 恩地, which often came with restrictions regarding division or sale).¹⁰¹ These fields might be categorized as separate paddies and/or upland fields (*ta* 田 and *hatake* 畠), or as part of the residence itself (*yashiki-chi* 屋敷地, *zaike-chi* 在家地, etc.), as the surrounding grounds of the residence, or by regionally-specific terms, such as *sono* (園), a specialized land designation common to the Nejime region (among others), which encompassed various forms of property including residences, gardens, and extensive attached lands, generally upland rather than paddy, the size and shape of which is often ambiguous in documents.¹⁰²

Local power-holders like *jitō* owned and directly controlled these heritable and divisible lands, could delegate them to their kin group members (*ichizoku* 一族) permanently or

¹⁰¹ On the relationship between these two types of property and the expansion of individual landholding by warriors, see Uwayokote Masataka, *Nihon chūsei kokka-shi ronkō*, pp. 41-44. On *shiryō*, see pp. 44-54. Uwayokote contrast *shiryō* with *kōryō* through the development of both *shōen* and warrior military reward land proliferated by Yoritomo and the new Kamakura polity.

See also the *Kokushi daijiten* on *shiryō* (私領) and *onchi* (恩地), and the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* on *onryō* (恩領).

¹⁰² For a highly descriptive treatment of *yashiki* including their surroundings and multiple examples and maps of historical *yashiki* and *mura*, see Toyoda Takeshi, ed., *Chūsei no bushidan*, pp. 42-62. On *sono*, see the *Kokushi Daijiten*, which includes the specialized meaning specific to Kyushu, and lists some of the produce grown on them, as well as Murai Shōsuke, ed., *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, pp. 166, where he describes *sono* as one type of property often divided off to secondary heirs, especially to maintain local presence and limit incursion into the domain of main heirs, a description that fits both the Nejime and the Ichikawa well, and which I will explore further in Chapter III.

temporarily, and staffed them with heritable servants (*shojū* 所従) or other attendants.¹⁰³ They were taxed based on whatever broader type of area they resided and owned land within (usually *shōen* or *kōryō*), and there were several tiers of rights that existed over property regardless of who “owned” it at both the central and local levels. As *jitō* officers, warriors held managerial rights over, but were not meant to control directly, the surrounding parts of their home districts, where other independent elites held land (often categorized as *higokenin* 非御家人, or those who were not considered “housemen” of the Kamakura polity or obligated to provide service to it). “Commoners” (a vague category for those without surnames) operated at the village level, where they also held their own properties managed by village landlords (*myōshu* 名主).

Throughout the Kamakura period and well into the fourteenth century, despite an increasingly confused set of property rights, property types, methods of taxation, and overlapping administrative or managerial prerogatives, taxes from provincial properties continued to flow into the court elite in Kyoto, who were the central proprietors with rights over taxation in nearly all of the *shōen* and *kōryō*.¹⁰⁴ These taxes (usually *nengu* 年貢 on *shōen* and initially *kanmotsu* 官物 on *kōryō*, before the term *nengu* came to predominate in both) were originally paid in rice, which remained the core measurement of provincial economic output.¹⁰⁵ By the Kamakura period the use of imported Chinese copper coins eclipsed rice and other goods

¹⁰³ On servants and human property, see Anno Masaki, “Genin no uigezan,” especially pp. 26 and note 44, which includes the provocative theory that some servants in Kyushu who were categorized as property may have been trafficked from the Korean peninsula, drawing from the personal names of some of the servants listed in Nejime records, which I will examine in Chapter IV alongside other secondary works.

¹⁰⁴ Parts of the Kantō are a notable exception; at least some of the land taxed by the Hōjō was neither *shōen* nor *kōryō*, as we will see with the primary Nakano/Ichikawa territory of Shikumi-gō.

¹⁰⁵ *Nengu* are harder to trace from the fourteenth century onward, but a mix of court, warrior, and commoner records confirms that some areas saw relatively little interruption in the maintenance of taxation well into the late medieval period. For one example of a well-detailed set of *nengu* records from the fifteenth century, see Sugawara Masako, *Chūsei no buke to kuge no ‘ie,’* pp. 130-157, which draws from the records of the Yamashina (山科家) courtier family.

(such as bolts of silk) as a medium of exchange, and taxes on all kinds of produce were paid in terms of equivalent rice values using copper currency.¹⁰⁶ Taxes were still measured in the language of rice and paddy-agriculture even in areas that produced other goods, such as iron, salt, charcoal, and silk, but were paid in copper coins, measured in *mon* (individual coins) and *kanmon* (a thousand coins).¹⁰⁷ Square holes in these coins were used to string them together by the hundred, and units of 100-*mon* became a common denomination in the payment of dues and assessment of duties on the holdings of individual warriors.

Local offices also included particular service duties, expressed as *kuji* (公事, sometimes *kūji* く う し) “costs” or *yaku* (役) “services,” including guard duty and other defense postings as well as human labor and materials for temple and shrine construction, alongside a wide array of other various periodic and irregular levies (often referred to vaguely as *manzō kuji* 万雑公事 in inheritance documents).¹⁰⁸ For warrior *jitō* officers, *kuji* were both prestigious and burdensome, as the occasional tasks such as guard duty in the capital (which would include considerable transportation, lodging, boarding, and equipment costs) had to be independently funded, but were

¹⁰⁶ On forms of *nengu*, including a summary of taxation of goods produced on upland fields, paddies, mountain fields, and aquatic produce, see Amino Yoshiko et al., *Kōza Nihon shōen-shi*, vol. 1, pp. 433-434. Amino comments on the taxation of salt, iron, and wheat in Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol. 3, pp. 334-335. See also Amino Yoshihiko, *Higashi to nishi no kataru Nihon rekishi*, p. 147, which charts non-agricultural *nengu* goods across all provinces. Amino lists the main tax export of Shinano as cloth and white cloth, and that of Ōsumi as rice with leather listed as a secondary tax good. Here, Amino’s research reveals a great variety of tax goods, but also confirms that rice was the most common taxed good across the archipelago, followed by silk. Ideal exchange rates for such goods were set regularly by new emperors, though the significance of those rates in terms of real-world exchange is debatable.

¹⁰⁷ On the shift from produce to coins as the dominant mode of tax payment, see the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for *nengu* (年貢), which describes a shift to a cash economy (*kahei keizai* 貨幣経済) in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. On coins, see Ethan Segal, *Coins, Trade, and the State* and “Awash with Coins.” Large numbers of coins, which had square holes in their center, were kept in strings of 100-*mon*, ten of which formed a *kanmon* (a thousand-*mon*).

¹⁰⁸ On forms of *kuji*, see Amino Yoshiko et al., *Kōza Nihon shōen-shi*, vol. 1, pp. 404-405. See also pp. 129-134 for specific examples of *nengu* and *kuji*. See also Morimoto Masahiro, “Kuji fuka to kippu: Kamakura, Nanbokuchōki ni okeru sōjitō no kuji haibun,” pp. 12-25, which examines the relationship between the division of costs of services by *jitō* among their relatives in the early medieval period. We will see evidence of such division in both the Nejime and the Ichikawa, though they are much more clearly defined in the Ichikawa records. On *manzō kuji*, see Muraishi Masayuki, *Chūsei no keiyaku shakai to monjo*, pp. 113-117 and 155-161 for multiple documentary examples.

also a symbol of status and opportunity to experience and integrate with aristocratic court life.

The initial rise of warriors served to augment the already indirect connections of central elites to their tax base, but in the Kamakura period *jitō* and *shugo* were only meant to siphon off a small amount of local income. The Hōjō founders of the Kamakura regime were themselves newly powerful landholders who were not interested in removing extant structures of local control, but rather in creating a larger place for themselves within it by becoming the de-facto center for the management of the provinces, as well as the largest shareholders in the east.

The rise of the Kamakura regime and the gradual recession of the influence of the Kyoto court represented a shift toward various forms of warrior control, which lasted for centuries.¹⁰⁹ The shift between these two power centers must be understood as a slow one, as “the classical structures of the classical age exhibited great vitality” on one hand, and it took decades for the Kamakura government to properly consolidate its central judicial and political authority.¹¹⁰

In addition to Japan’s shifting political power sphere, many subtler social changes also occurred in the Kamakura Period, which are the primary focus of this dissertation. In its early years, the Kantō (the name of the plains region where Kamakura is situated, and which the warrior government often used in documents to signify itself) was primarily concerned with reining in vassals and pacifying land disputes. Central to such cases were issues of succession and the inheritance rights of various children within a warrior kin group. The reasons for inheritance disputes were varied, particularly because of the possibility and prevalence of multiple relationships within a single kin group and the lack of a defined or normative “family” unit. These shifts are a major focus of this dissertation, which will investigate social change and

¹⁰⁹ Albeit with brief interruption from 1333-1336 by Emperor Go-Daigo, see Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*.

¹¹⁰ Ishimoda Shō, “Japan’s Medieval World,” p. 329.

the evolving functions of kinship through the Nakano/Ichikawa and Nejime case studies.

Late Kamakura

Although its precedential impact would be felt for centuries, Japan's first warrior government was relatively short-lived compared to those that followed it, surviving for about a century and a half before its overthrow in 1333. The Kamakura regime, already facing serious internal problems following the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281, found itself in a direct conflict with the imperial authority in Kyoto for the first time in a century in the 1320s.¹¹¹ After Ashikaga Takauji, a general sent by Kamakura to pacify the capital, betrayed the Hōjō in 1333, the fate of the first warrior regime was sealed, and Japan began to fragment in earnest, thanks to an imperial upstart who rebelled against the very concept of separate warrior power. Emperor Go-Daigo established a new form of imperial rule in Kyoto, which, while exceedingly brief, reframed the dual polity of warriors and the court back into a single unified government.¹¹²

After the fall of the Kamakura polity, both the Ichikawa and the Nejime, like most former Kamakura vassals with established interests and offices, transferred their allegiance to Emperor Go-Daigo's new imperial regime, accepting his offer of reconfirmation of the local status quo and promises of future rewards for sustained allegiance. Thereafter, under the short-lived Kenmu

¹¹¹ The Mongol invasions (*Mōko gassen* 蒙古合戦) of 1274 and 1281 are often cited as a major sea-change for Kamakura, resulting from the inability of the regime to compensate warriors for their service in the defense of Hakata, which unlike previous conflicts, opened no new confiscated land to hand off to supporters. See Yuasa Haruhisa, *Mōko gassen to Kamakura bakufu no metsubō*, especially pp. 134-181 on the various demand the invasions placed on Kamakura and its retainers, and Thomas Conlan, *In Little Need of Divine Intervention*. Kaizu Ichirō compares the Mongol invasions and the activities of various pirates and bandits to modern terrorist attacks for their ability to shift society despite the relatively small scale of violence involved. See Kaizu Ichirō, "'Genkō,' wakō, Nihon kokuō," pp. 1-2, as well as a chart of such catalytic events on pp. 4-5, demonstrating a consistent a frequent pace of outbursts of violence throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This set of events is likely what led many warriors to lament the violent, unstable, or uncertain nature of the early medieval period, a cataclysmic sensibility often cited in bequests that transferred property early to ensure the survival of a kin group across generations.

¹¹² See Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*, which explores the conception of the new regime, the man behind it, and its consequences, as well as Murai Shōsuke, ed., *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, pp. 35-38 for a basic overview of the fall of the Hōjō in current Japanese historiography, with a focus on Ashikaga Takauji.

(1333-1336) government, they each fought as members of the local imperial forces under the Ashikaga in numerous skirmishes and several notable battles with discontented rivals and surviving Hōjō loyalists. Several years later, as relations in the capital soured and Go-Daigo and the Ashikaga clashed, both the Ichikawa and the Nejime followed their local military superiors and sided with Ashikaga Takauji. As low-level warriors under his command structure, they found themselves caught up in large-scale power struggles that would thrust the entire country into sustained war for decades. A long period of division followed, during which reliance on central judicial processes was no longer a realistic way of settling local problems or managing interfamilial disputes. For each warrior kin group or *ichizoku*, the political situation on the local level grew increasingly unstable, and feuding central powers were no longer the reliable sources of stability they had once been.

The fall of the Kamakura regime in 1333 represents one of the most turbulent political moments in Japanese history. The by-then bureaucratically inclined warrior class turned on its heels with remarkable swiftness, embracing its violent namesake on a scale not witnessed since the time of the Minamoto and the Genpei War of the early 1180s.¹¹³ Yet even as their patron institution faltered, some warriors like the Ichikawa (by then socially distinct from their Nakano forebears) and the Nejime weathered the storm with surprising cohesion and resilience. Others were not so fortunate. As some warriors seized the opportunity provided by the haze of warfare to settle their longstanding internal rivalries and fragmented, others, like our two subjects, successfully established and maintained internal order in the absence of judiciary mediation.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Karl Friday, *Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, p. 128.

¹¹⁴ Throughout this paper, I refer to warrior “families,” “groups,” or “networks” as opposed to “clans.” While these terms are all to some degree interchangeable, my focus is on direct household and other social bonds rather than upon wider, politicized clan organizations, which became significantly more important and well-defined in the Sengoku period, and were also predominant in Heian aristocratic circles. Periodically, I may refer to larger groups of warriors as “clans,” indicating a more extended (and more socially independent) set of relatives than I am otherwise concerned with in this paper. I would not categorize either the Nakano/Ichikawa or the Nejime as a “clan” in the

I will explore the largely fractured and regionalized course of medieval Japanese history following the collapse of Kamakura through the individual histories of the Nejime and Ichikawa. Although these two groups were not major players in the context of the entire country, they interacted with key political and military figures and engaged in some of the most well-known provincial conflicts of the Kenmu (1333-1336), Nanbokuchō (1336-1392), and Muromachi (1392-1573) periods. In this sense, these two “local” case studies provide a fascinating, ground-up perspective of military rivalries in the Kantō and Kyushu.

The wide ranging political, economic, and environmental milieu of the early medieval period produced a variety of largely unique local situations. Our two warrior groups not only inhabited vastly different natural environments, but also found different niches within the local politics of their territories. Let us examine the highly particular situations of the early Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa, which will serve as an introduction to the general political and economic positions of these two groups.

The Nejime and the Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū

At the start of the Kamakura period, the Nejime held ties to both of their provincial governors, as evidenced by their dual positions of *gunji* (郡司), an older title derived from service to the *kokushi* absentee or “civil” governor and *jitō-shiki* (地頭職), the office held by warriors across the country which became a primary feature the Kamakura polity on the ground-level, binding them to their provincial *shugo*, the “military” governors that managed the local *jitō* “estate stewards.”¹¹⁵ The Nejime tie to the *kokushi* was linked to state tax structure, dating back

twelfth through fifteenth centuries, although the Nejime took on some diffuse, clan-like structures by the late medieval period.

¹¹⁵ Nejime officers also used the title of *inshi* (院司) after the administrative north/south division of Nejime-*in* was abandoned in the late fourteenth century (a topic I will expand on in Chapter V), though *gunji* is by far the more common term throughout the *Nejime Monjo* record.

to a period before the donation of Minamimata to the Hachiman shrine in the late Heian period, when the region became part of a *shōen*.¹¹⁶

The Nejime home of Minamimata (南俣), a geographically delineated administrative sub-region made up of the southern half of Nejime-*in* (禰寢院), is listed in the 1197 *Kenkyū-zudenchō* (建久図田帳) land survey as a part of the estate of the Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū (大隅正八幡宮) shrine.¹¹⁷ This meant the Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū taxed both self-contained agricultural plots (*myō* 名 and *sono* 園, often of wholly indeterminate and highly variable size) as well as individual fields (*ta* 田 paddies and possibly some *hatake* 畠 upland fields, such as those included in warrior inheritances) in Minamimata.¹¹⁸ That shrine, alongside the Nitta Hachimangū (新田八幡宮) in neighboring Satsuma, formed the southern core of a network of Kyushu shrines linked to the central *shōen* proprietorship of the Iwashimizu Hachimangū (石清水八幡宮) in Kyoto.¹¹⁹ The Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū controlled numerous properties in Satsuma and Ōsumi

¹¹⁶ This process is difficult to trace, and often goes unmentioned in descriptions of Nejime-*in*. For example, the *Nihon shōen daijiten*, pp. 897-898 contains a lengthy description of the history of Nejime-*in* and those that inhabited it, but lists Minamimata only as the property of the Shō-Hachimangū, with no further explication of the history of the connection between the Nejime and the shrine, or the shrine and the *honke* of Iwashimizu or its status as land that shifted from *kōryō* to *shōen* relatively late, in the final decades of the Heian period. I will explore this early set of ties further in Chapter VI.

¹¹⁷ Kenkyū 8 (1197).6 *Ōsumi no kuni zudenchō utsushi* (*Kamakura ibun*, vol. 2: 924, hereafter *KI*, 2:1378). The possession of Minamimata by the shrine was the result of the transfer of the property by the Takebe predecessors of the Nejime in the late Heian period, a local *zaichō kanjin* (local officers under the *kokushi* governor) who gave up control of the peninsula to the shrine to escape tax debts in the late Heian period. This process involved the transition of Minamimata into part of a *shōen*, having previously been managed by *kokushi* and their deputies, of which the Nejime were the most minor. I will detail the history of the estate from the Nejime perspective in Chapter IV. The northern half of Nejime-*in*, or Kitamata (北俣) is listed as Shimazu-*shō* (島津庄) land, and totaled 40.5 *chō*, an almost even split. Although the southern half of the peninsula is much larger in total area than the north, it contains less flatland suitable for agriculture, which was the primary focus of the surveyors. The Nejime and their Sata cousins each had *jitō* offices, though the Nejime were also the *gunji* (郡司) with overarching administrative power derived from the civilian *kokushi* governor in addition to their *jitō-shiki*. For a full tally from the survey across Satsuma and Ōsumi, see Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, pp. 106-109.

¹¹⁸ Scattered records, which I will examine in Chapter IV, reveal that the early Takebe Nejime themselves contributed land to the Hachimangū, and were initially closely linked to its assertion of rights on the Ōsumi peninsula as shrine officers.

¹¹⁹ See Kagoshima-ken, ed. *Kagoshima ken-shi.*, vol. 1, p. 203.

provinces, totaling 225.3 *chō* of cropland in Satsuma and 1296.3 *chō* in Ōsumi (Minamimata totaled 40-*chō*).¹²⁰

No direct records from or references to the Iwashimizu shrine itself appear in the *Nejime Monjo*.¹²¹ Ties to a central courtly estate of any kind are only clearly expressed in a single set of documents from the turn of the thirteenth century, which settled the matter of local management in favor of the Nejime over a rival group, the Hishikari (菱刈).¹²² Instead, the Nejime interacted with several local religious institutions (who were *ryōke* 領家) in Kyushu that represented the central *shōen* rightholder in Kyoto (the *honke* 本家). A 1207 *kudashibumi* record from the Mirokuji temple house office (*Mirokuji jike kumonjo* 弥勒寺寺家公文所) followed in the same year by a longer *kudashibumi* from the Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū *kumonjo* express these ties.¹²³ Both documents supported the Nejime over the Hishikari, and invoked the will of Kamakura alongside that of the *honke* that the Nejime become the local steward (*jitō*) of the estate. The Hachimangū's document included a copy of an *onkudashibumi* proof record from the *honke* (本家) transmitted by the Hachimangū alongside an order from Kamakura founder Minamoto no Yoritomo himself.¹²⁴ These two orders each stated that Minamimata, being the Hachimangū's

¹²⁰ See Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, p. 111 for a full tally of regional holdings listed in the 1197 survey.

¹²¹ This is not unusual, as the Nejime were not a part of Iwashimizu's older network of representatives but rather an additional outgrowth of local warrior control.

¹²² The series of records, not all of which are numbered or have survived, are listed in *Kagoshima-ken shiryō, kyūki zatsuroku shūi iewake*, volume 1, pp. 172-176 (hereafter *KKSI* vol. 1, pp.#172-176, or by document number). The records express overlapping support by temple, shrine, and warrior authorities for the Nejime and condemnation of the Hishikari, a neighboring rival whose conflict with the Nejime lasted for decades. I will detail this conflict further in Chapter IV. The full series of records on the case on the Hishikari and Nejime conflict from the perspective of the temple and shrine can be found in *KKSI* vol. 1, documents #268-270 and #280-284. I will explore this local conflict between the Nejime and the Hishikari further in Chapter IV.

¹²³ Ken'ei 2 (1207).3.30 *Mirokuji jike kumonjo kudashibumi* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #269), and Ken'ei 2 (1207).5.17 *Ōsumi Shōhachimangū kumonjo kudashibumi* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #270).

¹²⁴ Ken'ei 2 (1207).5.17 *Ōsumi Shōhachimangū kumonjo kudashibumi* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #270). A *migyōsho* decree from the Kamakura-dono (Minamoto no Yoritomo) precedes the *Honke kudashibumi* in the list of two attached records, and the Hishikari are commanded several times to follow the mandate set forth in both documents and cease their interference in Nejime affairs, which are framed as illegal seizures or pillage (*ranbō* 濫妨). This case reveals an

shrine land (*shinryō* 神領), was to be managed locally by the Nejime, as officers of the shrine, without outside interference.¹²⁵

It is not clear whether the “*honke onkudashibumi*” in question is actually the same earlier *kudashibumi* document from Mirokuji or a separate, missing record from Iwashimizu itself, as no specific name for the *honke* is listed by the Hachimangū.¹²⁶ According to the *Kagoshima ken-shi*, The “Mirokuji” in Nejime records (a name common to multiple provincial temples) was the sister temple to the Usa Hachimangū (宇佐八幡宮) shrine in Bungo Province, on the northeastern end of Kyushu, another part of Iwashimizu’s extensive religious *shōen* network.¹²⁷ *Honke* terminology is nominally reserved for the *shōen* proprietor in Kyoto, and it is at least possible that a document from Iwashimizu itself was sent to confirm the Nejime, though it has not survived.

In the case of Minamimata, the bulk of taxed goods and cash (that which was not kept as salary by the Nejime or for ritual expenses in Kyushu shrines) was sent first to the provincial Hachiman shrine (by the Nejime), then north to Mirokuji in Bungo (by the Hachimangū), and from there forwarded on toward Kyoto and the central Iwashimizu *shōen* authority. Some areas of Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū land outside Nejime-*in* were not a part of the set of Iwashimizu *shōen*, and were instead divided off as *furyō* (府領), subject to taxation by the Dazaifu in Hakata, but all the core Nejime property (other than later acquisitions from the fourteenth century) fell

interesting and somewhat unique political dynamic in which overlapping religious *shōen* authorities worked alongside and cooperatively with the Kamakura warrior polity to ouster one set of *jitō* officers (the Hishikari) in favor of another (the Nejime), which they each had more confidence in as a local manager. Because the shrine shared older official and economic ties with the Nejime that predated the initial selection of the Hishikari as Kamakura *jitō*, shrine officials were likely motivated to support the effort to reinstate the Nejime as estate stewards and local managers in the area.

¹²⁵ On the Nejime as shrine officers, see Gomi Yoshio, *Kamakura bakufu no gokeninsei to minami Kyūshū*, p. 328, on the donation of land to the shrine, see p. 218

¹²⁶ Ken’ei 2 (1207).5.17 *Ōsumi Shōhachimangū kumonjo kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #270).

¹²⁷ *Kagoshima-ken-shi*, vol. 1, p. 203.

squarely under the Iwashimizu *shōen* network in terms of taxation, including the primary set of fields and residences in Kōrimoto (郡本), where the *ichizoku* owned and passed down multiple parallel sets of paddy, upland, and *sono* (園) agricultural villages.¹²⁸ Because only a small initial set of records survives, the ongoing nature of the Nejime relationship to the Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū after 1207 is unclear. Few records survive past the turn of the thirteenth century that reference the shrine at all.

The Nakano/Ichikawa as Hōjō Representatives

The original Nakano homeland includes two separate territories within a single district of northern Shinano Province, each of which the Ichikawa later inherited through adoptive succession. Because it was both little-developed in the Heian period and had a small number of inhabitants, administrative units (mostly *gun* 郡 and *gō* 郷 within them) in northern Shinano tend to be significantly larger than their counterparts in more populous areas.

The first of two major Nakano properties is recorded in their earliest record from 1170, which conveys a *gesu-shiki* (下司職) post to a local named Fujiwara Sukehiro (藤原助弘) thereafter known as Nakano Sukehiro) in the western or “Nishijō” (西条) section of Nakano-gō (中野郷, often referred to as “Nakano Nishijō” 中野西条) on the southern end of Takai district (高井郡) in northern Shinano Province, near the provincial capital and Zenkōji temple.¹²⁹ *Gesu-*

¹²⁸ Ogawa-in (小川院) is one example of a later Nejime property that was divided between *shōen* (under the Shōhachimangū) and *kokugaryō*. Nejime land in Ogawa was not part of a *shōen*, and was instead a state tax-land holdout. See the *Kagoshima-ken shiryō*, p. 204, and *Nihon shōen shiryō*, p. 875 on Ogawa-in and p. 877 on Nejime-in.

¹²⁹ Kaō 2 (1170).2.27 *Bō kudashibumi*, in *Heian Ibun*, volume 7, document #3531 (Hereafter *HI*, 7:3531). The document conveying the *gesu-shiki* includes an unknown seal (*kaō* 花押) but no signature, and the author is unknown. The former Nakano-gō is now part of Nakano city, where Nishijō remains as a prominent place name. Nakano-gō was divided into western, central, and eastern portions. See also Nagano-ken, eds. *Nagano ken-shi*, vol. 2, chūsei #1, p. 314. For more on the early Nakano and the Fujiwara origins of the name group alongside the origins of Nakano-gō, see Gōdō Noriaki, “Nakano-gō to Nakano ichizoku,” especially the summary on pp. 901-903.

shiki were a form of on-site managerial position (held by *geshi* 下司 officers) found in *shōen* and *kōryō*, and were similar in rank and function to the later *jitō-shiki* popularized by the Kamakura regime.¹³⁰ Nakano-gō was part of an early *maki* (牧)¹³¹ or undeveloped “grazing land” nominally for the horses of imperial elites, and was likely not built up for intensive agriculture until the end of the Heian period when the *gesu-shiki* was established.¹³² The *Nagano ken-shi* lists Nishijō as a part of the “public” *kōryō* in Takai-gun.¹³³

Early Nakano records demonstrate a close relationship with both the Minamoto and the Hōjō forged through a sustained military alliance. The Nakano progenitor Sukehiro received a confirmation of his holdings in 1180 from Kiso Yoshinaka (木曾義仲, or Minamoto no Yoshinaka), Yoritomo’s cousin, during the outbreak of the Genpei war (1180-1185).¹³⁴ Later in the war, in 1183, the post was confirmed again by Ano Zenjō (阿野全成 also read Ano Zensei), Minamoto no Yoritomo’s half-brother and general, in a document sent specifically at the behest of Yoritomo himself (listed as the Kamakura-dono 鎌倉殿).¹³⁵

Soon after the establishment of the Kamakura polity, as a part of Yoritomo’s country-wide effort to solidify links to local authority figures, Sukehiro’s *gesu-shiki* in Nakano Nishijō

¹³⁰ See the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry for *gesu-shiki* (下司職).

¹³¹ On *maki*, see Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol. 3, pp. 377-381, which defines the term at length and lists Shinano as an area where little-developed grazing land was prominent. The authors detail payments of tax to the Kamakura polity and later daimyo in the form of horses from *maki* grazing land, indicating that breeding horses was one productive economic activity on these plots.

¹³² *Nagano-ken shi, tsūshi hen*, vol. 2, pp. 314-315. The early succession of the Nakano is described on p. 314, and a map of northern Shinano *shōen* (which were particularly convoluted) appears on p. 315, listing Nakano as *Nakano-maki* (中野牧). Though not specific to Nakano, see also Ihara Kesao, *Takai chihō no chūsei-shi*, p. 22, which includes a description of the banks of the Chikuma river as a space used for grazing horses and cows, including sacred horses (*shinme* or *shinba* 神馬) for the Ise shrine, which had a branch in the Takanashi territory, also within Takai-gun. On the Takai / Ise shrine connection, see Ihara Kesao, “Takai chihō no chūsei-shi (1),” pp. 55-56. Ihara details several specialty goods, including medicinals and fibrous plants used for making rough cloth, though these go unmentioned in Nakano/Ichikawa records.

¹³³ *Nagano-ken shi, tsūshi hen*, vol. 2, p. 289. A full list of all the districts in Shinano, each divided into their *shōen* and *kōryō* parts, appears on pp. 288-289.

¹³⁴ Jishō 4 (1180).11.13 Kiso Yoshinaka kudashibumi (*Shinano shiryō*, volume 3, p. 65, hereafter SNS, 3, p. 65).

¹³⁵ Juei 2 (1183).12.7 Daigoji Zenjō kudashibumi (SNS, 3, pp. 289-290).

was converted into a *jitō-shiki* awarded by the office of the Shogun (*shōgunke mandokoro* 將軍家政所) in 1192.¹³⁶ This post remained in the successive property portfolio for the next several hundred years, although as we will see in the detailed survey of Nakano/Ichikawa records in Chapters IV and V, the Nakano property was neither the site of primary residence for the group, nor did it always remain securely in their possession after the collapse of the Kamakura regime.

The second, and ultimately more significant holding for the Nakano/Ichikawa, which grew into their primary residence and seat of authority, rests deep in the northern alps on the edge of Shinano and Echigo provinces (modern Nagano and Niigata prefectures) at the northern terminus of Takai district. The area, called Shikumi (志久見, occasionally written 志久美), includes a mountain, river, and valley by the same name, as well as a half-dozen small villages that developed from the late Heian period onward and appear in Ichikawa records.¹³⁷ The first known reference to Shikumi appears in 1184, when Ano Zenjō conveyed an initial *jishu-shiki* (地主職) post, which preceded the creation of *jitō-shiki* by Kamakura.¹³⁸ Notably, at this point, Shikumi was not labeled by any conventional language of established administrative land divisions or districting (as a *gō*, *in*, *gun*, or otherwise), and was instead listed only as “Shikumi mountain” (*Shikumi-yama* 志久見山), evidence of the very late development of the area.¹³⁹

As we will learn in Chapter III, Shikumi is poorly suited to adaptation by humans, and was probably not developed at all in the formative periods of either early *kōryō* or later *shōen*, resulting in its status outside either category as a blank hinterland region within Takai-*gun*.

¹³⁶ Kenkyū 3 (1192).12.10 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 2:645 and SNS, 3, pp. 440-441).

¹³⁷ On the development of Shikumi, see Ishizawa Saburō, “Ichikawa-shi to Shikumi-gō,” especially pp. 39-40. See also the *Nihon shōen shiryō* on Takai (高井), pp. 461-462, which also includes an entry for Nakano (中野).

¹³⁸ Juei 3 (1184).3.6 *Daigoji Zenjō kudashibumi* (SNS, 3, pp. 357-358). Note: most records from this time in 1184 had switched to the Genryaku (元暦) era name.

¹³⁹ Juei 3 (1184).3.6 *Daigoji Zenjō kudashibumi* (SNS, 3, pp. 357-358).

Yoritomo sought to fill in such blank spaces (creating much-needed land to reward his supporters) by creating new offices like the *jishu-shiki* for the mountain in 1184.¹⁴⁰ In 1192, alongside the *jitō-shiki* in Nakano Nishijō, a second *jitō-shiki* over “Shikimi mountain” (*Shikimi yama* 嵯山 - apparently an alternate or incorrect “spelling” of the new sub-region’s name) was also conveyed to Fujiwara (Nakano) Sukehiro.¹⁴¹ The initial creation of the office was short-lived; in 1203 the Kantō cancelled the *jitō-shiki* in Shikumi and the Nakano portfolio was revised to include only the concomitant income rights of such a post (and none of the administrative rights, such as police authority or tax collection, that came with it).¹⁴² By that time, Fujiwara (Nakano) Sukehiro selected Fujiwara (Nakano) Yoshinari as his heir, presumably as an adoptee due to their differentiated personal names, though no bequest survives. Importantly, the 1203 record refers to Shikumi for the first time as a *gō* (郷, regularly translated as “village” or “township,” though in this case being much larger – the calculation behind such designations was ultimately bound to population), presumably meant to fall under Takai-gun.¹⁴³ The new *gō* is also listed as “*Haruchika-ryō*” (春近領). Haruchika (春近) is a fictitious name applied to powerful locals (such as the Nakano/Ichikawa) who carved out new estates in Shinano in formerly undeveloped areas (like Shikumi).¹⁴⁴ Takai-gun is one of the prototypical locations for

¹⁴⁰ I will explore the unique features of the Nakano/Ichikawa estate, which provided redeeming ritual, political, and military values sufficient to maintain a *jitō* officer in the area for the Kamakura and following regimes, in Chapter III. There is particular value in studying the development of Shikumi, as few well-documented examples of properties outside the two overarching categorizations of land (*shōen* and *kōryō*) exist, and the Ichikawa records are highly informative in this regard.

¹⁴¹ Kenkyū 3 (1192).12.10 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 2:645 and SNS, 3, pp. 440-441).

¹⁴² Kennin 3 (1203).9.23 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 3:1381 and SNS, 3, pp. 501-502).

¹⁴³ Kennin 3 (1203).9.23 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 3:1381 and SNS, 3, pp. 501-502). Nakano Yoshinari is well-known, and appears often in general histories, even those focused on far-off Kyushu! See Gomi Yoshio, *Kamakura bakufu no gokeninsei to minami Kyūshū*, p. 66, where Gomi mentions records of Yoshinari (Nakano Gorō) from the *Azuma Kagami*. As I will discuss shortly, Yoshinari’s presence in the official chronicle of the Kamakura polity illustrates his close ties to the regime.

¹⁴⁴ See the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai* entry for Ina-shi (伊那市) Kode-mura (小出村) *Haruchika-ryō* (春近領), which lists this category of land as a late-Heian development that occurred as a part of the appropriation of undeveloped, nominally *kokugaryō* land on the local level. See also Inagaki Yasuhiko, *Nihon chūsei shakai shiron*,

the creation of *Haruchika-ryō*, a name used to refer to Shikumi from its inception.¹⁴⁵ Earlier lists of the extant *gō* within Takai-gun from the mid-Heian period or earlier do not list Shikumi at all.¹⁴⁶ Thus, by the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, the Nakano were established as local agents of two sets of what amounted to a form of highly specialized *kōryō* in Takai-gun, which they established themselves.

A total of five records from the *Azuma Kagami* (the official contemporary chronicle of the Kamakura court from 1180-1266, much of it written decades after the fact and of dubious veracity) deal with Nakano Yoshinari. No direct parallel records survive in the *Ichikawa Monjo*, but the contents of this section of *Azuma Kagami* is at least partially substantiated by overlap with surviving references in contemporary documents.¹⁴⁷ Most significant to this study, two 1203 records from the *Azuma Kagami* (from 1203.9.2 and 1203.9.3) state that Nakano Yoshinari fought in the campaign against (and may have participated in the assassination of) Hiki Yoshikazu (比企能員), a conspirator against the Hōjō and the final powerful Minamoto relative who stood between them and hegemony in the east.¹⁴⁸ The record states that Ichikawa Bettō Gorō (市河別當五郎) also fought against the Hiki; this was possibly the initial meeting of the

chapter 9, part 3, which includes an extensive section on *Haruchika-ryō* as a Shinano-originating phenomenon (pp. 392-409). See also Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, pp. 58-67 on the development of Shikumi as *Haruchika* land under Nakano Yoshinari.

¹⁴⁵ Kennin 3 (1203).9.23 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 3:1381 and SNS, 3, pp. 501-502). In 1300, the Hōjō set taxes on the Ichikawa *Haruchika-ryō* at 200-mon in cash per 1-tan of fields. See Shōan 2 (1300).11.8 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 27:20628, SNS, 4, p. 498).

¹⁴⁶ *Nagano-ken shi, tsūshi hen*, vol. 2, pp. 314-315. See also *Nagano-ken shi*, vol. 1, *genshi, kodai*, pp. 406-408, which includes a list of all the original Shinano provincial *gun* (郡) and the *gō* (郷) within them, and pp. 420-422, which details the original *gō* subsections of Takai, including Hoshina (穂科), Ōna (小内), Inamuki (稲向), Hinno (日野 - ひんの), and Kōbe (神戸). The exact locations of these original subsections are largely unknown.

¹⁴⁷ Nagano-ken, eds. *Nagano ken-shi*, vol. 2, *chūsei* 1, p. 120 includes a useful chart on each of these discrepancies, and the five mentions of the Nakano in the *Azuma Kagami* that are not paralleled in the *Ichikawa Monjo*. I draw very little from the *Azuma Kagami*. On the problematic nature of the *Azuma Kagami* as a historical source, see Gomi Fumihiko, *Azuma Kagami no hōhō: jijitsu to shinwa ni miru chūsei*.

¹⁴⁸ The *Azuma Kagami* (吾妻鏡) can be found in *Shintei zōho kokushi taiki* (among other collections). The sections of the *Azuma Kagami* that mention Nakano Yoshinari are reproduced in SNS, 3, pp. 499-500. See also Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, pp. 25-41 on Yoshinari and the Minamoto, and especially pp. 25-26 on the *Azuma Kagami* as the earliest recorded documented date for Yoshinari.

Nakano and Ichikawa kin groups, which would link through adoption thereafter.¹⁴⁹ Yoshinari's participation in the destruction of Yoshikazu and the rest of the Hiki further solidified the Nakano tie to the Hōjō. The *Ichikawa Monjo* does not confirm Yoshinari's participation in the hunt; but in a record from the day after Yoshikazu's assassination, Hōjō Tokimasa provided Yoshinari (listed as the "Shinano resident Nakano Gorō" *Shinano no kuni jūnin Nakano Gorō* 信濃国住人中野五郎) with a confirmation document for all his land (*honshō ando seshimu no jō* 令安堵本所之状).¹⁵⁰

Through careful alliance-building with the most powerful group in the east, Nakano Sukehiro (and Yoshinari after him) established himself as a rightholder in an area that had yet to formally exist in administrative terms, and its initial designation as imperial land seems to have resulted in the cancellation of the original *jitō-shiki* over the mountain. The full reestablishment of a *jitō-shiki* in Shikumi would not occur for two decades, in 1224, when the office was recreated (this time for Shikumi-gō rather than Shikumi-yama).¹⁵¹ In a second document from 1224, authored by the Kamakura regent (*shikken* 執権, the effective head of the regime after the death of Yoritomo) Hōjō Yasutoki, the central proprietorship of Shikumi is listed as that of "Suruga no kami" (するが守), a title held by his younger brother Hōjō Shigetoki (future *Rokuhara Tandai* 六波羅探題, the highest officer of the Kamakura regime in Kyoto, who later became *shikken* as well).¹⁵² This document confirms concretely that the development of Shikumi was under the direct control of the Hōjō with the Nakano as its local agents, who received the

¹⁴⁹ See *SNS*, 3, pp. 498-499.

¹⁵⁰ Kennin 3 (1203).9.4 *Hōjō Tokimasa kudashibumi* (*KI*, 3, 1378 and *SNS*, 3, pp. 499-500).

¹⁵¹ Jōō 3 (1224).11.11 *Kantō gechijō* (*KI*, 5:3307; *SNS*, 3, pp. 612-613).

¹⁵² On the earlier history of warriors in Rokuhara, a section of Kyoto and former seat of power held by the Taira, later converted into a judicial branch office by the Hōjō, see Gomi Fumihiko, "Insei to tennō," pp. 99-101.

post as reward for ongoing military service to the Kantō.¹⁵³ From that point forward, the Hōjō, alongside the Suwa shrine that they controlled, were the central proprietors of Shikumi.¹⁵⁴

A close link to the Hōjō meant that, in contrast to the Nejime and most other nascent warriors, the early Nakano had only minimal ties to Kyoto through their Nishijō land, and the bulk of their income and property was not part of the local administration of a Kyoto-based estate. The Nakano and Ichikawa were much more closely linked to the Hōjō *shugo* than the *kokushi* in Shinano, a predictable relationship given their close ties to the Kamakura administration that stemmed back to the opening of the Genpei War and remained solid throughout the opening decades of the Kamakura period. As we will see in Chapters II and IV, service to Kamakura in the Jōkyū War in 1222 solidified the position of both the Nakano and the Ichikawa (at that time still separate entities) as faithful Hōjō loyalists.¹⁵⁵ Nakano allegiance during the conflict also resulted in the full restoration of *jitō* rights, and soon after, the passage of special rights of non-entry by the deputies of the Shinano *shugo* (a right conferred by new *shugo* and central rightholder over Shikumi, Hōjō Shigetoki) which solidified a direct connection from Shikumi to the Hōjō *shugo* that passed to him from the Nakano/Ichikawa, and established Shikumi as what historians call *shugo-ryō* (守護領), or land held under the direct authority of the provincial *shugo* rather than any Kyoto capital elite.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Jōō 3 (1224).11.13 *Hōjō Yasutoki shojō* (KI, 5:3308, SNS, 3, p. 613).

¹⁵⁴ For a concise review of the early history of the Nakano holdings, which reflects my own findings, see Okada Seiichi, *Kamakura bakufu to tōgoku*, pp. 161-162, though this summary only covers the transfer from the Fujiwara to the Nakano. I will overview the connection between Shikumi and the Suwa Shrine in Chapter III.

¹⁵⁵ The Jōkyū War was a watershed moment early in Hōjō rule of Kamakura and the Kantō. See Ishii Susumu, “Jū-ni: jū-san seiki no Nihon: kodai kara chūsei he,” pp. 60-66 on the conflict and its significance as a turning point that led to the expansion of the *jitō* at the expense of the *higokenin*, non-vassals whose lands were confiscated en masse and transferred to those who served Kamakura in the war. On the strengthening and expansion of *jitō* (such as the Nakano/Ichikawa), see p. 63.

¹⁵⁶ Karoku 1 (1225).9.16 *Hōjō Shigetoki kakikudashi* (KI, 5:3406, SNS, 3, p. 617). Shigetoki became *shugo* of Shinano in the same year, and held the position until 1246. This special right of non-entry by his deputies put the Nakano on an equal footing with other powerful regional Hōjō deputies.

Situated in a Hōjō bailiwick, the Nakano were inserted or confirmed (it is ultimately unclear whether or not the Nakano lived in Shikumi before their official position there was established, and I suspect they moved there during the Genpei war to solidify the Shinano-Echigo border) as local *jitō* officers in control of multiple northerly plots of wildland and mountains as well as a few small villages that were neither categorized as part of a *shōen* (taxed by an independent entity) nor as a part of *kōryō* land (taxed by the imperial house and the *kokushi* governors), and were developed through their connection to the new warrior regime.¹⁵⁷ Instead, the sparsely inhabited area that became Shikumi-gō could not be legally ratified as substantial enough to support a *jitō* until that land was coded into the country-wide network of provincial administrative designations.

Such a position was uncommon, and is undoubtedly due to the precarious physical layout of Shikumi-gō (志久見郷), an area nominally categorized as a part of provincial *kōryō* districting (as a part of Takai-gun) but without any known central tax duty before the Kamakura period. Instead, the core territory of Shikumi-gō was a part of the set of local tributary estates of the Suwa shrine, in central Shinano, and was taxed at a fixed rate in cash. There are several possible reasons for the absence of *shōen* or *kōryō* status in Shikumi, although the most obvious is the lack of productive capacity in the region, which is largely mountainous hinterland that is useful neither for human habitation nor for farming or extracting resources due to its remoteness.

Critical Concerns: What is Warrior “Family” and Where is it Hidden?

The word “family,” when applied to Kamakura Japan, is rightly viewed by historians as

¹⁵⁷ On the significance and liminality of borders, especially naturally-derived border zones (which ultimately delineated many political divisions in the premodern period), see Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol.15, pp. 91-138, and especially p. 93 on the natural delineation of various types of border space.

problematic, given the evident divisiveness of many social practices in the period.¹⁵⁸ Marked by deception and betrayal, the Japanese warrior *ichizoku* of the twelfth and thirteenth century is often more aptly characterized as a grouping of competitors for prominence than by a set of cooperative or “loving” relationships. Vicious disputes between siblings, parents, adoptees, and other kin were frequent causes of legal cases brought before the courts in Kamakura, Kyoto, and Kyushu.¹⁵⁹ Even prior to the establishment of these official court extensions, the two political centers of Kamakura and Kyoto overlapped in multiple aspects of their influence, and much of their judicial task was to settle rivalries that came from within kin groups rather than without.¹⁶⁰ Internal rivalries were regularly handled by the Kamakura court directly in lengthy trials and appeals, and we can get some sense of the normative elements of kinship practice through the cases and judgments of the Kamakura judiciary. Within the legal framework of the time, little if anything was proscribed in terms of familial makeup and succession, and the warrior government was not capable of or interested in mandating modes of kinship.¹⁶¹

As a result, and because of the variety of situations in which warriors lived across Japan’s long island chain, an unusually wide variation of social configurations was ubiquitous. Given a

¹⁵⁸ I have searched for a single word that equated to a definition of “family” in Kamakura documents, and have been unsuccessful in finding one. The epistemological problem presented by such a lack of parity with modern social language is reflected in the way I categorize “family” here. I will generally use the deliberately mercurial “kin group” in this dissertation to describe warrior *ichizoku*.

¹⁵⁹ The Kamakura polity maintained a second legal court in Rokuhara, Kyoto (under a pair of chief judges called the Rokuhara *Tandai*) as an extension of its influence into western Japan from 1221 onward as a result of the Jōkyū war. A third judiciary establishment in Kyushu, founded in 1293 at Hakata (the mandated foreign entry point into Japan) under the singular Chinzei *Tandai*, was formed to perform legal service in the region due to increased petitions related to the Mongol invasions of Hakata in 1274 and 1281.

¹⁶⁰ For further explanation of the expansion and function of these courts themselves, see Andrew Goble, “The Kamakura Bakufu and Its Officials,” which provides detailed explanation of the legal system. Though legal channels were clearly convoluted and there were often several paths of inquiry for those seeking justice, the most serious claims by local warriors usually passed through their provincial *shugo* governor before they were sent on to the nearest major court in Kyushu, Kyoto, or Kamakura. Issues of the greatest complexity or requiring the highest level of legal judgement were handled in Kamakura regardless of local proximity, usually with both plaintiff and defendant present for the ruling.

¹⁶¹ See Asakawa Kan’ichi, *The Documents of Iriki*. See document #111. Asakawa’s commentary describes the “...remarkable degree of freedom shown in the devise and disposition of feudal holdings within the vassal’s family.”

society in which variation (environmental, political, material, and social) was the norm, it is difficult to determine in what way the terminology of “family” is realistically applicable.

Inherent to this issue is that the family is a socially constructed set of relationships, which has evolved over time and in different ways throughout the history of humanity. Finding what was “normal” or common to warrior kinship is in many ways impossible, because each kin group developed in accords with its own specific sets of relationships.

The most general, but also perhaps the greatest concern moving forward, which I would implore the reader to keep in mind during my detailed analysis of the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime, is that the legal and political systems of Kamakura and the military exigencies of Nanbokuchō tend to overshadow the social realities of kin groups themselves. Because surviving documents were geared toward or produced by Kamakura and its judiciary arms, or the Ashikaga and their generals, there is a tendency among all surviving documents to obscure any detail that was not directly relevant to the political operation of these regimes, even in the context of local officers, who produced their records primarily to communicate with superiors. I will do my best in the following chapters to explore the possibilities of missing information, and provide some form of explanation for the elements of warrior social life that go missing in court records.¹⁶²

I would also note that the documents that provide a clear window into the operation of warrior kin relations often exist because of some major conflict, which necessitated a legal hearing surrounding inheritance or succession. When conflict was nonexistent, less is known

¹⁶² Sources other than the typical legal and judicial records have of course been employed by numerous scholars, including Hotate Michihisa, Tabata Yasuko, and Amino Yoshihiko. Related to my study of the Nakano/Ichikawa is Danbara Naganori’s “Nishijō higashi yashikizoe iseki no hakkutsu chōsa (1),” which uses extensive archaeological excavation data to examine the size and character of a medieval residence owned by the Nakano and Ichikawa. Ive Covaci edited a collection of essays on sculpture in the Kamakura period, in *Kamakura: Realism and Spirituality in the Sculpture of Japan*. Painted depictions of various elements of medieval society feature in several of Andrew Goble’s works on disease and medicine, and in Thomas Conlan’s *In Little Need of Divine Intervention* (on the Mongol invasion scrolls), among others.

about these groups, and it is therefore exceedingly easy to imagine the social units that we learn about through lawsuits as constantly embroiled in internal dispute. Such quarrels were frequent, and were clearly significant to the development and shape of individual modes of warrior kinship. However, one of the most important and less explored areas of social development was the increasing trend toward avoiding conflict in court in favor of localized methods of conflict resolution, group structure, and kin management that may have been less damaging to the corporate entity than legal battles. Such methods appear in many bequests, which often became increasingly complex in the late Kamakura period, particularly in cases when individuals endured major trials regarding internal property disputes that led to years or even decades of struggle in local and/or central courts.

Records of court cases and succession also increasingly marginalize those outside the mainstream of inheritance schemes, and probably make them appear more marginalized and separate from the main group of inheritors than they really were. This is again a symptom of legal documents, which carry little in terms of unrelated detail and usually focus on only a small core of constituents and their rivals. As I have already mentioned, inheritance trends increasingly left out women and secondary sons, who were excluded from major inheritances on a regular basis. The result is that there are often only brief, tangential mentions of a large proportion of relatives, who were outside the mainstream recordkeeping of the group and are therefore unconnected and may seem unbounded to the social network in official documents.

It is critical not to conflate a lack of inheritance with a lack of social influence, contribution, or kinship. This issue is best explored through the detail of individual records, but it is highly unlikely that otherwise highly resourceful groups of warriors wasted the social and human capital of collaterals. When we do get glimpses of daughters, secondary sons, wives,

mothers, aunts, uncles, and other relatives, they are not those of idle, sidelined, or wholly dependent kin, but rather of active social, military, economic, and administrative actors.

Because *shiki* were most often limited to single individuals whose need to produce documents was driven by their offices and therefore more regular than those without such appointments (be they *jitō-shiki*, *azukaridokoro-shiki*, *shugo-shiki*, or otherwise), those who lacked such official capacities are much harder to discern today, having largely fallen through the cracks of history; they tend to appear only when they conflicted with such rights holders, when they were provided some key function on property, or when inheritances between *shiki* holders and non-holders overlapped. These people were also the most likely to make their living in non-agricultural settings, or through control of goods or services that were not bound to land.

Finally, regarding headship, although some *shiki* offices could be split among multiple heirs, usually only one person took the official mantle of the local warrior administrator (most often in the form of a *jitō shiki*), which, in the eyes of both the Kamakura regime and historians who study it, made them the singular authoritative chieftain of their social sphere. In general theory, a shift toward singular leadership of warrior kin groups seems fairly accurate, and the general trend favoring male access to the administrative authority that developed from *shiki* appears to be correct. This shift has its roots in the *shōen* system, though *shiki* offices are also vital to the so-called “*sōryō* system” (or *sōryō-sei* 惣領制), a debated theory of social unification and male headship that remains an open question in Japanese historiography.¹⁶³ I will use the examples found in the Nejime and Ichikawa documents to examine and critique various views of the *sōryō-sei* in Chapter VII, as extended local inquiry reveals the blurred lines of such a

¹⁶³ Jeffrey Mass brought the *sōryō-sei* to English historiography in *Lordship and Inheritance: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*. I will discuss the *sōryō system* in detail in Chapter VII. As one might expect, the term *sōryō* appears most regularly in bequest documents.

systemic conception of kin groups or headship.

After extensive study of the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime, whom I selected without a critical eye toward the institution of the *sōryō*, I believe that our approach to headship, especially of the standardized nature of *sōryō*, needs significant revision to better understand the organizational reality of mid-level warrior kin in the medieval period. Many warriors did develop formal systems of headship (sometimes through internally-generated positions of headship called *sōryō-shiki* 惣領職, which mirror the top-down offices they usually accompanied) that were already mature even quite early in the Kamakura period (like the Nakano).¹⁶⁴ Many others did not, and opted for more diverse, often more complex systems of headship and kin grouping (like the Nejime). Further, although in many cases a *sōryō* did appear to have near total control of their constituent kin, there are usually at least a few examples of alternative lines of authority even in groups that were otherwise highly vertically aligned; and in other cases, the *sōryō* was still one of many contentious or collaborative landholders. *Sōryō* as a formalized embodiment of male social authority is also problematic, as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we will see many examples of powerful female relatives (both affines and cognates), including mothers, widows, and daughters (and more rarely, “wives”), some of whom rarely took on the mantle of *sōryō* themselves, while others held similar authority without assuming a formal position of chieftainship. This was often the case for mothers of *sōryō*, whose parental authority was sufficient to retain social capital even in cases when they personally held no property or offices.

I will devote the rest of this dissertation to these overlapping concerns, and to refining extant theories of warrior kinship through detailed case studies. Before proceeding with further

¹⁶⁴ For example, the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for the *sōryō-sei* (惣領制) lists *sōryō-shiki* (惣領職) as a mid-to-late-Kamakura phenomenon that encapsulated rights over the kin group and represents the strengthening of the concept of headship.

engagement of historiography and social theories and systems surrounding the study of the warrior class, it is important that we get a more detailed view of our subjects, the documents they left behind, the legal system that produced them, and the worlds they inhabited. With a working background knowledge of the history of the early medieval period and the goals of this project, let us begin to narrow our focus in toward our two case studies, beginning with a close look at the judicial system that facilitated the production of their early records and the histories of those two records themselves.

CHAPTER II: THE SHIFTING FOCUS OF WARRIOR DOCUMENTS

Although situated within a premodern culture, and moreover one ultimately based on the application of military force as an underlying, yet primary means of control and legitimacy, the most powerful warriors of the thirteenth century founded a judicial society that was among the most advanced the world had ever seen.¹⁶⁵ During the Kamakura period, the nascent Hōjō polity quickly legitimized itself and curtailed explicit militarism through a complex, impartial central judiciary developed in response to administrative necessity and a desire for regimental legitimacy. This new legal system added warriors to the existing structure of status and rights of the imperial court rather than replacing it. The foundation of the warrior judiciary, the authority of which came to encompass the bulk of Japan (Kyushu, Honshu, and Shikoku) by the latter half of the Kamakura period, led to an abundance of surviving familial data from the Kamakura period in the form of documents submitted to or by the courts.

The role of Kamakura as an adjudicator in land disputes was essential to its authority as the administrator of land stewardship.¹⁶⁶ The administration was one “whose support in society rested on the quality of its judicial operations.”¹⁶⁷ This resulted in a society where conflict resolution was drawn from arbitration rather than force, highlighting the “central, stabilizing role

¹⁶⁵ The argument for the advanced status of the Japanese judicial system, particularly that of the Kamakura period, has been articulated most powerfully by Jeffrey Mass. See especially *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu* and *The Development of Kamakura Rule*.

¹⁶⁶ William Hauser, in Jeffrey P. Mass and William Hauser, eds., *The Bakufu in Japanese History*, p. 190.

¹⁶⁷ Andrew Goble, “The Kamakura Bakufu and its Officials.” p. 31.

of Bakufu justice” on warrior society.¹⁶⁸ This made impartiality not only an ideal, but a strong priority for a fledgling power base that sought legitimacy from its subjects as well as from the traditional Kyoto aristocratic and imperial lines of rulership.

Surviving Kamakura documents number in the many tens of thousands, and range from simple communications between central and peripheral agents to complex competitions for land ownership, frequently taking the most vicious and contentious forms possible. Such documents remain among the historian’s best links to Japan’s distant past, and provide a window into the trials and tribulations of early warrior society. Comprising the bulk of the surviving textual record from the period, judicial documents provide a detailed understanding of the motivations and exigencies that influenced individuals, social networks, and administrations alike.¹⁶⁹

This chapter introduces the reader to how the Kamakura judiciary conceptualized relatedness and the functions of kinship, headship, affinal and cognatic bonds, and inheritance. Through a close look at warrior law codes and house regulations of the Hōjō, which designed and managed the Kamakura judiciary, I will demonstrate the view of kinship that existed at the peak of warrior society, which was applied to the cases the Kamakura government oversaw from provincial warriors. I will argue that the judicial system shaped the nature of the record during the Kamakura period, as warriors sought to solve their disputes through the courts and explained their familial situations in court filings and certified inheritance records using the language of Hōjō law. Further, I will argue that after the collapse of the Kamakura judiciary, which was suddenly extinguished in 1333, a rapid shift in recordkeeping priorities occurred. This shift in the

¹⁶⁸ Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Development of Kamakura Rule, 1180-1250*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁹ On Kamakura law, see Kasamatsu Hiroshi, *Hō to kotoba no chūsei shi*. Amino Yoshihiko and Kasamatsu Hiroshi, *Chūsei no saiban o yomitoku*, and Kasamatsu Hiroshi, ed. *Hō to soshō*. Jeffrey Mass produced the most comprehensive works on the Kamakura judiciary in English, including multiple sets of translated documents. See the bibliography for a full list of his numerous works. Carl Steenstrup’s “Sata Mirensō: A Fourteenth-Century Law Primer” is an excellent translation of a legal handbook designed for warriors and written about a decade before the end of the Kamakura period, which details the basics of judicial operations.

form and content of documents is often misconstrued as constituting a rapid shift in the social priorities of warriors, who no longer had a stable system to use for resolving internal disputes or certifying their bequests, and therefore had no reason to produce records detailing their familial situations. This chapter demonstrates the resistance of medieval texts to familial study, which I argue can be overcome through a long view built on highly detailed, multi-generational analysis, which reveals elements of kinship that are not explicitly stated, especially in military records.

Finally, at the end of this chapter, I will detail the individual histories of the Nejime and Ichikawa document collections, their medieval and early modern transmission, and recent archival efforts surrounding them. This will prepare the reader for the more detailed analysis of the Nakano/Ichikawa and Nejime that follows in Chapters III through VI, and provide insights into the textuality of the medieval record and how political currents shaped it.

The Kamakura Legal System and Inheritance Law

To address the legal definitions of kinship outlined in law codes promulgated by the Hōjō, who headed the Kamakura justice system, we can begin with the *Goseibai Shikimoku* (御成敗式目), Japan's first warrior law code, created in 1232 and founded on the preceding four decades of judicial operations of the Kamakura court.¹⁷⁰ Functioning as a consolidated set of regulations meant to both streamline the courts and establish an accessible legal framework for members of the warrior class, the Shikimoku covered a wide range of topics in its 51 articles, and many more in the hundreds of amendments and additional laws (*tsuika hō* 追加法) that

¹⁷⁰ The code is also called the Jōei Formulary or Jōei Shikimoku (貞永式目), based on the year it was promulgated (Jōei 1). For a recent analysis of this code, which organizes the laws categorically as I do in this section, see Nagamata Takao, “‘Goseibai Shikimoku’ no jōbun ni tsuite.” Nagamata also usefully explains past scholarly analyses of the code including those of Satō Shin’ichi (p. 131) and Kouchi Shōsuke (p. 132). On the multilayered medieval legal sphere, see Sakai Kimi, “Chūsei hō to zaichi shakai,” especially pp. 230-238 on common types of legal disputes at the local level. Most of the disputes I will explore in this dissertation deal with property (lands, titles, and income rights) and the inheritance thereof.

followed.¹⁷¹ These issues included shrine and temple maintenance, ritual observances, provincial administration by *shugo* and *jitō*, slander, forgery, assault, conflict resolution, marriage, widowhood, adultery, women's property rights, parental prerogatives, inheritance, property division and revocation, adoption, the rights of various non-warrior land managers, to name a few. These laws were designed around the existing system of land stewardship, rather than an entirely original development, and were created to serve as short-hands for judgements on future cases based on the most common issues that the court faced in its first decades of operation.¹⁷²

A total of 17 out of the 51 *Goseibai Shikimoku* law codes directly address matters of landholding and inheritance, and several others intersect with central conceptions of the succession, not of a "family," but of lands and titles, which were closely linked to elements of kinship.¹⁷³ Codes that deal with kin are largely predicated on a few interconnected themes: those of inheritance, "marriage" and women's property rights, and parental prerogatives, all of which serve to illustrate the central image of the provincial warrior elite at the level of kin units.

Power and legitimacy, while important factors in any legal system, were not the sole reasons for the creation of the law code. Interpretation of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* should be prefaced with the idea that the Kamakura regime (with the Hōjō firmly at its head by the time the code was written) did not necessarily seek to impose standards of its own, but rather hoped to fix

¹⁷¹ I draw primarily from the annotated version of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* and *tsuika hō* found in Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 7-41 and 43-144.

¹⁷² The *Goseibai Shikimoku* was reliant on themes of patriarchal authority, common sense, and imported Chinese legal traditions. In fact, the *Shikimoku* itself was based largely on a combination of the earlier Japanese Ritsuryō codes, and Chinese Tang Period (618-907) legal language. The codes therefore incorporate a mixture of themes including Confucian morality, specifically related to the idea of filial piety and respect for top-down familial authority.

¹⁷³ The articles in the *Goseibai Shikimoku* code are not technically numbered, but historians regularly number its points based in their order of appearance, a convention I maintain. Articles 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 34, 41, 47, and 48 of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* address kinship-related issues directly. A half-dozen other articles deal indirectly with intersecting matters, mostly related to inheritance and landholding, such as codes surrounding land sales and divisions to non-relatives. See Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 8-41 for the full code in both the original *kanbun* and modern *yomikudashi*. For an early English translation of the code, see John C. Hall, *Japanese Feudal Law*.

common problems before they made it to court and establish precedents from which to try varying and unique cases within a fair and coherent legal framework that was both effective and efficient in its daily operation. The early Kamakura polity had many fires to put out in order to solidify its position, most of which grew out of the creation of the new polity itself. Yet Kamakura was also interested in solving and certifying the minor matters of its local officers, whose peaceful transmission of property and titles was ultimately essential to a stable central warrior polity. The stability and impartiality promulgated by the Kamakura judiciary and its growing body of legal codes enacted a vertical set of relationships between the *jitō*, *gokenin* vassals, and the warrior authority in Kamakura, which relied on the successful transmission of power through peaceful and legitimate means from parents to children.

The marriage bond, particularly early in the medieval period, was indistinct at best, when it existed at all, and although the *Goseibai Shikimoku* established a series of codes dealing with married couples, they were particularly difficult to enforce and often largely incompatible with the lived reality of men and women who may not have viewed themselves as “married.” Some of these maritally-oriented codes were clearly a concerted effort by the Kamakura government to strengthen the legal definition of marriage, as the perceived legal value of having a better-defined bond between husband and wife is evident from several articles detailed below. The judiciary tended to label men and women as “husbands” and “wives” or “widows” even in cases when the individuals in question did not directly identify each other as such in their documents.¹⁷⁴ The success of any effort by the central polity to establish a concrete definition of marriage must be qualified by the reality of the evidence within individual warrior documents, in

¹⁷⁴ It is often difficult to determine to what degree the judiciary might have been labeling people using terms they did not employ themselves; in multiple cases in both the Nejime and Ichikawa records, the court’s ruling survive, but the original petitions and defenses from quarreling family members and neighbors do not.

which marriage was clearly open to interpretation, and could hold various connotations and applications for different groups and individuals.

Let us explore a few of the more familially-oriented codes within the *Goseibai Shikimoku*, which are most salient to this study. Articles 10 and 11, part of a larger subsection on criminal law, detail matters of shared familial culpability for major crimes.¹⁷⁵ Article 10 deals with the potential culpability of fathers (*chichi* 父) in violent crimes (murder / *satsugai* 殺害 or bloodshed / *ninjō* 刃傷) committed by their children (*ko* 子) or grandchildren (*mago* 孫). Fathers were not culpable for crimes of passion that arose from matters such as arguments (*tōza no sōron* 當座之諍論) or drunken quarrels (*yūen no eigurui* 遊宴之醉狂).¹⁷⁶ However, they were implicated in violent deeds that they were somehow involved with or aware of beforehand, as in the case of the murder of a known enemy of their ancestors (*fuso no teki* 父祖之敵), in which case a father was always culpable even if he claimed no knowledge of the murder by his descendants, as it settled an old grudge (*shukui* 宿意) on his behalf.¹⁷⁷ Thus, although crimes of passion did not extend upward, premediated murders on the father's behalf did, reinforcing the desire of Kamakura to force warrior to settle matters through lawsuits instead of acts of violence.

Article 11 overlaps in similar ways, this time regarding the culpability of the crimes of husbands (*otto* 夫) extending to wives (*tsuma* 妻).¹⁷⁸ Again premeditation is the crux of the issue; the code states that crimes of passion did not extend to wives, but that if a husband committed a

¹⁷⁵ Article 14 shares a similar (but nonfamilial) focus, specifically with the culpability for crimes of deputies (*daikan* 代官) extending to their masters (*shujin* 主人). This article is more lenient than articles 10 and 11, and considers masters generally separate from their deputies in ways that family members were not. Masters were culpable only if they shielded their deputy from punishment for crimes by some means, such as by hiding information. See Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 15-16.

¹⁷⁶ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, p. 13.

¹⁷⁷ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, p. 13.

¹⁷⁸ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, p. 14.

serious, premeditated crime, punishment could also extend to his wife (or wives, as Japanese does not usually distinguish singular and plural) and would result in the forfeiture of her separate property (*shoryō bosshū* 所領没収). The list of applicable crimes includes joining in rebellions (*muho* 謀叛), murders (*satsugai* 殺害), banditry (*sanzoku* 山賊), piracy (*kaizoku* 海賊), night attacks (*yo-uchi* 夜討), and robbery (*gōtō* 強盜).¹⁷⁹ The article sought to prevent crimes from occurring through spousal awareness, but also implicitly indicates that the court saw the bond of marriage as significantly stronger than was the case in the preceding Heian period, when an extension of culpability through affines would have been fundamentally inapplicable.

Yet it is abundantly evident from medieval documents that whatever substance “marriage” gained in the Kamakura period (or in the eyes of the Kantō) was frequently not enough to stop men from taking multiple wives, or to stop women from taking a successive series of lovers, and that the legalese of the court often did not match with the relational reality revealed in warrior lawsuits.¹⁸⁰ For many warriors, residential patterns were not yet centered around individual property lines even in the early fourteenth century, and in many cases a “pattern” of residence was yet to emerge. As Wakita Haruko points out, “coresidential marriage only became the norm in Japan around the early twelfth century as patrilocal marriage became common among nobles and commoners alike.”¹⁸¹ Provincial warriors did not shift quickly or purposefully toward solid marriage bonds. As Hitomi Tonomura has noted: “Family, including marriage relations, is a basic and deeply embedded social institution that resists quick

¹⁷⁹ On night attacks as a criminal act, see Murai Shōsuke, ed., *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, p. 143.

¹⁸⁰ The phenomenon of multiple partners, within which some, none, or all of these partners might be categorized as affinal relatives, is visible in both the Ichikawa and the Nejime, across multiple generations and spanning into the fourteenth century.

¹⁸¹ Wakita Haruko, “The Medieval Household and Gender Roles within the Imperial Family, Nobility, Merchants, and Commoners,” p. 81.

transformation.”¹⁸²

Kamakura’s inherited codification of marriage may not even have originated from authentic practice, as the Chinese legal system from which classical and medieval Japanese laws developed is now considered equally idealistic regarding marriage.¹⁸³ In Tang (618-907) and Song (960-1279) China, universal legal codes emphasizing marriage and weddings encountered resistance on the local level for their incompatibility with real marital practices.¹⁸⁴ The situation was even worse in the case of Kamakura law, as the Tang-derived codes of Confucian filiality and marital emphasis held little significance for Japanese warriors who might not recognize marriage, parentage, or lineal descent as significant markers of kinship. Such laws, while orderly in their idealized conception, regularly failed to align with the muddy reality of complex, heated, and enduring inter and intra-familial disputes. When such disputes required judicial intervention, warriors asked questions in Japanese, and the *Goseibai Shikimoku* answered in a Chinese legal vernacular that was often wholly incompatible with lived reality, and needed frequent revision.

The trend toward marital coresidence was neither universal nor simultaneous across locales or individual groups, occurring most visibly in the Sengoku (1467-1600) period; nevertheless, the enactment of a thirteenth-century legal framework for marriage indicates that the Kamakura government expected the “wife” and the “husband” not only to live under the

¹⁸² Hitomi Tonomura, “Re-envisioning Women in the Post-Kamakura Age,” p. 146. To add yet another quote, Tonomura states similarly that “The conceptual ambiguity of ‘marriage’ reflected the actual complexity in social rules regarding its practice.” See Hitomi Tonomura, “Black Hair and Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan,” p. 135.

¹⁸³ One of the central arguments made by Christian de Pee in pp. 179-220 of *The Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China: Text and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries*, is that Tang/Song legal texts (which served as the basis for Japanese Ritsuryō and warrior law) implied or encouraged a “universal order” that was regularly inapplicable to or poorly suited toward “local practice.”

¹⁸⁴ See Christian de Pee in pp. 179-220 of *The Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China: Text and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries*, p. 211, where De Pee notes that there is “no evidence that the protocol for Han weddings ever extended beyond the written page.” A similar lack of evidence is clear in the case of *Goseibai Shikimoku* codes surrounding marriage, which was always more fluid for local warriors than the code itself implies.

same roof, but remain in frequent and close proximity to one another, to the extent that it would have been difficult for the husband to hide plans of a premeditated crime from his wife. This assumption indicates that the new legal expectation of marriage involved a closer bond than had existed in the late Heian period; but the reality of marital practices often contrasts with this expectation, as terms like “marriage” or “divorce” might not even apply to couples who did not recognize or develop any permanent relationship or residential arrangement, and instead maintained multiple separate relationships.

This is not the only example in which the authors of the *Shikimoku* used a level of physical proximity to define the judicial circumstances of relatives; article 17 linked the culpability of father and son for participation in the Jōkyū war (a rebellion against Kamakura in 1221 that led, in part, to the development of codified warrior law) to their propinquity. If the father or son went to the capital to join the imperial rebellion against the shogunate, relatives who stayed home were not considered directly punishable, even if they had been an “accomplice at heart” (literally “of the same heart” or *dōshin* 同心) to the actions of their kinsmen, specifically due to the impossibility of concurrent knowledge of the specific actions they had taken while away at war.¹⁸⁵ In the eyes of Kamakura, father and son, unlike husband and wife, were not necessarily culpable for each other’s premeditated crimes, particularly because they might not necessarily be in proximity to each other. This indicates that to the Kantō regime, people classified as “husbands” and “wives” would be in constant contact, and were thus likely in coresidence with one another.

Articles 21 and 24 of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* further enunciate legal ties surrounding a judicial conception of matrimony (although marriage as a specific term is conspicuously absent

¹⁸⁵ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 18-19.

from the code). Article 21 addresses whether a “separated” (*ribetsu* 離別) wife or mistress (*saishō* 妻妾, a conspicuous de-emphasis on “marriage”) could keep lands (*shoryō* 所領) inherited from a husband (*otto* 夫). The code is ambiguous, but states that the former wife (referred to only as *tsuma* 妻 in the body of the code) would not be allowed to keep such lands if she was deemed guilty of a serious crime (*jūka* 重料).¹⁸⁶ Otherwise, the court upheld her right to retain the former husband’s property, in a running theme of the reinforcement of lawful female rights to property. Article 24 deals with the issue of whether a widow (*goke* 後家) should retain her husband’s lands if she “remarried” (*kaika* 改嫁).¹⁸⁷ The code itself was clear; a widow who “remarried” broke her obligations towards her late husband, and by attempting to keep his property, was effectively viewed as endangering his lineage. Even in cases where the wife was not specifically betraying the husband (who was dead), she was nevertheless betraying his posterity by “remarrying.” The common theme in judicial reasoning is evident; the succession from parents to heirs of lands and titles was effectively the central purpose of “family” or “marriage,” at least for the government. *Goke* widows were regularly part of that plan, and served as intermediaries between fathers and their heirs. “Remarriage” jeopardized the role of *goke* as lifelong managers of a dead spouse’s estate, and was thus a greater threat when a man

¹⁸⁶ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 20-21. These crimes may also include transgressions against a “husband” including adultery, theft, or conspiracy against the “husband” or his other affines, any of which could tamper with the planned passage of his estate to the next generation. Janet Goodwin has provided an excellent definition of the evolution of how various “transgressions,” specifically related to adultery, were viewed during the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. See Janet Goodwin, *Selling songs and smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan*, pp. 72-78. An increasing awareness of “sexual transgression” highlights concern about illicit, secretive affairs and the potential for marital disharmony associated with them. With increasing awareness of and concern about extramarital relationships, laws involving the definition and preservation of the traditionally weak marriage bond became necessary to ensure the continuity of the families that sprang from the new conception of “marriage.”

¹⁸⁷ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, p. 22. Another related code, #34 on the crime of adultery (*mikkai* or *bikkai* 密懷), can be found on p. 27. Hitomi Tonomura has taken up this code at length in “Sexual Violence against Women,” pp. 139-144. See also Janet Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan*, p. 71. See also the *Kokushi daijiten* entry of *goke kaika* (後家改嫁).

was dead than alive, which explains the disparity between article 21, which protected a former wife's possession of land gifted by a living husband, and article 24, which protected the dead man's estate above all else. Stability, enforced through law, was necessary to the maintenance of carefully constructed and often contested property-lineage structures, especially due to the absence of a well-founded or socially well-defined marriage bond.

The application of articles 21 and 24 in actual court cases was highly dubious due to the lack of any formalized marriage bond, an issue the Shikimoku ignores entirely in its use of marital terms like *tsuma* and *otto*. The code repeatedly uses these terms, "wife" and "husband," without any acknowledgement that they were regularly omitted from warrior documents, including those that dealt with *goke* widowhood, wherein procreative relationships were not strictly coded as "marriage." Co-parents often resided separately, maintained divided property lines, and regularly opposed each other in court. As Hitomi Tonomura has noted, article 24 had to be revised several times as widows who claimed not to have "remarried" attempted to retain the rights over late husband's lands while fostering new relationships, and the Kamakura court struggled with an inability to distinguish sex and marriage. The definition of "remarriage" (*kaika* 改嫁) was of course just as blurry as that of "marriage" (for which there is no premodern term), which is not merely a sexual relationship but also a mutual acknowledgement of kinship and some impetus toward the designation of shared identity, an issue the Kamakura court could not easily regulate or disentangle.¹⁸⁸ Individual social and material connections were primarily

¹⁸⁸ As a functional example of article 24, we can turn to a case translated by Jeffrey P. Mass, which he titled "The Bakufu Interrogates Witnesses in a Final Rehearing of a Remarriage Charge, 1244." This document deals with the issue of whether a widow should keep her former husband's lands after "remarrying." According to the legal precedent we have examined, a woman who remarried would be required to return her deceased husband's holdings to his children. In this case, the conflict was between the nun-widow of Yamashiro Saburō Katashi and the daughter of a man named Yamashiro Katashi (represented by a deputy called Michihiro) of Hizen Province. The court dropped the case due to a lack of evidence that the nun-widow had engaged in a relationship and thus "re-married." This was apparently a common problem, and this portion of the Shikimoku article was re-written several times, and probably never functioned fully in an impartial or objective application. This case is useful in that it provides direct

vertical – meaning women in such situations had closer ties to their natal families and blood-related or adopted heirs (just as men did) – and considerations of connection to horizontally oriented affinal partners (a more applicable term than “husbands”) were secondary to both. The Kamakura court was most worried about vertical priorities overriding horizontal ones in specific cases where there was a shared agreement of inheritance design (“succession”) or mutual, largely procreation-driven identity between sexual partners, who might not otherwise identify as anything more than mutual parents. Such a partnership was most easily visible in the case of *goke* widows, whose designation as such automatically signaled some form of mutually constituted partnership and agreement between a dead or dying man and a woman who would replace him as his estate manager.

In a further reiteration of women’s property rights, which aligns with article 21 on the maintenance of female property after divorce, article 23 of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* assured the independence of female property lines by legalizing the adoption of heirs by women, a practice nominally forbidden but which women often engaged in anyway during the Heian period.¹⁸⁹ The Kamakura judiciary was clearly interested in supporting the rights of all of its officers and clients, male and female, and reinforced its support of independent property lines by women in this article. As I mentioned above, men and women did not usually pool their property, and held no express legal rights to the property of their sexual partners, even after death. Such rights had to be explicitly granted from one person to another. This article therefore reinforced the

application of the precedent that a widow “remarrying” would be automatic grounds for the forfeiture of holdings from her previous union. The issue of “marriage” and “remarriage” was thus a particularly difficult one. Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Development of Kamakura Rule, 1180-1250*, p. 275, Document #144. For more on how article 24 was rewritten, see Hitomi Tonomura, “Women and Inheritance in Japan’s Early Warrior Society.” p. 602. Tonomura demonstrates the problematic nature of this law by providing the original, a revision from 1239, and another from 1286. The causal nature of what could be considered “remarriage” is demonstrated here, as widows were regularly accused of keeping new “marriages” secret.

¹⁸⁹ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 21-22.

longstanding tradition of the retained separation of property lines. Women, even those with “husbands,” frequently selected their own separate heirs, either within their (natal or affinal) kin group, through adoption, or through donations to religious institutions.

Article 23 highlights the frequent scenario in which men and women who produced offspring did not necessarily found a mutual bond of shared property designation, and instead retained separate lines of property and social identity, which they could alienate to different heirs (who might be shared offspring or children from other relationships, sexual or social). Although the practice of maintaining property in divided matrilineal lines declined in concert with the trend away from the passage of land and titles to female heirs, the meaning of this decline is hotly debated in terms of the real impact on female authority.¹⁹⁰

Parental prerogatives regarding property transmission and division (for both mothers and fathers) were immutable, and both men and women held extensive rights over their own lines of property throughout their lifetimes. Articles 18, 19, 20, 22, and 26 of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* establish that parents had broad rights to take back any land they had previously granted to heirs, and enunciate those rights through various precedential examples.¹⁹¹

Articles 19 and 26 detail the right of revocation. Article 26 states that revocation was

¹⁹⁰ Nagahara Keiji, in his work on commoners, has argued against earlier views of an automatic decline in women’s authority and internal familial status even as their “public” status was in decline. On the warrior *sōryō-sei*, his views of women are somewhat less optimistic, though this is characteristic of most studies of *sōryō* (and a point of contention for me). Wakita Haruko has argued for positive benefits of more rigid familial structures, categorized as the foundation of the *ie*, in both peasants and aristocrats. Warriors have seen less attention in this regard, though I will argue that women’s status and roles within networks of kin, though largely invisible after 1333 in many documents, likely did not change all that much despite the tendency of women to increasingly favor male heirs in the Nanbokuchō period. See Nagahara Keiji, “Joseishi ni okeru Nanbokuchō, Muromachiki,” pp. 160-71 in *Muromachi Sengoku shakai: shōgyō, kahei, kōtsū*, and “Tōgoku ni okeru sōryōsei no kaitei katei.” Wakita has produced a vast body of works on women in the medieval period, though I would direct the English reader to the introduction and first chapter her book *Women in Medieval Japan: Motherhood, Household Management and Sexuality*, the English translation of *Nihon chūsei joseishi no kenkyū: seibetsu yakuwari buntan to bosei, kasei, seiai*.

¹⁹¹ Additionally, Article 27 covers Kamakura’s policy for those who died intestate (*mishobun* 未処分), briefly stating that the courts would follow precedent in deciding matters of property division for individual families.

possible even after central rightholders confirmed property transfers (via *ando* 安堵 confirmations expressed in highly-valued *onkudashibumi* 御下文 documents from the Kantō or other superiors such as *shōen* and their representative institutions) as belonging to their children (or other heirs, though the code uses procreative succession in its example).¹⁹² The right of revocation was remarkably powerful, with little justification needed to disinherit an heir who had already received extensive amounts of property earlier on. The ability to completely cut out children (*shisoku* 子息) who had not acted in a way that warranted total disownment (*gisetsu* 義絶) was slightly curtailed in article 22, which stipulated that such a child should receive a minimum of one-fifth of the total estate.¹⁹³

Article 18 reinforces female suitability as heirs, and denied parents the right to treat daughters differently than sons regarding their ability to revoke land based on unfilial behavior. However, parents who did not wish to see certain children inherit their rights, prerogatives, or lands could easily circumvent this article, and heirs were always subject to the continuing oversight of their benefactors.¹⁹⁴ The requirement that parents treat daughters the same as sons, at least regarding their inheritances, effectively meant that parents had full rights over both; to

¹⁹² See Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 23. Separate *andojō* (安堵状) confirmation records became more common later in the Kamakura period, and would be folded into the portfolio of successive records (*tetsugi* 手継) alongside the original precedential *onkudashibumi* that came before them. Article 26 uses the verb *ando* but does not mention *andojō* directly, because it predates their widespread proliferation as the de-facto form of what I translate as “reconfirmation,” a term I will use to represent *andojō* throughout this dissertation.

¹⁹³ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 21. Although *shisoku* is a male-inclined term, which came to be equated with “sons” rather than male or female “children” in the late medieval or Tokugawa period, in most early medieval uses it refers to both male and female children. In this case, the meaning is dubious, due to the Confucian-inspired nature of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*.

¹⁹⁴ This is a theme that permeates many aspects premodern Japanese society, and is also demonstrated in the concept of rule by retired emperors or *insei* (院政), in which even the sons of heaven were subject to control by their retired predecessors. Though the code does not discuss retirement directly, the right of revocation intersects with retirement practice, and validates the concept that “retired” parents (who, in the case of warriors, usually took the Buddhist tonsure and adopted Buddhist names as retirees, male *nyūdō* 入道 and female *ama* 尼) could always revoke their grants to heirs. This capacity for revocation, even after passing on *shiki* or land to heirs (and thus retiring, at least theoretically, from their management), should come as no surprise, as it reflects both Confucian and native Japanese conceptions of the primacy of parenthood.

disinherit a child was as simple as declaring them unfilial, unsuitable, or undeserving of property. Parental will was permanent; article 20 states that if inheriting children (*ko* 子) predeceased their fathers or mothers (*fubo* 父母), the will of the (patrilineal) ancestral property holder should be followed (*fuso no i ni makasu beki nari* 可任父祖之意也), and thus parents could create new inheritance designs if their original plans went awry.

These articles reinforced a judicial inheritance schema that slightly favored males in its technical language from its inception in 1232, although the violation of parental will required for disinheritance could be as minimal as a claim of unfilialness; in reality, sons and daughters were effectively equal in the eye of the law in terms of their rights to access property as heirs and dispose of it as benefactors. However, while males and females, as patriarchs and matriarchs, had equal rights to their own divided property, the seeds of a pattern of male-favored inheritance, at least as conceptualized by central powers, existed even in the *Goseibai Shikimoku*, and was clearly in the minds of the Kamakura judges of the early thirteenth century. This gender imbalance is reflected everywhere in documents from medieval Japan, and leads to a male-centric image of social organization in historical texts.

Hōjō Shigetoki and Hōjō-specific Kinship Codification

In addition to these parameters established by Kamakura as legal guidelines for its patrons, there also existed detailed moralistic guidelines created by its early leading figures, the best known of which came from Hōjō Shigetoki (1198-1261).¹⁹⁵ Shigetoki was the head of the Kyoto branch of the Kamakura judiciary, an officer called the Rokuhara Tandai, from 1230 to 1247. His *Gokurakuji Letter* (極楽寺消息, *Gokurakuji shōsoku*), expertly translated by Carl

¹⁹⁵ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 322-347. I will use Carl Steenstrup's "The Gokurakuji Letter: Hōjō Shigetoki's Compendium of Political and Religious Ideas of Thirteenth-Century Japan," in my English renditions.

Steenstrup, has been hailed as an influential work in the establishment of *samurai* ethical and moral philosophies.¹⁹⁶ It provides unique insight into the leadership ideology of a Hōjō patriarch, who had both judicial and familial management expertise.

In the letter, Shigetoki admonishes his descendants to treat each other with respect, act as proper heads of the house, and to obey the wishes of their parents. The letter is comprised of 98 articles of conduct based on given situations and given roles within the Hōjō. The tone of the letter is distinctly cooperative, urging a sense of tranquility which rarely existed for most households in the Kamakura period. The Hōjō, who held vast tracts of land and had virtually unlimited access to offices as their generators, cannot be treated as typical or representative of the average warrior group, yet the code is instructive in terms of how this group conceptualized their own kinship, from which they set the legal standard for all others. Shigetoki's 98 articles cover a wide range of topics, but two are particularly relevant to the focus of this study.

On the institution of *sōryō* (here meaning a formalized group head), a word adopted by the warrior class from the classical vocabulary and which we shall explore in greater detail through the lens of the Ichikawa, Shigetoki had compelling advice.¹⁹⁷ Articles 54 and 55 deal

¹⁹⁶ Carl Steenstrup, "The Gokurakuji Letter: Hōjō Shigetoki's Compendium of Political and Religious Ideas of Thirteenth-Century Japan." See also his *Hōjō Shigetoki (1198-1261) and his Role in the History of Political and Ethical Ideas in Japan*, in which Steenstrup lists the objective of the letter as "to be remembered as a virtuous warrior-statesman and then enter Paradise." See p. 158 for his earlier translation of the letter, on which his later article is based. For the full letter in Japanese, see Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 322-346.

¹⁹⁷ "Sōryō" (総領 or 惣領) could be used as a noun or verb, and has a variety of meanings. I would point the reader to the half-dozen examples of its use in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* and *Kokushi daijiten*, each of which list it as both noun and verb. In terms of a meaning of this term as it applies to kinship, most typically applied to the warrior class, is that of an internally institutionalized position of headship (a *sōryō*), sometimes enshrined by families through a *sōryō-shiki* (惣領職) post of headship. This is how this term is used in the Nakano and Ichikawa, who passed down a *sōryō-shiki* (an internal office they created) alongside their *jitō-shiki* and lands. Yet *sōryō* as a verb meaning "to rule," "to control," "to lead," or "to head" also endured into at least the late twelfth century. This oft-ignored usage as a simple verb is particularly salient to this study. As is visible in the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for *sōryō* (惣領), among a half-dozen other documentary references, is one to Takebe Chikasuke (建部親助), the ancestral forebear of the Nejime, who stated in a *mōshijō* from 1147 that "in following with [my father Yorichika's] bequest [*shobun* 処分], I took control of [Minamimata]" (*Chikasuke shobun ni makasete sōryō su no kizami* 任処分親助惣領之刻). See Kyūan 3 (1147).7.15 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Chikasuke mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #537). Chikasuke is the figure who divided Minamimata into the three foundational portions of Nejime, Sata, and Tashiro, effectively founding the

with the relationship between the *sōryō* and the other (secondary) heirs of the Hōjō household:

The *sōryō* must not take advantage of his superior position and be rude to the [secondary heirs]. On their part, they should show him respect and loyally do their share if he needs help in any major undertaking. The *sōryō* should realize that his privileged position is due to the disposition of the gods and Buddhas and to old karmic relationships. He should, of course, be friendly to the [secondary heirs] who are friendly to him; but he should treat with compassion even those who are not, knowing that if he discards them, no one else will provide for them.¹⁹⁸

Hōjō Shigetoki's political position as the younger brother of the Hōjō head and *Goseibai Shikimoku* author Yasutoki, lends credence to his comments on *sōryō*. The man who was most responsible for the initial codification of warrior law was Shigetoki's elder *sōryō* brother. Thus, Shigetoki spoke from experience both as a leadership figure in Japanese society and as a former co-heir or secondary son himself. Shigetoki was well-aware of the necessity of good leadership, and of what makes a good *sōryō*. His letter provides useful guidelines for future *sōryō* and those under them. Shigetoki, like his older brother, was well versed in Confucian ethical values, a theme expressed in the filial relationships (ruler-subject, elder-younger brother), apparent in his letter. From his place at the fulcrum of the Hōjō, he was uniquely positioned to see the ins and outs of *sōryō* dynamics. On the countervailing subject of how secondary heirs should act towards their *sōryō* sibling, he stated:

The attitude of a [secondary heir] should be as follows: 'My heritage share derives from my parents, of course, but if there were no *sōryō*, it would be like property without a legal owner.' He should be grateful for the *sōryō*'s protection. He should think, 'To me, the *sōryō* is like a lord, parent, or [god or Buddha].' Even if a [secondary heir (*shoshi*) should attain higher official status], he should still feel gratitude toward the *sōryō* and must not think, 'Now I am independent of him.' He should still regard an elder brother who is *sōryō* with the same respect as he owes [his lord]. Further, if a [secondary heir] is in trouble, the *sōryō* must not take

Nejime. The use of *sōryō* in this record is clearly as a verb, and does not indicate even a nominal assumption of headship beyond property control. It holds none of the weight of the proposed and much-debated *sōryō* "system," which I will discuss in Chapter VII.

¹⁹⁸ Carl Steenstrup, "The Gokurakuji Letter: Hōjō Shigetoki's Compendium of Political and Religious Ideas of Thirteenth-Century Japan," p. 22.

advantage of his superior status and dismiss the [secondary heir's] plea for aid.¹⁹⁹

We must view the guidelines listed in the *Gokurakuji Letter* in a different light than legal codes, for their purpose and audiences were radically different. Shigetoki states that his remarks are meant to be read only by Hōjō members, and as I have already remarked, the prerogatives towards stability in the Hōjō were significantly biased due to their extensive holdings and unlimited capacity to provide for heirs.²⁰⁰ Rather than sharing the common warrior perspectives of vulnerability or opportunism, the Hōjō strove to consolidate and maintain their vast, unmatched landholdings and significant influence over the warriors under them. Yet Shigetoki's insight into the ideal leadership of a powerful household is certainly reflected in the practices of some warriors, and is definitive of the ideals outlined in Kamakura law and enforced by its judges. These attitudes are reflected in judicial decisions handed down by the Kantō court, which we will encounter in the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa records.

Amendments and Additional Laws from the Kamakura Judiciary

References to additional laws, either as amendments to the *Goseibai Shikimoku* or separately defined precedents (categorized broadly as *tsuika hō* 追加法, and numbering in the hundreds), can be found scattered in the primary source record from the Kamakura period as well as in legal compilations created by historians.²⁰¹ A full study of all of the related amendments and additional laws that generally enhance the familial prerogatives laid out in the original 51 articles of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* is beyond the scope of this chapter, but I would like to turn to

¹⁹⁹ Carl Steenstrup, "The Gokurakuji Letter: Hōjō Shigetoki's Compendium of Political and Religious Ideas of Thirteenth-Century Japan," pp. 22-23. I have slightly edited sections of Steenstrup's translation (in brackets) on Shigetoki's original work, found in Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei Seiji Shakai Shisō* v.1, pp. 322-347. These changes are designed to avoid ambiguities in terminology related to siblings, and relationships with figures of authority implied by Shigetoki.

²⁰⁰ Carl Steenstrup, "The Gokurakuji Letter: Hōjō Shigetoki's Compendium of Political and Religious Ideas of Thirteenth-Century Japan," p. 34.

²⁰¹ For the Kamakura amendments, see Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 43-144.

one of these additional laws in greater detail, as it provides a broad idealized blueprint of family not visible on the Shikimoku itself.

The amendment, originally conceived in 1235 and revised in 1240, outlines basic conflict-of-interest regulations for use in the Kamakura court.²⁰² Specifically, this ordinance was meant to regulate members of the judiciary who oversaw cases. The article lists relatives whose involvement in a case would represent a conflict of interest because they were considered too closely related to a judge to be tried under his authority. Similar rules exist in virtually all legal systems, and the relational listings in these documents are useful in filling in the gaps that contribute to the ambiguity of the basic bounds of “family” in medieval Japan. The code, while not designed by the regime for direct use as a definition of the extent of warrior kinship, can be interpreted as such in its application to Kamakura’s vassals. Let us examine this listing in detail to get a further sense of the specific kin ties that were deemed most important, in a legal sense, by the Kamakura judiciary. Figure #1 contains an idealized and fictional family tree of those represented in the code, with the judge in the center of the tree. Of note is the rather extended set of male relatives to which there are no female counterparts. I have made note of the missing female relationships in the caption.

The article covers ideal familial relations in a top-to-bottom, close-to-distant list of relationships, with grandparents and parents listed first and second. Descendants, specifically

²⁰² I will build my argument on the apparent final version of the law, found in En’ō 2 (1240).4.25 *Kantō gechijō* (in Takeuchi Rizō, ed. *Kamakura ibun*, volume 8, document 5561; hereafter *KI*, 8:5561). The earlier version is found in Bunryaku 2 (1235).6.21 *Kantō gechijō* (*KI*, 7:4782). A draft version of the code, dated identically to the final version, includes adoptive relationships (adoptive parents and adopted children/grandchildren) as well as nieces, which were removed in the final version, and a complete entry for sisters, who are found in the subtext under brothers in the final copy. See En’ō 2 (1240).4.25 *Kantō gechijō* (*KI*, 8:5562). The existence of at least three slightly different iterations of the law demonstrates that there was considerable debate over how far a unit of kin could extend in legal terms even within the Kamakura judiciary itself.

children, grandchildren, and siblings are included third and fourth.²⁰³ These relationships are a part of virtually any legal definition of “family,” so I will not delve too deeply into their inclusion here. Included next are son-in-law and father-in law, neither of which were blood related but both of which could potentially inherit an estate.²⁰⁴ This is also still a direct relationship within the context of the inheritance and succession-based modes of kinship that were in effect in the Kamakura period.

Fictional family tree of family members listed in the 1240 conflict-of-interest code:

Key: = Marriage Bond | Lineage Bond + Nonlinear relationships

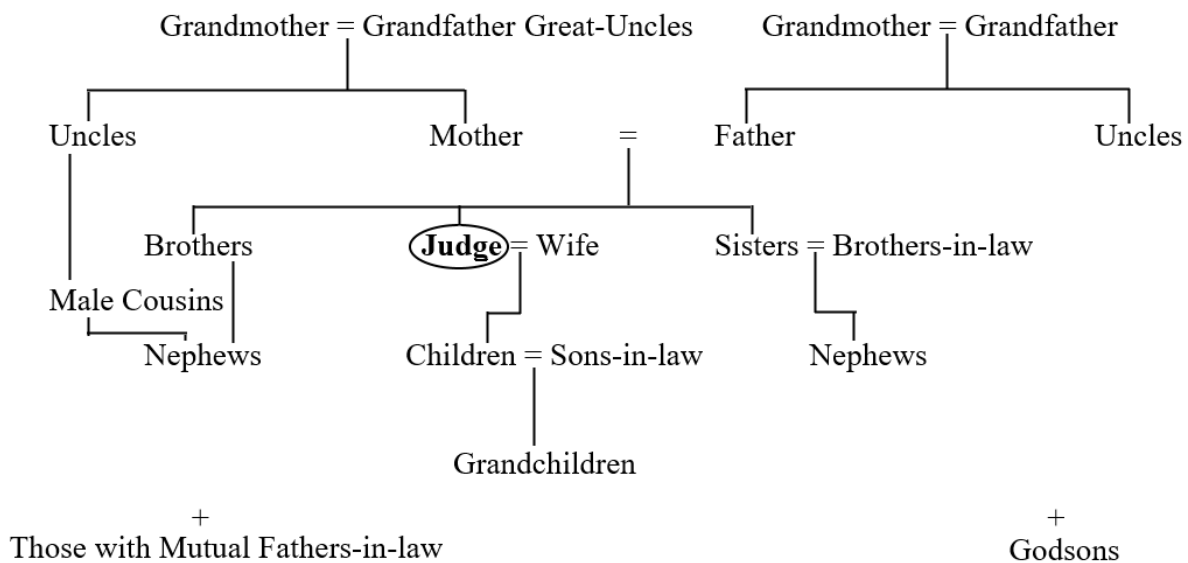


Figure 1: Conflict of interest code diagram. Note the following missing female relatives, who are listed only in the male form: Aunts, great-aunts, nieces, sisters-in law, daughters-in-law, those with mutual-mothers-in-law.

The next member of the list is that of *aiyake* (相舅), which can be translated as “mutual-father-in-law,” with no female equivalent listed. This concept is somewhat confusing and thus an

²⁰³ Notable here is the inclusion of both ways of writing the Japanese word for “siblings.” Although even in modern Japan it is common to use the male connoted *kyodai* (兄弟), to refer to siblings in general, the document also explicitly uses *shimai* (姉妹), the female connoted version. The feminine characters appear as subtext in the original document, which may indicate that the inclusion of female siblings here is implicit and should not be overlooked. This is, however, merely my interpretation of this grammatical decision by the original author of this document.

²⁰⁴ These relatives would therefore be in potential competition for authority within the *ichizoku* kin group.

additional visual demonstration is the easiest way to define such a relationship. Figure #2 is another (abbreviated) fictional family tree designed to demonstrate this relationship. In this example, the son's wife and the daughter's husband share the mutual father-in-law, as a parent of their spouses and father-in-law to each. These two people would not be related to each other by blood, marriage, or any other direct bond, and come from entirely separate social groups, but would be considered related with both one another and their respective spouses in the broad legal terms laid out by this edict because of their mutual relationship to the father of their spouses, whose estate they might be in line for as possible marital adoptees. Lineal or agnatic bonds were thus treated as roughly equal to affinal ones in the realm of the court, at least in determining the limits of judicial interest. "Marriage adoption," driven by children's affinal ties, was a common, essential practice in the medieval period, which I will examine in detail in Chapter VI, and is a likely reason for the treatment of in-laws as potentially close kin. Yet here again the judiciary used marital language to express parental bonds, as "in-laws" were generally adopted as the parents of grandchildren rather than the spouses of children.

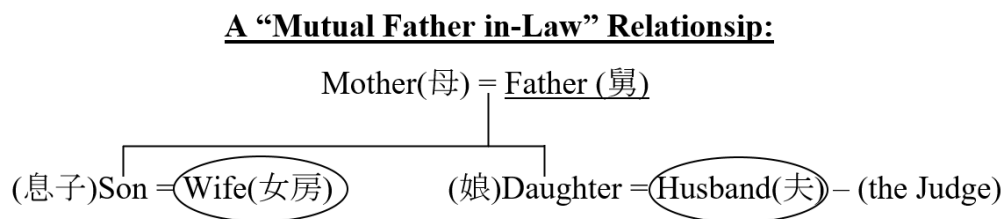


Figure 2: Mutual father in-law. (those with a "mutual father-in-law" are circled and the "mutual father-in-law" himself is underlined. The Japanese characters are those used in the code.

Next, the characters for "uncle's father" are listed.²⁰⁵ This indicates that the father of an uncle by marriage was also a fairly close relative. However, what is probably also indicated here is a general category for elder male relatives from the father's generation or above, which would

²⁰⁵ En'ō 2 (1240).4.25 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 8:5561).

include the male line of an uncle, either within the lineage or through affinal ties; though non-literal, the best translation would be “older male kin.”²⁰⁶ This category might also include great uncles, grandparents, step-grandparents, et cetera. This is the first case of male-gendered Chinese characters with no female equivalent. Within the nuclear family, the inclusion of female members and gender-neutral categorizations was deliberate, but beyond the natal group the emphasis switches to specifically male extended relatives. The next two relationships also demonstrate this; they are the characters for nephew, or *oi* (甥) and brother-in-law, or *kojūto* (小舅). Nieces and sisters-in-law go unmentioned. That these are specifically male categories is indicative of a switch from a set of nuclear relationships that include both genders to a more extended network of male relatives, who, in principle, were all in greater competition for the fortunes or their predecessors as potential successors to various branches of wealth, and were likely more regularly the subjects of lawsuits from the first forty years of judicial operations. Next on the list are uncles and their brothers (of a father’s generation); once again, a set of conspicuously male characters is used.²⁰⁷

The second-to-last set of characters deal directly with how a judge should proceed if his wife were brought to trial. The character for husband (夫) is used, followed by a specific declaration that “if the wife (of a judge) is involved in a lawsuit, he (the judge) must leave the room” (*tsuma soshō no toki taiza su beki nari* 妻訴訟之時可退座也).²⁰⁸ This is a departure from the theme of male relatives listed above, but stands on its own with the help of the subscript and

²⁰⁶ The specific connotation here appears to be male, and no female subtext (as was given in the case of siblings) is included.

²⁰⁷ *Jūfu kyōdai* (従父兄弟). This compound includes “uncle” (*jūfu* 従父) and “male sibling” (兄弟) characters. Though the siblings of uncles would also be uncles themselves, I presume that this signals a wider network of males of the previous generation, including those brothers of uncles by marriage who would otherwise not have a direct tie.

²⁰⁸ En’ō 2 (1240).4.25 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 8:5561).

is an obvious inclusion regarding conflict of interest.

The final element listed, and perhaps the most remote relationship of all, is one that equates to the position of godson, or “raven-hat child” or *eboshigo* (烏帽子子). An *eboshi* (烏帽子) was a courtly hat of black lacquer ceremonially worn by boys when they turned 15. On that day, they gained a godfather, called an *eboshi-oya* (烏帽子親), and received a new name of adulthood (an *eboshina* 烏帽子名).²⁰⁹ The practice of godparenthood, tied to the traditional male attire of the aristocratic court, was unique to warriors. The inclusion of godsons, but not godfathers, probably indicates the general top-down proclivity of the idealized patriline of the jural system, but also the simple fact that in a godfather-godson relationship, the godfather would more likely be the one in the position of judicial power. There is no evidence of the presence of god-daughters or god-mothers, or that such a formalized relationship even existed.

This conflict-of-interest code provides insight into the kinship networks active during the Kamakura period. Although its contents must be viewed through the lens of legal use and design, the absence of female relatives outside of the idealized immediate family shows the emergence of a significant difference in the perception of the range of social functions of women and men as well as the extent of female and male ties. In the eyes of the judiciary, potential succession lines relegated women to the role of caretakers and dependents rather than pillars of succession outside the natal group. This is not to say that women did not take on more primary roles; the case studies of the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime will show that women’s rights of

²⁰⁹ Joseph Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History*. p. 103. See also the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry for *eboshigo* (烏帽子子) and *eboshioya* (烏帽子親). The dictionary refers to *eboshioya* as *karioya* (仮親) or “borrowed parents,” signaling a sort of adoptive parenthood akin to godparenthood, with a tacit assumption that if misfortune befell the genetic parents, this person would raise the child. The *Nihon kokugo daijiten* also notes that elements of this tradition survive today in the form of 15-year old and 17-year old ceremonies for boys in Tōhoku, Kantō, and Kansai. Nagahara Keiji has also analyzed this code, and has provided similar commentary on *eboshioya* and *eboshigo*; see *Muromachi Sengoku no shakai*, pp. 219-220.

inheritance varied by household and that women regularly held headship duties. Yet it should be noted that even as early as 1240, in the legal conception, the male elements of warrior kinship extended further from the nuclear center than the female elements, and lawsuits were resolved based on that logic. While this lopsided view of men and women is possibly connected to increasingly patrilocally-based living arrangements, a part of the explanation also lies in shifting inheritance customs themselves.

An additional case reinforcing these values is found in the *Azuma Kagami* record from 1240/5/14, a month after the final version of the conflict of interest code was drafted.²¹⁰ A son brought a highly contentious suit against his father's widow (*goke* 後家), a lay-nun named Ochiai, in Shinano province, and the court handed down the following initial ruling:

This was dealt with in council today, and the son's suit was rejected. Moreover, his crime of acting against [Confucian] teachings is a heavy one. From hereafter, if [people] act as enemies/opponents [of their parents] they shall be charged with a serious crime [or be severely punished].²¹¹

Although the widow Ochiai was likely not biologically related her late husband's son (who was never referred to as her son, but rather her late husband's, and was likely the child of another woman), her documented position as *goke* served to provide her with a degree of status aligned with that of his late father, at least regarding inheritance rights and material authority. Violating the will of a *goke* was thus treated identically as violating the will of the deceased father. Subsequently, based upon that meeting of the *hyōjōshū*, the "board of councilors" who constituted the most powerful judicial decision makers, another additional law was drawn up to

²¹⁰ As I noted in Chapter I for its contents on Nakano Yoshinari, much of the *Azuma Kagami* is not trustworthy as a primary source, though this case and the law that followed fit well with established judicial precedents.

²¹¹ *Azuma kagami* (吾妻鏡), Ninji 1 (1240).5.14. In Kuroita Katsumi, ed. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikēi*, vol. 33, pp. 260-261.

emphasize the severity of such unfilial lawsuits as a direct result of the widow/child dispute:²¹²

As to the matter of those who oppose their grandmother and grandfather, or father and mother, and then engage in a dispute [lodge suits]. The crime of such slander is not a light one, and in recent days there has been a case of this. The crime of violating teachings and law is a heavy one. From hereafter, these must cease. If someone does oppose [grandparents or parents], then certainly in accord with the original provision [of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*, unspecified as to which article in particular], they shall be charged with a serious crime/dealt heavy punishment.

The absolute authority of parents and the maintenance of that authority by the Kamakura court were the primary force behind decision making in many internal disputes. Children could not challenge parents in court, and parents could freely rewrite wills to disinherit children or other heirs if they wished to do so. *Goke* inherited that status, even when the heirs in question were not their biological children, because as *goke* they were stand-ins for their fathers. What developed in the Kamakura period, especially as the shape of inheritances changed and inheritance struggles became heated, was a system of codified kinship in which parents were the unquestionable executors of their own properties. As supreme authority figures over their subordinate kin, parents had multiple avenues of potential succession and distribution open to them at all times, and could share that authority through the official designation of an affinal caretaker. Adoption, disinheritance (usually, based on “unfilialness”), the re-writing of wills, the re-deeding of property to and from children, and the ultimate legal authority of the word of the parents in the court, became universally accepted and even transferrable.²¹³

The above set of overlapping laws, amendments, and house codes demonstrates the central view of how warrior “families” should function in the idealized conception of central

²¹² The *hyōjōshū* is defined in Jeffrey P. Mass, *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*, p. 289, as the “supreme decision-making body of the Kamakura Bakufu.” This additional law is numerically referred to as additional law #143 in the court’s historical record. For further information on the *hyōjōshū*, see Andrew Goble, “The Hōjō and Consultative Government.”

²¹³ On the topic of filialness (孝) and unfilialness (不孝), see the short research report from Kawane Yoshiyasu, “Kamakura gokenin shakai ni okeru ‘kō’ to ‘fukō,’” pp. 57-59, which provides two detailed examples from mid-Kamakura bequests.

elites from Kamakura. The system of law developed by the Hōjō shaped the medieval record to come, and for over a century, warriors solved their disputes and solidified their own conceptions of kinship across the provinces through processes of confirmation and dispute handled by the Kamakura court system. There were many exceptions to the above rules, and it is easy to find holes in the logic of the judiciary, which could not predict or provide for every type of kin unit or every legal conflict that it confronted.

Kenmu, Nanbokuchō, and the Shift Toward Military Recordkeeping

After the overthrow of Kamakura by the combined forces of Emperor Go-Daigo and Ashikaga Takauji, a drastic shift in recordkeeping and documentary processes occurred, which reshaped the form of the later records found in both the *Nejime* and *Ichikawa Monjo*. From 1333 onward, a sharp decline in the submission of inheritance records for central certification occurred alongside the proliferation of military documents of multiple varieties. Initially, confirmation and reconfirmation of holdings from central and local powers over the course of the 1330s led provincial warriors to subscribe to new centers of confirmation, with Kyoto serving as the relocated base of official correspondence under Go-Daigo and the Ashikaga. Records of confirmation or *ando-jō* (安堵状) appear from multiple superiors in both sets of records, and at first it seemed that following a brief reign by Go-Daigo the Ashikaga would resume the judicial practices of Kamakura with the same level of provincial authority their predecessors had enjoyed. Yet the enduring presence of Emperor Go-Daigo's southern court, a thorn in the side of the new Ashikaga shogunate that lasted almost sixty years, led to a period in which warriors were pulled in multiple directions, and could seek to appeal their local issues in two separate judiciaries, which might rule differently on specific cases based on which local actors bore the strongest connections to either regime. Judicial operations continued, but their authority and

impartiality were at least somewhat compromised.

The loss of the Kamakura judiciary's singular, idealistically impartial court system undoubtedly led warriors at the local level to abandon the prospect of central certification of inheritance and settlement of disputes, especially those that could adapt to settle matters for themselves. For our historiographical purposes, this means that after 1333, fewer and fewer inheritance records and court cases survive, and our view of the specific machinations of internal familial discourse becomes limited in the Nanbokuchō period and beyond. Beginning in 1336, based on a widening divide between Emperor Go-Daigo and Ashikaga Takauji, Japan split into a period of “northern and southern courts” or “Nanbokuchō,” an era of political fragmentation that lasted until 1392. During this time, Go-Daigo and his successors relocated to a southern court in Yoshino, while the Ashikaga established a new line of imperial pretenders in Kyoto.²¹⁴

As the judiciary weakened and split in the ongoing conflict between the northern and southern courts, military recordkeeping became increasingly prevalent. For local warriors, military service was first and foremost tied to the consolidation and protection of their existing interests. Military documentation was heavily motivated by the promise of reward and commendations, which could economically and politically elevate local fighters of all walks of life beyond their previous lots under the stagnant Kamakura regime. Prior to the outbreak of warfare, the fortunes of most warriors were in a state of stasis or decline, and commoners had minimal social mobility beyond the village level.

In stark contrast to their *Goseibai Shikimoku* predecessor and the *tsuika hō* amendments that followed it, neither the short-lived *Kenmu Shikimoku* (建武式目) or the Ashikaga amendments, also known as the *Muromachi Bakufu hō* (室町幕府法), contains any articles

²¹⁴ See Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution* for a detailed view of the overthrow of the Kamakura regime and the schisms that divided the courts thereafter.

strictly dedicated to the delineation of warrior inheritance, family issues and group makeup, marriage, or widowhood.²¹⁵ This is, of course, not an indication that issues surrounding these subjects had vanished, but rather indicates the lack of a focus on the mediation of internal problems by the Kenmu or Ashikaga polities, which rested directly on Kamakura precedents, but added no new elements of their own to the codex of family law.

As both an opportunistic and necessary process, and with the courts capable of mediating disputes in disarray, warrior records in the mid-to-late fourteenth century are much more focused on documents that report calls to duty, official military correspondence, specific battle records, the reconfirmation of existing titles or lands, and petitions for and records of official recognition by superior officers.²¹⁶ The new (short-lived) Kenmu and Ashikaga Governments were mostly concerned with consolidation and control on a large scale rather than the nitty-gritty mechanics of individual warrior groups. For the first time since the start of the Kamakura period, warriors were once again left to fend for themselves, although the enduring court system of the Ashikaga and the precedents of the Kamakura age had altered the fundamental processes of conflict resolution. After the fall of Kamakura, local kin groups often warded off internal conflict by developing internal mechanisms of conflict avoidance and resolution, sending fewer and fewer bequests or lawsuits to the Ashikaga judiciary for confirmation or resolution.

That records of inheritance are muted in the Nanbokuchō period should come as no

²¹⁵ For the *Kenmu Shikimoku*, see Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 146-154. Later *tsuika hō* amendments to the Kenmu code added by the Ashikaga appear on pp. 155-176.

²¹⁶ The Ashikaga maintained a robust judiciary office in Kyoto, and the structures of document transmission, certification, and conflict resolution by warrior courts remained fundamentally intact. However, military activity intensified in the 1330s and 1340s, and remained at a fever pitch throughout the remainder of the fourteenth century. In this climate of militarism, provincial warriors and the Ashikaga court alike had less time to dedicate to recordkeeping related to inheritance, which was overshadowed by the more urgent need to draft and certify reports of service, documents of reward, and petitions for one or the other. On the early Ashikaga legal system and handling of lawsuits, see Iwamoto Shūichi, *Shoki Muromachi bakufu soshō seido no kenkyū*. Although the Nejime and the Ichikawa were (usually) Ashikaga adherents, some warriors subscribed to the southern court, which issued documents of its own.

surprise. Yet the absence of these details should not be taken as a strict indication of social shifts or changes to social structure. Instead, I would argue that changes in relational dynamics moved more slowly than the fervent pitch of violent regime change and the loss of central warrior control visible over the course of only a few decades. For both the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime, the Nanbokuchō period brought many new priorities and problems, but whether these changes mandated a swift alteration of familial makeup and power dynamics is highly debatable.

The shift in documentary production has a major impact on the type of data that we can glean from the records of both the Nejime and the Ichikawa. Before moving on to detailed analysis of our two case studies, whose texts span the broader judicial and military recordkeeping frameworks of the late-Heian, Kamakura, Nanbokuchō, and Muromachi periods, I would like to briefly sketch the background to the collection and archival efforts surrounding the Nejime and Ichikawa documents themselves, as carried out by postwar historians in Yamanashi and Kyushu, in order to understand the nature of these two sets of records and what we should expect to extract from them. Although a full textual and historiographical analysis of the *Nejime Monjo* and *Ichikawa Monjo* as document collections would require a separate study, let us briefly explore the history of the records of these two groups. I will begin with the more voluminous set of Nejime documents as they have been transmitted from the sixteenth century to the present.

The History of the *Nejime Monjo*

The *Nejime Monjo* is a compilation of over 800 documents gathered by historians from Kyushu and Tokyo, and the assembly of the present-day compilation of Nejime records reflects the scattered nature of the Nejime themselves. Several historians have published articles on the assembly of the *Nejime Monjo*, with the most comprehensive versions of the editing effort

coming from Kondō Shigekazu and Morioka Yasushi.²¹⁷ I would like to reiterate some of their points on the history of the *Nejime Monjo* and its origination as a compilation of medieval through early modern texts, and share my opinion of how to use this record to explore the history of the Nejime.

Morioka's analysis includes a brief outline of Nejime history from the Heian period through the Meiji restoration. Although many details are glossed over and elements of Morioka's outline are based on conjecture and local legend, his main point is that the survival of the Nejime documents in their current, abundant form is largely due to the success of the Nejime in navigating the centuries-long political and military quagmire of the medieval period. In his analysis, he compares the Nejime to the Kimotsuki (肝属 or 肝付), their northern rivals, who fought for the southern court in the 1300s and lost all their lands to the Shimazu (with help from Nejime) by the end of the fourteenth century, were forced into service as their retainers thereafter, and whose documentary record is much less substantial as a result.²¹⁸ The Shimazu were the *shugo* of all three provinces in southern Kyushu (Ōsumi, Satsuma, and Hyūga), throughout the Kamakura period and into the fourteenth century, and controlled vast stretches of land categorized as their familial *shōen* (the Shimazu-*shō* 島津庄).²¹⁹

The survival of the Nejime as powerful, independent figures until the late sixteenth century assured the survival of their records, which are more complete than those of many other

²¹⁷ Kondō Shigekazu, “Nejime monjo no denrai ni tsuite,” and Morioka Yasushi, “Toyō bunko shozō Nejime monjo ni tsuite.”

²¹⁸ See Morioka Yasushi, “Toyō bunko shozō Nejime monjo ni tsuite” on the Nejime documents. On the Shimazu, see Niina Kazuhito, *Muromachi-ki Shimazu-shi ryōgoku no seiji kōzō*, especially pp. 76-79 for records from the *Nejime Monjo*. Niina's book is focused mostly on the fifteenth century and thereafter, but also contains numerous references to Shimazu-Nejime interactions in the fourteenth century.

²¹⁹ For a summary of the Shimazu as *shugo* and extensive landholders, see Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, pp. 106-107. The records of the Shimazu appear in *Dai Nihon komonjo*, Iewake 16, *Shimazu-ke monjo* (島津家文書), in three volumes.

warriors. The careful maintenance of their own networked history via overlapping channels of recordkeeping in multiple related sub-lineages was a vital proof of legitimacy for the nominal administrative lords of the Nejime region as well as the local landholders who operated within the name group. The primacy of paper as a means of legitimacy is an important element of warrior life that cannot be overstated. The survival of the Nejime records in their own right should inform our understanding of their *ichizoku* as a politically and militarily successful group.

However, from the Meiji period onward, the impetus to maintain these records was lost with the dissolution of the samurai, as the Nejime *ichizoku* network, built on a shared documentary tradition and military identity, ceased to exist. As Morioka points out, in the Meiji period and thereafter, the records of the Nejime became increasingly scattered, and many were thought lost, until scholars from the University of Kyushu began to seek them out for recompilation in the 1950s.²²⁰ This search resulted in the publication of the original, hand-written three-volume *Nejime Monjo* collection by Kawazoe Shōji in 1958 and 1959 - a chronological compilation based on the combined records of multiple public and private institutions that held the documents.²²¹ The more recent 1987 *Kagoshima Ken Shiryō* collection contains the same records along with a few more recent additions, and re-divides the *Nejime Monjo* into its component collections, eleven in total, along with four “related document” collections.²²²

Kondō Shigekazu’s article on the history of the *Nejime Monjo* is particularly instructive

²²⁰ On the collection and archiving effort, see Morioka Yasushi, “Toyō bunko shozō Nejime monjo ni tsuite.”

²²¹ The original handwritten version of the *Nejime Monjo* is still cited by many local scholars. See Kawazoe Shōji, ed., *Nejime monjo*, vol. 1-3.

²²² See *KKSI*, vol. 1 and 2. The introduction to this volume introduces the reader to the methodology and logic of the recompilation of the *Nejime Monjo* based on its component parts. This later version of the *Nejime Monjo* is not chronological and is therefore more difficult to parse than the earlier 1959 chronological compilation. However, this newer version of the Nejime record retains the original order and form of the various sources from which documents were compiled. This more faithful ordering of the record allows for a more careful analysis of how documents, and, by proxy, their authors and subjects. For this reason, I have worked primarily from the newer *Kagoshima Ken Shiryō* edition rather than the original 1959 *Nejime Monjo* (though both were consulted throughout this project, the latter especially for purposes of chronology). I cite the *Kagoshima ken shiryō* versions of the *Nejime Monjo* exclusively.

on unpacking the complex formation of the record as a collection of historical documents.²²³

Kondō's concern is largely with the seventeenth century developments in the Nejime and their recordkeeping and succession. Kondō goes into great detail on the later history of the Nejime, who changed their name to Komatsu (小松) after their relocation to Yoshitoshi in Satsuma in 1595, and kept their records there for centuries, developing multiple genealogical records in the form of name lists and *keizu* (系図) family trees to legitimize and solidify their ancestral claims as regional power holders.²²⁴ In the process of creating a clear genealogical record for their ancestors (which is not produced in the medieval Nejime documents), the early modern Nejime descendants occasionally filled in gaps with guesses at the names and positions of certain individuals, leading to a sometimes wholly fictionalized and artificially streamlined version of their lineage, which focuses on a singular line of main heirs alongside a few of their sub-lineage collaterals.²²⁵ The picture these genealogies paint is thus much narrower than the full body of relatives mentioned in medieval documents, whose exact relationships might not have been evident to seventeenth century chroniclers working from scattered chunks of the record.²²⁶

The History of the *Ichikawa Monjo*

The documents of the Ichikawa are currently divided into two large sets, though their separation is a modern phenomenon. The first and more substantial set contains the records from

²²³ Kondō Shigekazu, "Nejime monjo no denrai ni tsuite."

²²⁴ Morioka Yasushi, "Toyō bunko shozō Nejime monjo ni tsuite," p. 16.

²²⁵ This assertion lies at the core of Kondō Shigekazu's argument regarding the Sumino, a Nejime sub-lineage whose early-modern genealogy involves a great deal of invention and gap-filling which is belied by the medieval record. See Kondō Shigekazu, "Nejime monjo no denrai ni tsuite."

²²⁶ On the phenomena of the winnowing down of the number of kin included in *keizu*, and on the difference between medieval *keizu* (few of which survive), which included women and cognates, and early-modern *keizu*, which are almost exclusively male-oriented and focus on single lines of headship, see Kurushima Noriko, "Chūsei kōki no buke to kon'in, yōshi kankei: saigoku o sozai ni," pp. 98-102. Kurushima compares medieval and early-modern *keizu* from the same kin group, the Iwami Masuda (石見益田氏), to highlight the differences in the content of genealogical records over time, and demonstrates the exaggerated sense of lineal continuity and verticality found in later *keizu*. See also Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol. 14, pp. 227-382 for various analyses of *keizu* by Amino, and p. 262 on some of the problems related to *keizu* as primary sources.

the twelfth through fourteenth centuries that are the most critical to this study. This set, known as the *Ichikawa Monjo*, is a series of 146 surviving records from 1170 to 1423 (with one outlying document from 1569) housed in the Homma Museum of Art (本間美術館) in Yamagata and available in several edited forms.²²⁷ A second set of 91 additional records, referred to as the *Ichikawa-ke Monjo* (or records of the Ichikawa “house”), was found in 1969 and is now held by the Yamanashi Prefectural Museum of History (山梨県立博物館).²²⁸ This second set contains about a dozen documents from the medieval period, though the bulk of these either overlap with or directly repeat documents (as copies) from the earlier-compiled *Ichikawa Monjo*.²²⁹ The newer collection is made up primarily of documents from the Edo period and several dozen fifteenth and sixteenth-century military records, especially correspondence between the Uesugi daimyo and their Ichikawa officers from the final few years of the Sengoku period. While I use

²²⁷ The 1569 document is an order from Takeda Shingen to Ichikawa Nobufusa regarding military provisions for the defense of the border with the Uesugi. Before World War Two, three additional documents from Ashikaga Yoshimitsu also survived, though they were lost during the war years. After the conclusion of my initial study of the Ichikawa (completed in 2008), the Nagano Prefectural Museum of History (*Nagano kenritsu rekishikan* 長野県立歴史館 or NPMH) digitized the entire early medieval collection, which is now easily accessible on their website in both edited text and original image formats. For my research, I have consulted with the edited text versions of the series available in the *Shinano shiryō* and *Kamakura ibun* collections, though I would suggest the NPMH website (www.npmh.net) as a useful alternative, which draws from the *Shinano shiryō* version in its edited presentation of the collection. On the history of these records, see also *Shinpen Shinano shiryō sōsho*, vol. 3, pp. 1-2. On the collection and organization of the Ichikawa records into scrolls, alongside other elements of their history as bibliographical objects, see Ihara Kesao, “Ichikawa monjo no zenkan fukusei shoshigakuteki kenkyū,” pp. 40-49. More generally, this article is fantastically detailed, and gives excellent insight into the transmission and preservation of medieval texts into the present day, including the various formats they are transformed into through scroll-binding. See also Ihara Kesao, “Chiiki-shi kenkyū to Ichikawa monjo no katsuyō,” which discusses the formation of the *Shinano shiryō* in detail. Finally, a 1933 article by Hotoriyama Ebisawa entitled “Nagaredeteita Ichikawa monjo ittū” describes the discovery and collection of several scrolls of Ichikawa and neighboring Takanashi documents.

²²⁸ There were also several scattered documents, mostly from the sixteenth century, including a pair in the collection of the Nagano Prefectural Museum of History, though these have been returned to one collection or the other. The main collections are the *Ichikawa Monjo*, which contains the 146 documents that are both the most substantial and the most chronologically related to this project, and the *Ichikawa-ke Monjo*, which includes 91 additional documents, though nearly all those records from before the Sengoku period are duplicates. See Nishikawa Kōhei, “Yamanashi kenritsu hakubutsukan shozō ‘Ichikawa ke Monjo’ ni tsuite.”

²²⁹ *Ichikawa-ke Monjo* documents are not chronologically arranged. Documents #1 is undated, but is likely from 1224, while #6-7 and #71-80 range from 1360-1403, and are mostly confirmations on military service by the Ashikaga and the Ogasawara. Almost all of these records overlap with confirmations and service records in the *Ichikawa Monjo*, and the newer set of records is most valuable for its later Sengoku and Edo period contents.

both sets of records, almost all the information concerning the Nakano and Ichikawa from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries comes from the earlier *Ichikawa Monjo*, and the *Ichikawa-ke Monjo* collection is less relevant to the study of early medieval kinship.²³⁰

Multiple local experts have written about the history of the Ichikawa documents and the complex story of their survival into modern times, including Ihara Kesao, Gōdō Noriaki, Yumoto Gun'ichi, Sankō Kanshu, and Nishikawa Kōhei, among others. The history of these records is, of course, tied together with the history of the Ichikawa, especially as the group transitioned from the late medieval to the early modern and modern periods. According to Gōdō Noriaki, at the end of the Sengoku (“warring states”) period, as part of the nationwide reshuffling of warriors, the Uesugi were forcibly relocated from Echigo to Aizu in 1598, and the Ichikawa were moved with them as *kashin* (家臣) house retainers, losing claim to their Shinano holdings after over 400 years of continuous control (in a similar move to that of the Nejime).²³¹ Although I will not go into detail on the intervening centuries of service as Uesugi daimyo housemen, by the nineteenth century the Ichikawa had again relocated to Yonezawa in Yamagata-ken, in the same region as the museum that now houses the larger set of their records, compiled as the *Ichikawa Monjo*.

Based on the policies of the new Meiji government, the Ichikawa (and all other samurai) lost their status as warriors in the 1870s; out of financial need, they put their documents up for sale, finding a buyer in Iyakara Ken (伊佐早謙), who acquired the bulk of them in a series of small purchases. At the start of the Showa period in 1926, they were passed on to the Homma (本間), a powerful family from the Edo period who later founded the Homma Museum of Art,

²³⁰ The first seven documents from the *Ichikawa-ke Monjo* provide a few details on late Nanbokuchō military activity and correspondence with the Ogasawara, and overlap with records from the *Ichikawa Monjo*. See Nishikawa Kōhei, “Yamanashi kenritsu hakubutsukan shozō ‘Ichikawa ke Monjo’ ni tsuite,” p. 28.

²³¹ On the Ichikawa in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, see Gōdō Noriaki, “‘Ichikawa monjo’ yomoyama hanashi.”

which houses the *Ichikawa Monjo* documents, now bound together in a set of sixteen scrolls.²³²

The bulk of my analysis is built directly on a close reading of the 146 documents of the *Ichikawa Monjo* collection, as well as the interpretations provided by numerous local scholars. As Kären Wigen has noted, local history in Nagano is particularly advanced, owing partially to multiple excellent museums, a history of scholarship dating to the prewar period, local governmental sponsorship of historical study of the region, and fierce levels of regional pride. As outlined in the Introduction, the most valuable locally-generated secondary materials I have found for this study are first, the Nagano Prefectural Museum History Bulletin, second, the excellent *Shinano* journal, and third, a small but longstanding regional history magazine called *Takai* (高井), held in only a few collections (and not even available at the University of Tokyo!), which has seen periodic publication since the 1970s including a highly useful edition from 1974 that contains a half-dozen topical studies of the Ichikawa and the Takai region.²³³

Conclusion

The *Nejime Monjo* and *Ichikawa Monjo* allow for parallel views of two kin groups that developed within the political, judicial, and military spheres of the late Heian and Kamakura periods. These groups endured into the modern age, preserving their texts for centuries, even after they lost access to their homelands. Their records allow for a close, but ultimately limited view, which is filtered by the broader context within which the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa wrote their documents and received responses from successive governments.

²³² Gōdō Noriaki, “‘Ichikawa monjo’ yomoyama hanashi,” p. 78.

²³³ I began my research on the Ichikawa as a master’s student at the University of Oregon, and my work on the Ichikawa in this dissertation draws some direct passages from my master’s thesis, entitled “Alpine Samurai: The Ichikawa and Warrior Family Dynamics in Early Medieval Japan,” though the current sections on the Nakano/Ichikawa have been significantly expanded. It was not until I was able to conduct archival research in Nagano that the wealth of local archival and secondary materials became available to me, and I hope that their integration in this chapter serves to refine and enhance my earlier research.

In this chapter I have presented the textual realm of the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, and argued that, although documents are an excellent link to the past, many elements of any medieval kin group remain hidden from a purely textual examination. Warrior documents were written for consumption by and the consideration of warrior courts, not historians or other latter-day readers. As the priorities of documentary production shifted, it is easy to imagine that modes of kinship shifted with them, and that social change operated in immediate parallel with the shift from jural to military recordkeeping that accompanied the fall of Kamakura. Yet it is vital to consider the textuality of warrior documents when examining them with an eye toward social change (as in any other instance). Scraps of surviving documents, when read closely and contextualized properly, will reveal more complex and enduring sets of relationships in the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime.

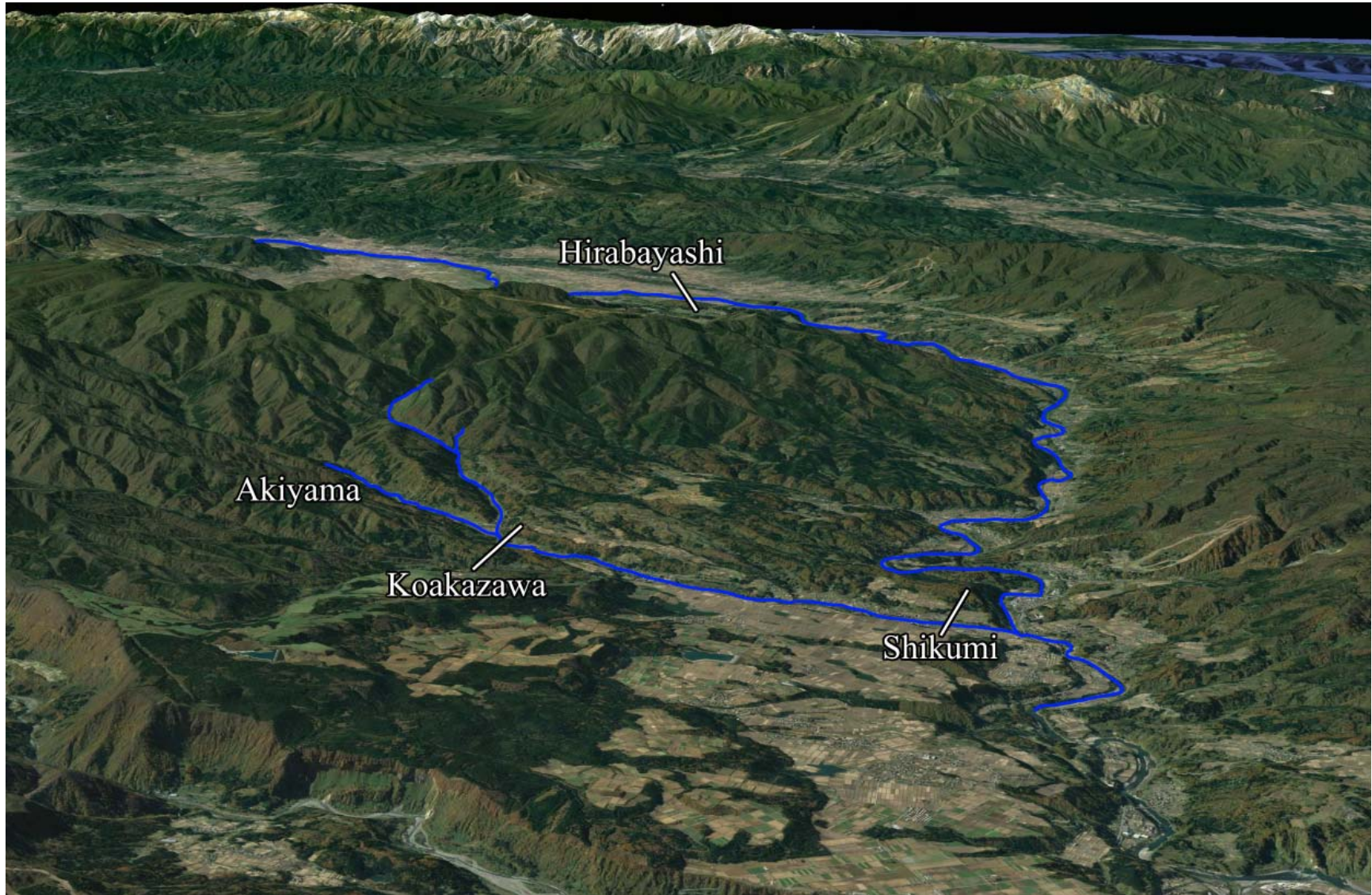
How do we get around the problem of limited and limiting document collections and law codes? That is perhaps the greatest challenge for the study of premodern kinship. In the following chapter, I will attempt to provide one step in the right direction by adding perspective provided by the land itself, an actor whose ubiquity in documents allows for a close environmental contextualization of the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa.

CHAPTER III: KIN GROUPS AND ENVIRONMENTS

In the roughly eight-hundred-year interim since the Ichikawa and the Nejime took control of their locales, numerous polities have risen and fallen, and the relationship between humans and nature has transformed. Over the past several centuries, mankind has come to exploit the environment with increasing efficiency and modify it in ever more dramatic forms. As any present-day visitor to the Tokyo megalopolis (or much of the wider Tōkaidō corridor, which stretches the lateral length of and connects the largest cities in southern and central Honshu) is undoubtedly aware, the most populated parts of Japan's present landscape are almost entirely the product of human development, and have been continually shaped and reshaped throughout human history. Japan is often viewed by casual visitors, who rarely range far past the boundaries of the Tokyo or Kyoto metropolitan areas, as a mechanized, concrete symbol of modernism.

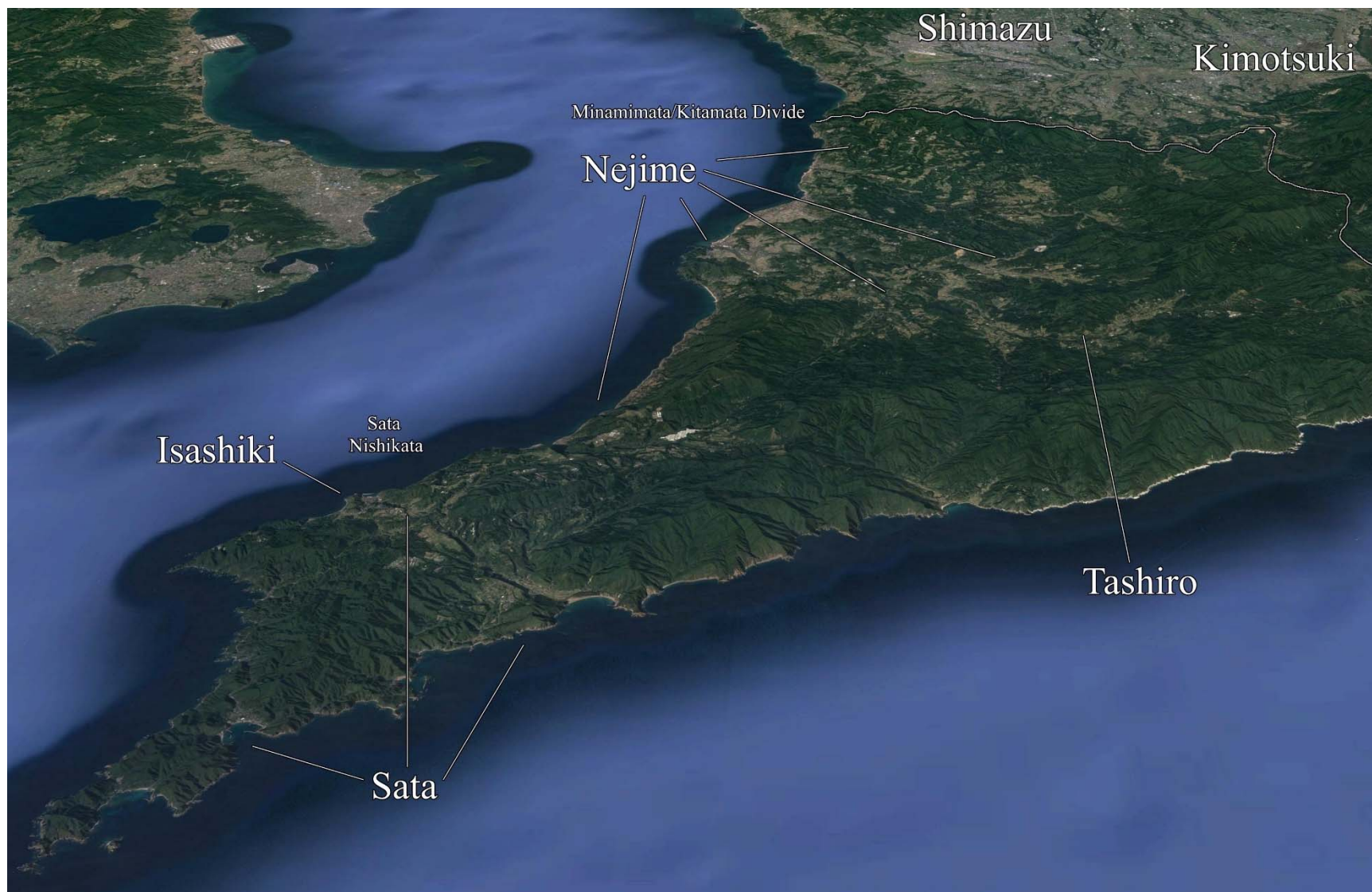
However, in many parts of the country, even the most recent periods of advanced, industrialized human development have left fewer marks. The past millennium has been but a blip on the radar of geological time, and in areas of minor development, many of the natural features of the premodern world are left largely intact. They remain viable sources for inquiry into the distant past, and hold valuable detail for historical study. I would include the hinterlands of the Nejime and Takai regions among the long list of places that have not changed all that much in the past thousand years, at least from the perspective of the earth itself.

Map 1: Rotated geographical map of modern Shimo-Takai-gun (premodern Shikumi), Shinano Province (northeast to southwest perspective).²³⁴



²³⁴ Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus, Sata SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Data Japan Hydrographic Association.

Map 2: Rotated geographical map of Nejime-in, Ōsumi Province (south to north perspective).²³⁵



²³⁵ Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus, Sata SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image © 2016 TerraMetrics.

If one looks past the highways and tunnels that bore through these two areas, they are not otherwise particularly developed. Both sit dozens of miles from large towns or cities. When one examines them up close, it is still possible to imagine what life would have been like there in premodern times. This chapter compares the local environmental features of northern Shinano (present-day Nagano prefecture) and southern Ōsumi (present-day Kagoshima prefecture) provinces. The primary goal is to examine what effects and influences the environment had on the human inhabitants of these two locales in the medieval period, both generally and in the specific terms of the Nakano/Ichikawa of Takai-*gun* and Nejime of Nejime-*in*.²³⁶ Here, I will compare these two areas in a detailed overview that integrates primary sources from the medieval period, local historical and archaeological analyses, climate studies, and conclusions from direct local investigation.²³⁷

Medieval warrior documents rarely provide much in the way of environmental detail. Centrally appointed land surveyors (sent by provincial *shugo* governors on behalf of the shogunate) sought to standardize their records of the landscape in the context of the rice tax system, and their reports are confined to that narrow context. Local warriors inherited that agricultural focus as *jitō* land stewards (the shogunate's local representatives), and their numerous records usually describe little beyond acreages, the names of cultivated land under their jurisdiction, and the total size and locations of their individual fields and residences. In some cases, a rough listing of borders might accompany the naming of specific fields, but their descriptive value is limited because they most often utilize minor place names that have fallen

²³⁶ Because the focus of this chapter is on the environment rather than directly on these families, I will abbreviate my references to the Nakano/Ichikawa conglomerate into the shorthand of "Ichikawa" throughout.

²³⁷ Field work in Nagano was carried by the author out between 2012 and 2015 over the course of a half-dozen short visits. Field work in Kagoshima was conducted over several weeks in 2015. This work included both local archival research and direct investigation of areas listed in Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa records.

out of use over time. Thus, although surviving medieval documents have their value in determining the general locations of the territorial interests of warriors, their contextual limitations and narrow focus necessitate creative strategies for understanding the broader influence of the landscape on medieval warrior society.²³⁸

This chapter is divided into four types of analysis. In the first section, I detail the climatic, topographical, and geographical features of northern Shinano and southern Ōsumi. Second, I analyze the size and shape of the Ichikawa and Nejime estates as described in medieval documents including surveying records. Third, I detail types of resources, including the availability of food, both in terms of officially calculated agricultural outputs and uncalculated, “wild” food resources, as well as the locally specific non-food resources warriors might have used to further enrich themselves and solidify their positions. Fourth, I use a close reading of minor place names and surveys by modern scholars and historical associations to map each kin group onto their respective territories, and seek out structural corollaries between physical space and concepts of relatedness. I conclude by explaining the perceptible influence and agency that the environment had over human relations, identity, and kinship in the Nakano/Ichikawa and Nejime, both individually and in comparison.

The Climate and Topography of Takai-gun and Nejime-in

Climatic variation is perhaps the most obvious difference between regions in Japan. This variation is determined by a combination multiple factors, including predominant weather patterns, latitude, elevation, and proximity to major topographical features such as mountain

²³⁸ The combination of enviro and socio-historical analysis has seen some development in Japan; see Yada Toshifumi, “Chūsei no shizen to ningen,” which examines natural disasters, health and population, environmental boundaries, time and conceptions of historical periodization as confluences of humanity and the environment. On pp. 300-301, Yada lists natural disasters from 1065-1711 including earthquakes, fires, outbreaks of disease, famines, etc.

ranges and coastlines. The Nejime and Takai regions are extreme in their climatic disparity, owing to differences in these contributing factors. The topographical and geographical features of these two localities are particularly distinct when viewed comparatively and combine with latitudinal difference to produce highly differentiated climatic conditions.

In terms of its basic physical shape, Japan is a latitudinally diverse, narrow chain of islands that runs from southwest to northeast. The Ichikawa territory in Takai sits in the north-central portion of the main island of Honshu on the 37th northern parallel, while Nejime is on the 31st parallel on the island of Kyushu's southern tip, and includes the southernmost point of the four main islands. The two regions are roughly 600 miles or 960 kilometers apart in linear distance. Map #3 demonstrates the relative locations of these two small corners of Japan.

Between these two regions, geological differences are less pronounced than climatic or topographic ones. All of Japan is made up of a set of contiguous volcanoes that jut out of the ocean, forming a rocky archipelago with little flatland, especially outside the Kantō and Kinai plains. In both the Nejime and Takai regions, this results in a rocky landscape dotted with *yama*, or “mountains” which range in size and severity from small hills to dramatic peaks.

The Features of Takai-gun

The Ichikawa home of Shikumi-*yama*, on the northern end of the Takai region, is a small, round-topped peak that sits along the sprawling convergence of multiple intersecting mountain ranges, collectively known today as the *Nihon Arupusu*, or Japan Alps. Extreme tectonic activity forced these jutting mountains sharply upward, after which water erosion cut deep river valleys that have served as the routes of transport through the mountains throughout human history.²³⁹

²³⁹ Transit routes are often analyzed in terms of the movement of tax goods. See Ōishi Naomasa, “Chiiki-sei to kōtsū,” pp. 129-137, Fujiwara Yoshiaki, “Chūsei toshi to kōtsū taikēi,” especially pp. 110-112 on transit routes in the Kamakura period, and Satō Yasuhiro, “Shōen-sei to tohi kōtsū,” pp. 108-127 on transit and the *shōen*.

Conrad Totman describes Nagano as an area with a “profoundly complicated geology...where [tectonic] plates collided with particular harshness.”²⁴⁰ The alpine region is difficult to navigate, and large areas often went overlooked in premodern land surveys due to their inaccessibility. As Nagano expert Karen Wigen notes, the most remote regions of Nagano’s “Alps” remained “essentially uncharted” until the Meiji Period (1868-1912).²⁴¹



Map 3: Nejime-in and Takai-gun in archipelagic context.²⁴²

The Ichikawa lived on the northern end of the Chikuma-gawa 千曲川 (or Shinano-gawa 信濃川, as it is known outside Nagano) river valley on the northeasterly downslope of Shinano’s maze of overlapping mountain ranges. The confluence of the Shikumi and Chikuma rivers, a

²⁴⁰ Conrad Totman, *A History of Japan*, p. 13.

²⁴¹ For more on the alps, see Kären Wigen’s “Discovering the Japanese Alps: Meiji Mountaineering and the Quest for Geographical Enlightenment,” p. 7.

²⁴² Map created by the author using base data from D-Maps.com, used with permission.

low-point carved by the rivers themselves, is only 240 meters above sea level. The Ichikawa lived just above this confluence, at about 360 meters above sea level near the low peak of Shikumi-*yama*.²⁴³ Situated just south of the Echigo plain, a wide basin formed by flooding on the Chikuma river, Shikumi-*yama* rises sharply out of the conjoined Chikuma and Shikumi riverbeds, but slopes off at its midpoint hosting a small band of fairly flat, habitable land. The top of Shikumi-*yama* includes a large swath of arable land that accounted for the largest contiguous set of fields in the former Ichikawa territory – still harvested as terraced rice paddy today.

Further south, a much more severe mountainous hinterland rises sharply, and the highest mountains in Takai are just under 1800 meters at their peak.²⁴⁴ Shikumi rests at the northeastern end of Japan's Fossa Magna Rift, a fault group that creates a lowland trench cutting across the width of Honshu through the Alps, allowing for overland travel from the Sea of Japan to the Pacific Ocean through several parts of Nagano.²⁴⁵ Though Shikumi was only a minor transport artery overshadowed by a larger support highway to the west (that connected the Hokurikudō and Tōsandō), the Chikuma river valley serves as the northernmost access point to the Fossa Magna, and is thus the fastest route from central or northern Echigo to the southern side of Honshu. By the 1350s and 1360s, Shikumi evolved into a barrier checkpoint, or *sekisho* (normally 関所, written 關所 in this case), and is mentioned as such in one record, though its

²⁴³ Elevation data for these areas recorded by the author over several trips between 2012 and 2015.

²⁴⁴ In addition to the relatively squat peak of Shikumi that they called home, the Ichikawa also controlled the mountain land and river valley extending south a dozen miles toward the modern ski-resort town of Nozawa Onsen, which features a range of much larger peaks that reach roughly 1700 meters tall (which are still not terribly tall in the comparison to Nagano's largest alpine ridges). There is some additional flatland in the Nozawa region, which the Ichikawa developed or took over (it is unclear if the land was cleared or farmed prior to Ichikawa efforts) near the end of the Kamakura period. The bulk of Ichikawa activity was confined to their home region on the Shinano-Echigo provincial border, and to the southern floodplain regions of the Chikuma river valley, which serves as the most direct, easily passable route to the Kantō plain from the Sea of Japan. The Ichikawa territory forms a natural gateway along the Shinano/Chikuma river, at the southernmost inhabitable region before passing through the mountains.

²⁴⁵ Ihara Kesao has pointed out the utility of the Fossa Magna as one of only two regions in the archipelago that make for easy crossing from the Japan Sea to the Pacific Ocean. See Ihara Kesao, "Takai chihō no chūsei-shi (1)," p. 43.

formal function as a checkpoint between Shinano and Echigo provinces is not otherwise directly documented.²⁴⁶



Image 1: Rice fields near the peak of Shikumi-yama and the marker for the ruins of the former Ichikawa residence, facing northeast across the Shikumi River valley. (Photo by the author, 7/12/2015).²⁴⁷

Beyond the small chunk of cropland on and around Shikumi-yama, where the Ichikawa constructed a residence and fort, most of the rest of the Nakano/Ichikawa territory was more topographically difficult to develop for farming, owing to the sharpness and steepness of the southern mountains. The consistent irrigation needed for rice farming can be difficult to sustain at higher elevations, and from the basic topography of the region, we can surmise that the overwhelming majority of the land under Ichikawa control was not suitable for structured

²⁴⁶ Ryakuō 3 (1340).8 *Ichikawa Tomofusa gunchūjō* (*SNS*, 5, pp. 433-434). The specific phrasing is (*Shinshū to Esshū sakai Shikumi-guchi sekisho* 信州与越州堺志久見口關所).

²⁴⁷ This site is now known as the ruins of the Uchiike-yakata (内池館), formerly known as the Ichikawa-yakata (市河館), and also called the Shikumitate-ato (志久見館跡), the site of the Ichikawa home fortress and early medieval residence atop Shikumi-yama. See the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* entry for Shikumitate-ato (志久見館跡). Later in the medieval period, the Ichikawa built yet another fort in the heart of modern Nozawa-Onsen. On that, different “Ichikawa-kan,” called “Ichikawa-shi-jōkan no ato” (市河氏城館跡) today, see Ueno Shō, “Nozawa no kyūchimei ni yoru Ichikawa-shi jōkan no kenkyū,” which employs an eclectic combination of archeological data, historical evidence, a local knowledge of the area to describe the history and nature of the later-built Ichikawa fort. On the medieval residence and fort, see Ishizawa Saburō, “Ichikawa-shi to Shikumi-gō,” pp. 45-47.

agriculture of any kind and was particularly inhospitable for wet rice paddies.

In the section that runs through the Shikumi region, the Chikuma river is fast-flowing, with narrow banks and no floodplain. The river does not freeze in winter, but smaller tributary streams that provide water for agriculture are useless in the colder months, when conditions are unsuitable even for hearty crops like winter wheat and beans. When the thaw arrives, water rushes out quickly, carrying away nutrients with it. As Conrad Totman points out, in mountainous regions, spring runoff is less useful for irrigation than rainwater due to the sudden movement of water that begins bound in snow and ice.²⁴⁸ In Takai, meltwater fills the Chikuma river as it flows quickly northward into the bountiful Echigo floodplain (fed by the nutrients carried off the mountains), then out to the Sea of Japan over a short period of spring melting.

In addition to its rugged topography, a predominant weather pattern called the *yamase* effect, which causes cooling and highly variable temperatures year-round, is another key factor that limits rice-farming in northern Shinano, and has a significant negative effect on crop yields.²⁴⁹ Rice paddies suffer from both cold weather effects and temperature fluctuations to a greater degree than dry fields.²⁵⁰ In the modern period, plant-breeding methods have been used to develop rice strains that survive better in colder weather, which have been a boon to rice production in Japan's northern regions.²⁵¹

Weather patterns generated in combination with cooling from the *yamase* effect force large amounts of cold air into Shikumi in winter months, resulting in a long and extreme winter

²⁴⁸ Totman, Conrad. *A History of Japan*, p. 17.

²⁴⁹ See Shimada Teruhisa, Sawada Masahiro, and Iwasaki Toshiki, "Indices of Cool Summer Climate in Northern Japan: Yamase Indices." This article covers the cooling effect in the waters off Hokkaido and northern Honshu.

²⁵⁰ Totman, Conrad. *A History of Japan*, p. 18. Here, Totman discusses the *yamase* effect on the continental seaward side of the northern alps.

²⁵¹ Shimono Hiroyuki et al., "Genotypic Variation in Rice Cold Tolerance Responses during Reproductive Growth as a Function of Water Temperature during Vegetative Growth," p. 291. Here, the authors explain that the development of these new strains of rice, in recent decades, has had a major impact on how well rice can be grown in Japan's northern regions, which are now known for rice production.

season. A large amount of snowfall is generated when cloud cover reaches the alpine range and dumps its moisture, resulting in some of the heaviest snowfalls and deepest accumulations in Japan.²⁵² Morimiyano-hara (森宮野原), a modern village (and the host of the only train stop in the area) just across the Chikuma river from Shikumi, boasts the record for the deepest snow accumulation ever recorded in Japan at 7.85 meters in February of 1945. Accumulation remains until mid-spring, resulting in a shorter season for agriculture that further restricts crop yields.



Image 2: Morimiyano-hara record snow marker (Photo by the author, 7/11/2015).

²⁵² For demonstration of this effect, and on the relationship between snow and climate, see Ishizaka Masaaki, “Nihon no fuyu no kikō to sekisetsu no chikyūsei.” Although it may be somewhat outdated in terms of climate science, see also Fukuda Kiyoshi’s article “Nihon no ōyuki,” p. 75 for an excellent map of heavy snowfall in Japan that records altitude and snowfall data, and places the Ichikawa territory on the Nagano/Niigata border as the area of heaviest consistent snowfall in the country.

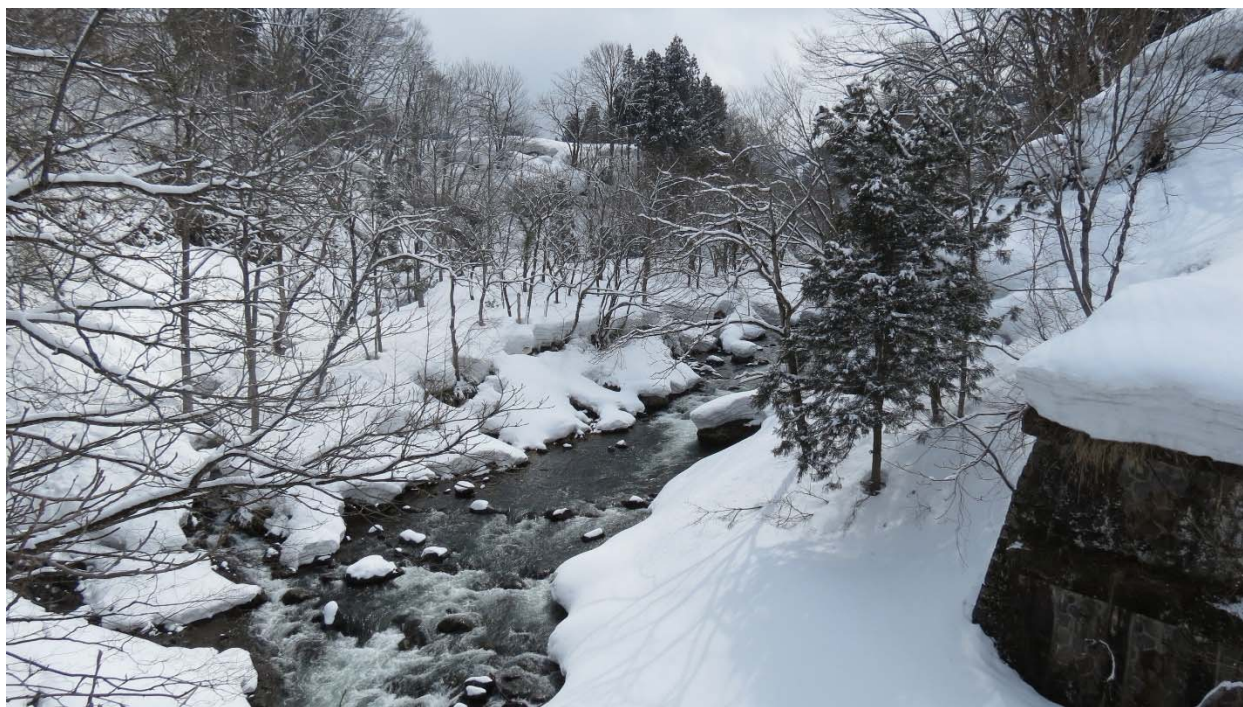


Image 3: The Shikumi river just upstream from the confluence with the Chikuma river. Nagano prefecture sits on the right, while Niigata sits on the left. (Photo by the author, 3/10/2013).

The susceptibility of rice to temperature fluctuation is a likely reason for the high ratio of dry fields mentioned in Ichikawa inheritance documents, though rice paddies were always listed first due to their political significance.²⁵³ Though the Ichikawa did manage rice fields, based on the harsh climatic reality of their location, these fields were probably not particularly productive, especially compared to the more bountiful harvests of the plains and warmer, wider river valleys to the south in the Kantō and Kinai (also known as the “southern littoral” region).²⁵⁴

The Features of Nejime-in

The most obvious difference in the topography of the southern Nejime-in region relative to Takai-gun is that Nejime-in is sea-bound, while Takai-gun is landlocked. The western half of the Ōsumi peninsula is mountainous, hosting a series of peaks that link to a small but densely

²⁵³ For example, see the three bequests of Ichikawa Morifusa, which I examine in detail in Chapter IV. Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

²⁵⁴ This is the term used by Conrad Totman to describe the fertile plains of Honshu. See Conrad Totman, *Japan: An Environmental History*, Conrad Totman, *A History of Japan*, and Conrad Totman, *Green Archipelago: Forestry in Preindustrial Japan*.

jungled northern range that divides southern Nejime-*in* (called Minamimata 南俣, where the Nejime lived) from the northern half (called Kitamata 北俣).

Access to both fresh and saltwater is uneven across the Nejime section of the peninsula due to distinct topographic features on its eastern and western halves. Because of the shape of the peninsula, freshwater is most easily harnessed for irrigation in the westerly basin, where rivers and streams flowing from the eastern mountains and hills carve out a wide floodplain that makes for easy adaptation into rice paddies and irrigated upland.²⁵⁵ The western half of the peninsula also enjoys easier and more consistent access to the sea, through a combination of long rocky and sandy beaches scattered along the coastline on the inlet of Kagoshima Bay.



Image 4: Beachfront on the southwestern end of Ōsumi peninsula, below the Nejime harbor near Isashiki.
(Photo by the author, 4/2/2015).

The only major port on the peninsula is located on the western coast, territory that the Nejime controlled for 400 years. Modern inhabitants of former Nejime township (which combined with Sata township to form Minami-Ōsumi-*chō* 南大隅町 in 2005) continue to exploit the availability of water and the abundant river plain for rice fields and citrus groves, as well as a thriving commercial fishing industry. The long and narrow Kagoshima Bay provides calm waters

²⁵⁵ This floodplain is the only one in the southern Nejime region, and was a prized territory that facilitated the expansion of the Nejime as a broad social network.

and safe ports, used locally for fishing and trade in the medieval period. Modern factory fish-farming companies run countless operations both in the bay and along the coast using large, cylindrical net-cage structures.

Nejime-*in* is a hospitable place for both human inhabitants and agricultural development. At the center of a subtropical peninsula that forms the northern terminus of the Ryukyu islands, the Nejime region and the waters that surround it are buffeted by a steady south-north ocean effect called the *Kuroshio* current (黒潮) or “Kuroshio Large Meander,” that carries warm air and water as well as frequent tropical storms and typhoons to the region.²⁵⁶ The Kuroshio flows northward, passing over and around the Ōsumi Peninsula, which splits the current.²⁵⁷ Most of the energy of the current flows northeastward on the Pacific side, carrying warm air and water up the coast toward the middle on Honshu and Shikoku, where it breaks off into the North Pacific around the 35th parallel.²⁵⁸ Some of the current also breaks off into the “Kuroshio branch current” or “Tsushima warm current” which warms the southern region of the Japan sea and the waters around Korea (where it branches several more times).²⁵⁹

The effect on the Nejime region, where the current makes landfall and splits, is that temperatures are warm and rainfall is heavy even in the hottest months, and there is an intense summer-fall typhoon and spring-summer monsoon season. There is usually no winter freeze, meaning irrigation is readily available year-round for rice paddies. In the area today, there is no

²⁵⁶ See Xufeng Zheng et al., “Synchronicity of Kuroshio Current and Climate System Variability since the Last Glacial Maximum.” On typhoon activity in southern Kyushu, see Nakamura Kazuo, *Nihon no kikō, Nihon no shizen* vol.5, pp. 89-92.

²⁵⁷ Katoh Osamu et al., “Process of the Tsushima Current Formation Revealed by ADCP Measurements in Summer.”

²⁵⁸ Kazuyo Murazaki, et al., “Influence of the Kuroshio Large Meander on the Climate around Japan Based on a Regional Climate Model,” p. 161 on the description of the current,

²⁵⁹ Kazuo Fujine, et al., “Paleotemperature Response to Monsoon Activity in the Japan Sea During the Last 160 kyr,” p. 352 on the splitting of the Kuroshio current where it contacts southern Kyushu. The Japan Sea branch of the current is referred to as the KBCWK or Kuroshio Branch Current West of Kyushu.

agriculturally unproductive season. The oceanic movement of the Kuroshio current assures that the waters flowing around the Ōsumi peninsula bring ample oceanic biomass (in the form of floating seaweed and other plant life) to the area that sustains robust fish and cetacean populations and constantly restocks the waters surrounding the Nejime estate with sea life.²⁶⁰ Along with aquatic plant mass, warm water and northward flowing movement in the Kuroshio current also brings a high density of appendicularian (planktonic) biomass in addition to free floating populations of other small organisms and plants, all of which contribute to a beneficial environment for fish and dolphin/whale populations. This is particularly helpful to these populations (and the humans who eat them) in the winter season.²⁶¹

It is fair to assume that people in southern Kyushu (and in most coastal communities in Japan) had a permanent source of calories that could be readily drawn from the water. Yet despite their access to aquatic abundance, the Nejime record from the medieval period is almost wholly agricultural in nature, owing to its placement as a set of legal texts conforming to the medieval system of rice taxation. There are examples of aquatic taxation on *shōen* land, but Nejime records make almost no mention of oceanic resources.²⁶² Thus, we have little specific evidence of Nejime activity or authority regarding fishing. It is unlikely that they made no use of the biological abundance in the waters that surrounded them. The particularly high aquatic bio-abundance in the region would have made surviving poor harvests or total crop failures comparatively likely (and we know such failures did at least occasionally occur, as recorded in a

²⁶⁰ Uehara Shinji et al., “The Abundance of Juvenile Yellowtail (*Seriola Quinqueradiata*) Near the Kuroshio: The Roles of Drifting Seaweed and Regional Hydrography.”

²⁶¹ Hidaka Kiyotaka, “Species Composition and Horizontal Distribution of the Appendicularian Community in Waters Adjacent to the Kuroshio in Winter-early Spring.”

²⁶² On the taxation of fish and other ocean-based resources on *shōen*, see Hotate Michihisa, “Chūsei zenki no gyogyō to shōen-sei,” pp. 159-184, and Haruta Naoki, “Suimenryō no chūseiteki tenkai,” pp. 185-209 in Kimura Shigemitsu and Ihara Kesao, eds., *Tenbō Nihon rekishi* vol. 8: *Shōen-kōryō-sei*, as well as the introductory note by Kimura, which introduces these two essays through the lens of Amino Yoshihiko’s work on non-agricultural modes of production in medieval Japan.

Nejime document from 1338).²⁶³ Further, and of importance to this study, unregulated access to the ocean likely allowed access both to external income for both Nejime main line and sub-lineage members, and to a wide tract of militarily-significant coastline.

Medieval Surveys and Potential Agricultural Output

This section maps the estates and administrative domains of the Ichikawa and Nejime as they are described in documents. Detailed maps of the individual holdings of members and sub-groups appear later in this chapter, while the goal of this section is to compare these two territories in broad view. My effort to categorize and map the Nejime and Ichikawa properties draws from scholars working in Nagano and Kagoshima: Kozono Kimio,²⁶⁴ Hinokuma Masamori,²⁶⁵ and the local Nejime historical society²⁶⁶ in Kagoshima, and Ihara Kesao,²⁶⁷ Yamagishi Keiichiro,²⁶⁸ the Nagano Prefectural Museum of History,²⁶⁹ and the various authors of the regional *Takai* history journal in Nagano.²⁷⁰

²⁶³ Kenmu 5 (1338).4.8 *Uba Tarō Haha jinshin shichiken* (KKSI vol. 1, #745). In this document, a female commoner exchanges her son as collateral for a loan from the Nejime Ikehata sub-lineage, citing a crop failure and/or famine as the reason for the loan. I will return to this document in Chapter V.

²⁶⁴ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*. See especially pp. 1-114 for Kozono's analysis of the Nejime "sōryōsei."

²⁶⁵ Hinokuma Masamori, "Ōsumi no kuni ni okeru Kenkyū zudenchō taisei no seiritsu katei," and Hinokuma Masamori, "Ōsumi no kuni ni okeru Kenkyū zudenchō taisei no seiritsu katei: Nejime-in no jirei o chūshin ni."

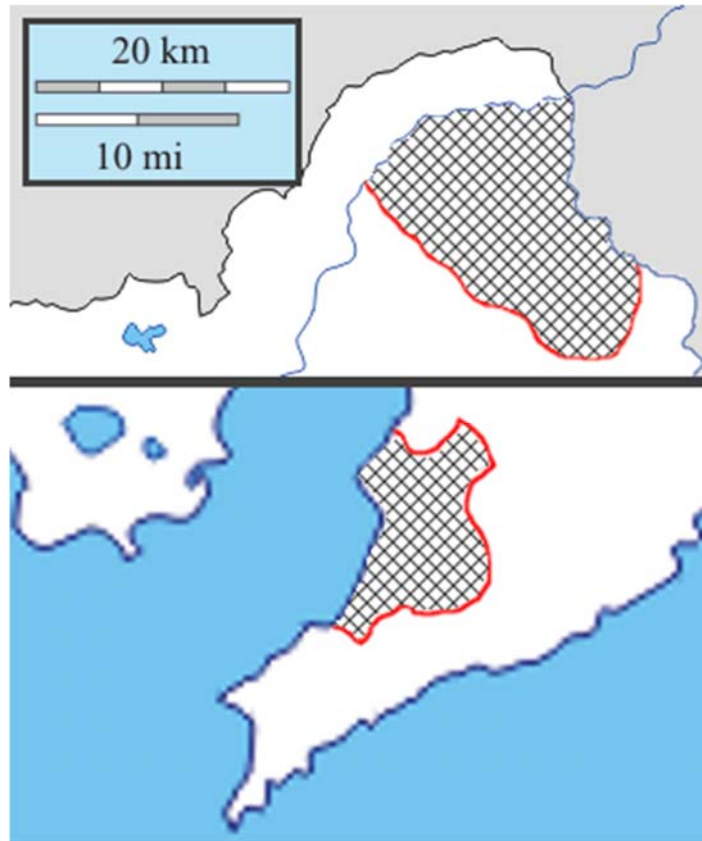
²⁶⁶ *Nejime kyōdo-shi*. See pp. 135, 137, 139, 143, 152-153, 159, 165, 217 of the upper volume for multiple detailed maps of the area.

²⁶⁷ See the bibliography for a full list of Ihara's works on the region. For the purposes of this map, I have referenced his recent study of the Takanashi, a neighbor and rival of the Nakano and Ichikawa. The maps in this volume are mostly concerned with the region just south of the Ichikawa holdings, and are most useful in considering the southerly border, which is less clearly defined than the provincial boundary to the north. See Ihara Kesao, *Takai chihō no chūsei-shi*.

²⁶⁸ Yamagishi Keiichiro, "Kita Shinano ni okeru kokujin no dōkō: Ichikawa-shi no shoryō o chūshin ni shite," p. 94 for a detailed map of Ichikawa holdings.

²⁶⁹ In 2011, the Nagano Prefectural Museum of History held a special exhibit on the *Ichikawa Monjo*. A publication commemorating the exhibit, entitled "Surviving upheaval: 400 years of the Ichikawa warrior family of Shinano" or *Gekidō o ikinuku ~ Shinano bushi Ichikawa-shi no 400 nen*, which includes a map of Ichikawa territory on page 2.

²⁷⁰ *Takai* #28, (Takai chihō-shi kenkyūkai, 1974.4). This was a special volume of the journal dedicated to the study of the Ichikawa family, and includes a map of their territory. The Nagano Prefectural Museum of history has a full archive of this journal, which is difficult to locate in full elsewhere.



Map 4: The relative sizes (to scale) of the Ichikawa territory in Shikumi, Takai-gun (top) and the Nejime territory in Minamimata, Nejime-in (bottom).²⁷¹

Map #4 illustrates the relative size of the Ichikawa and Nejime territories of Minamimata and Shikumi based on the voluminous research of these scholars and institutions, in combination with my own efforts to discern territorial boundaries through direct investigation and documentary analysis. These outlines provide a comparative view of these two districts in the thirteenth century, when the general shapes and sizes of these two estates were largely static. Each group had offices of administrative authority (*jitō-shiki*, among others) in a larger area that surrounded these core landholdings. At various points in their history, each group also held small external chunks of property outside of these two regions and built up new lands within and adjacent to them. Most of their expansion occurred in the mid-fourteenth century or later, and

²⁷¹ Map created by the author using base data from D-Maps.com, used with permission.

these two territories and the offices attached to them were the core property of the Ichikawa and the Nejime until the early modern period. Looking at the maps, we can observe that original core territory of the Ichikawa (on top) was larger in sheer acreage than that of the Nejime (bottom). Yet although the Nejime territory was the smaller of the two, official surveys estimated a much larger acreage of land under cultivation in the southern region, owing to the climatic and topographical features of the two areas, but also to the way that land was surveyed.

Throughout the medieval period, central estate holders dispatched professional surveyors (called *zushi* 図師) to the provinces to conduct local surveys of cropland and assure that their assessment of taxes was sufficient (and that locals were not concealing taxable farmlands).²⁷² The fledgling Kamakura warrior government carried out a country-wide cadastral survey known as the *Kenkyū zuden* (建久図田) in the 1190s to record the agricultural scope of each of its local *jitō*-managed lands, but records for most provinces including Shinano have been lost, making it impossible to compare contemporaneous surveys from Shinano and Ōsumi.²⁷³ The combined survey report for Satsuma (薩摩), Ōsumi, and Hyūga (日向) Provinces from 1197 is still extant.²⁷⁴ We can compare the 1197 report to a 1309 survey of Shikumi rice paddies conducted by the provincial *shugo* governor of Shinano (who taxed the area directly) to estimate the

²⁷² On *zushi* (図師) surveyors and medieval surveying in general, see the short report by Kimata Keizō, “Zushi no kenkyū,” and Muraishi Masayuki, “Chūsei no zushi ni tsuite,” which is based on surveys of Ichikawa land. Surveys in Shikumi continued until particularly late, and the 1373 (Ōan 6) survey of Takai-gun is the last carried out by *kokuga* authorities. See also ‘Kamakura ibun’ ni miru chūsei no kotoba jiten, pp. 192-193 on *zushi*. Surveyors were sent by estate proprietors, and held *zushi-shiki* (図師職) of their own.

²⁷³ The survey for these provinces are remarkably complete, especially given the fragmented nature of the rest of the *Kenkyū zudenchō* (建久図田帳).

²⁷⁴ Gomi Yoshio, “Ōsumi no kuni Kenkyū zudenchō shōko.” This article reproduces the *Kenkyū zudenchō* survey in its entirety as well as a detailed breakdown of its contents. The document begins on p. 42, and the listings for the Nejime region of Minamimata appear on p. 45. William Wayne Farris also includes a breakdown of the contents of this survey on page 16-17 of *Japan’s Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age*. Minamimata under the Nejime (misabeled “Nine”), is listed at 40 *chō*, the total of both Nejime and Sata properties, which is also subdivided in the original document.

differences in agricultural acreage and focus in these two regions.²⁷⁵ This allows a rough comparison of the size of the recorded fields under cultivation that were either taxed or owned by the Nejime and Ichikawa in the Kamakura period.

In the 1197 report, which should generally be expected to show less development than a later one in this period, the Nejime core territory of Kōrimoto was assessed at a productive total of 30 *chō* of rice fields.²⁷⁶ The 30 *chō* figure for the Nejime-controlled portion of Minamimata was reiterated in a lengthy list of all registered wet fields in Minamimata from 1308, just a year before the survey of Ichikawa lands.²⁷⁷ The Ichikawa home of Shikumi was recorded as containing only 2.234 *chō* of paddy (along with four *zaike* residences) in the 1309 survey, less than ten percent of the amount recorded in the Nejime holdings over a century earlier.²⁷⁸ The disparity between these two similarly sized regions, the smaller of which had a much greater amount of recorded paddy, leads to several important questions. Why could the smaller of the two regions host so much more farmland? Was the disparity in recorded tallies a reflection of inaccurate counts or actual difference in agricultural production?

Three major factors contribute to this difference in recorded farmland, and will help answer these questions. First, although both areas are rocky, resting on volcanic ground, and neither is ideal for agriculture (little of Japan is), Nejime-*in* was a decidedly more hospitable

²⁷⁵ See Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano kokushi chōsen* (KI, 31:23678) for the confirmation of a property transfer by the Shinano governor, which was paired with a listing of their properties by type and acreage, found in Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano Shikumi-gō kenta zaïke mokuroku* (KI, 31:23677). See also Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi." Yumoto discusses the form and features of the Ichikawa estate in Takai/Shikumi in detail.

²⁷⁶ Gomi Yoshio, "Ōsumi no kuni Kenkyū zudenchō shōko." One *chō* was equal to approximately 9,917 square meters in the medieval period.

²⁷⁷ Tokuji 3 (1308) *Nejime Minamimata suiden nayose-chō* (KKSI vol. 1, #384). A document from the Chinzei Tandai Hōjō Masaaki from a year later details surveying procedures in Tokutomi, the core Nejime estate. See Enkyō 2 (1309).10.22 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #37).

²⁷⁸ Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano Shikumi-gō kenta zaïke mokuroku* (KI, 31:23677). The land listed in Shikumi was divided into *kuden* (公田 – 9 *tan*), *kuzaike* (公在家 – 4 residences), and *kanryōden* (勘料田 – 1 *chō* 3 *tan* 340 *bu*). On the 1309 survey, see Muraishi Masayuki, "Chūsei no zushi ni tsuite," which draws connections between the bequests of Ichikawa Morifusa and the surveys that occurred a dozen years before he wrote them on p. 54.

region for crops due to the climatic and geographical differences between these two regions, listed earlier in this chapter; in particular, it was much more suitable to wet-paddies, which would rarely freeze in the warm winters of southern Kyushu.²⁷⁹ Kagoshima prefecture (which encapsulates all of premodern Ōsumi, Satsuma, and Hyūga provinces) ranges in climate from temperate (*ontai* 温帯) to subtropical (*onettai* 亜熱帯), with Nejime resting in the southernmost region in the heart of the subtropical zone.²⁸⁰

Second, due to these climatic differences, the type of agriculture that was best-suited to each area was different. In the Ichikawa case, fields transmitted in inheritance records were often dry *hatake* fields rather than wet paddies. *Hatake* are prominent in eastern warrior records, especially those of *jitō* who regularly developed extensive *hatake* due to the ease of slash-and-burn clearance, which required minimal labor compared to the production of diked and terraced paddies, particularly on uneven terrain.²⁸¹ A lightly or even moderately sloped dry field is easy to utilize, while paddies must be level.

An emphasis on dry upland, which was used for farming more robust crops including vegetables, tubers, grains, fruit, tea, ramie (*karamushi* 苧 for tough, hemp-like cloth), knotweed (*ai* 藍 for indigo dye), madder (*akane* 茜 for red dye), and mulberry (*kuwa* 桑 for silk production), was environmentally necessary in the northern alps, where paddies were often impractical or impossible to maintain. A cultural and political preference for rice (and probably a culinary one) led the Ichikawa to maintain their minor wet agriculture efforts where possible despite these inhospitable climatic conditions. But the Ichikawa record provides evidence that

²⁷⁹ On the climate and geological composition of modern Kagoshima prefecture, see Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, pp. 3, 4, 8, 12.

²⁸⁰ Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, p. 4.

²⁸¹ See Kanno Masamichi, “Chūsei ni okeru hatachi shihai no tenkai to tōgoku bushi,” especially pp. 197 on “*jitō hatake*” (*jitō mikata hatake* 地頭御方畠).

rice was only one of several forms of produce that the Ichikawa relied on. It is difficult to estimate the exact ratio of one type of field to the other, because the Ichikawa tended to pass down large chunks of named land in their bequests without detailing the specifics of the fields contained within. In this case, the relatively unified succession and inheritance practices of the Ichikawa (along with streamlined documentary processes) limit our ability to estimate how they used the land. By the mid-fourteenth century, Ichikawa heirs were usually granted control of Shikumi or large portions thereof unilaterally, and mentions of individual plots disappear from their records entirely.

Third, official tallies focused largely or exclusively on rice paddies and often ignored other agriculturally productive lands. Upland produce was recorded and taxed differently than rice, if at all, and was largely off the radar of official surveyors. Despite numerous mentions of *hatake* fields in Ichikawa inheritance documents, surviving records make no mention of what was grown on them by the Ichikawa or the commoners who lived in their jurisdiction. Finally, as Takai historian Yumoto Gun'ichi has noted, the Nakano/Ichikawa held special political prerogatives that limited the rights of *shugo* deputies to enter the region, including to conduct surveys on their land, called *shugo shi funyū no ken* (守護使不入権, similar to those for *shōen* described in Chapter I), or the right of non-entry by the deputies (*shi* 使) of the *shugo*.²⁸² This prerogative, which the group held from at least 1225 onward, prevented the *shugo* of Shinano or his agents from entering Nakano/Ichikawa territory unless they were in active pursuit of major criminals who were accused of murder, uprising, or other capital crimes.²⁸³

Yumoto believes that this right likely limited the scope of the official surveys of Nakano

²⁸² Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi." See especially page 5 on the nature of Nakano/Ichikawa *jitō* rights and the concept of *shugo* non-entry or *shugoshi funyū no ken* (守護使不入の権). The right was conferred directly by Hōjō Yoshitoki. See Karoku 1 (1225).9.16 *Hōjō Yoshitoki kakikudashi* (KI, 5:3406).

²⁸³ Karoku 1 (1225).9.16 *Hōjō Yoshitoki kakikudashi* (KI, 5:3406)

and Ichikawa land, and that the 2.2 *chō* tally of rice fields itself may be inaccurate, as the right of non-entry would have made conspiring with local farmers to avoid taxation and hide fields fairly easy.²⁸⁴ Further, because the *shugo* could not enter the area to resolve minor judicial disputes pertaining to tax issues or other problems with the local populace, Nakano and Ichikawa enjoyed a high degree of local control.²⁸⁵ Yumoto also notes that there are few examples of the employment of the right of *shugo* non-entry for *jitō*, and that the 1225 record in the Ichikawa collection is among the earliest surviving records of such a prerogative.²⁸⁶ The transmission of immunity from entrance by *shugo* deputies reiterates the direct connection between the Nakano and the Hōjō established during the Genpei and Jōkyū wars and mirrors the rights of *shōen*, each of which are outlined in Chapter I.

The comparison of surveyed paddy in Takai and Nejime highlights that official tallies only provide a partial view of the productive capacity of a given area, and are potentially slanted by the political circumstances of each locale, the types of produce grown, and the level of official knowledge of a local area. Climatic and topographical features led to significant differences in local agricultural practices, and although crops of all kinds could be taxed (in the language of rice production), non-rice produce in Shikumi and Nejime seems to have been largely ignored in these surveys.

Individualized political connections resulted in different degrees of penetration by central officials who sought to record and catalog productive capacity. But why did the Nakano and

²⁸⁴ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi," pp. 5-6. This is an important statement, as it indicates collusion between locals working the land and those theoretically "managing" them on behalf of their political superiors. Yumoto's characterization of possible collusion between warriors and those theoretically beneath them forces a reevaluation of class dynamics, at least between the highest echelons of the capital elite and locals, whose positions were more variable than a rigid division of multilayered warrior managers and commoners otherwise evokes. This is of particular importance, as class dynamics became less defined over time, especially after the fall of the Kamakura polity and the rise of large military bands that blurred the lines between "commoners" and "warriors."

²⁸⁵ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi," pp. 5-6.

²⁸⁶ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi," pp. 5-6.

Ichikawa enjoy a special prerogative of non-entry, while the Nejime were subject to frequent and extensive surveys by the *shugo* of Ōsumi?²⁸⁷ This is largely answered by their political and military ties, yet as Yumoto notes, non-entry was a rare privilege and not one held by all Kamakura *gokenin* who had demonstrated military loyalty in earlier conflicts. Were there other parts of their local character that helped maintain the special connection between the Nakano and Hōjō Yoshitoki, who granted them special rights and immunity from interference by current and future *shugo*? To answer this question, we must examine several additional local resources, particular to each region, that shaped the connection of the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime to their environments.

Differences in Resource Access and Types of Resources at the Local Level

Even when carefully considering the materials and types of goods that might not have fit into official tabulations of agricultural productivity, it is easy to think of local resources only in terms of food sources (agricultural and non-agricultural), which are key to survival and carry inherent significance for people everywhere. The entirety of the medieval tax economy, which formed the foundation of the political and economic systems, was built around the language of food (rice) production, which sat at the core of central concerns regarding the regulation and tabulation of provincial landscapes. In terms of non-agricultural food sources, the Nejime had access to oceanic resources while the Ichikawa were landlocked and relied on terrestrial materials, including whatever could be pulled from local rivers.

However, the conversation in resource differences up to this point has still essentially revolved around the production of caloric resources. There were many other natural resources to

²⁸⁷ Surveys in Nejime were frequent enough that Nejime inheritance records often include special provisions related to provisioning ceremonial goods for official visits. For example, see Nejime Kiyotsuna's wills from 1275, which include provisions for ceremonial "black rice" as well as multiple other tax provisions. See Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708).

exploit aside from food resources, which we must also consider when looking at the role of the environment in shaping our two warrior groups.

Ritual Goods: Falcons on Shikumi-yama

The records of the Nakano/Ichikawa contain a compelling story of specialty resource use centering around some of their natural co-residents: the birds of prey that roost in the trees and hunt in the river valleys around Shikumi mountain. The most unique element of mountain use by the Nakano and Ichikawa was the capture and domestication of these birds, an exotic commodity used for hunting (*takagari* 鷹狩り) and donated in religious tributes to the Suwa Shrine.²⁸⁸ The same topographical features that made Shikumi a difficult place for people to survive and grow crops forms an excellent habitat for birds of prey, and local warriors adapted to take advantage of this specialized natural resource.

Japanese falconry dates to the classical period, when “falcons” (鷹 *taka*) were used for the sport-hunting of small game birds and rabbits.²⁸⁹ Falconry is recorded in the *Kojiki*, Japan’s earliest extant text, and can even be found in clay *Haniwa* figures from Gunma prefecture from around the sixth century depicting figures in hunting garb with falcons resting on their forearms.²⁹⁰ Falconry was popular throughout the medieval and early modern periods as a leisure sport for Shoguns, daimyo, and imperial elites, who maintained private hunting grounds specifically for elaborate retreats using dogs and falcons to track prey in the backcountry.²⁹¹ The 1299 *Ippen shōnin eden* scroll painting (一遍上人絵伝, also known as the *Ippen hijiri-e* 一遍聖

²⁸⁸ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” pp. 29-33.

²⁸⁹ Morgan Pitelka recently released a chapter on falconry, with a focus on the early modern period, in which he translates *taka* as “raptors.” I use the term “falcon” in reference to the sport and ritual of “falconry,” although as I will describe shortly, the birds were likely a type of goshawk. See Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability*.

²⁹⁰ Everett W. Jameson, *The Hawking of Japan: The History and Development of Japanese Falconry*, p. 1.

²⁹¹ Most studies of falconry in Japanese history focus on the Tokugawa period. On shogunal falcon hunts, see Nesaki Mitsuo, *Shōgun no takagari*.

絵) depicts a warrior residence, or *yashiki* (屋敷), with a falcon tied to a horizontal pole in the residential courtyard, while the 1309 *Kasuga gongen genki-e* (春日権現験記絵) depicts a falcon in an open-air room within a residential home, again resting on a pole.²⁹² Falcons are often pictured alongside dogs, also used in the hunts.²⁹³ Falcons retained an almost magnetic attraction for elite warriors throughout the medieval period, and are featured in later artwork such as the sixteenth century *Matsutaka-zu* (松鷹図 – “hawks and pines”). Hunting with the birds required large amounts of planning, manpower, and strategy, which appealed to warriors, who could emulate the practice of warfare even in times of peace against prey that could not fight back.

However, in the early medieval period, the Kamakura government repeatedly banned falconry because it violated Buddhist prohibitions against killing animals.²⁹⁴ Yet falconry seems to have been quite popular among wealthy warriors; as Morgan Pitelka notes, “...the prohibition seems to indicate not the monopoly of falconry by the shogunate but rather its widespread practice among samurai.”²⁹⁵ However, even during the course of repeated bans by the Kamakura judiciary, there were also two exceptions to the rule: the Imperial court and the Suwa grand

²⁹² See Hattori Hideo, *Bushi to shōen shihai*, p. 19 for images from the *Ippen shōnin eden* (upper image) and *Kasuga gongen genki-e* (lower image), as well as pp. 15-17 on falconry bans, and pp. 17-21 on hunting with falcons as well as rearing practices. Hattori notes that *takasu* (鷹栖) or “falcon nest” is a common place name across Japan, and even appears in *Nejime-in!* The name, Takasu-jō (鷹栖城) appears in early Nanbokuchō military records as a battle site, such as Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #75), The Nejime gained at least temporary control of the fort, which is listed in Kannō 2 (1351).8.7 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kanjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #76). Alongside a series of other areas. Battle in the area continued for decades, including a major conflict recorded in Kōryaku 2 (1389).10.2 *Takasu-jō-mae gassen teoi chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #134). No direct evidence of falconry (in Takasu or otherwise) is conveyed in the *Nejime monjo*.

²⁹³ An entire book is dedicated to the history of the Edo period through dogs and falcons. See Nesaki Mitsuo, *Inu to taka no Edo jidai*, including pp. 31-36 on early modern falconry bans beginning in 1693, as well as restrictions on falcon taming and falconry grounds. The book contains excellent illustrations of early modern falconry, including depictions of breeds (p. 13), the act of climbing trees to catch falcons using woven baskets (p. 27), and portable boxes for moving the birds (30), among others.

²⁹⁴ See Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 142-143 for an additional law from Kangen 3 (1245).12.16. that reiterates a ban on falconry for those in Kamakura and the provinces, with the exception of shrines, also found in Kangen 3 (1245).12.16 *Kantō migyōsho* (KI, 9: 6594), and reissued in Kōchō 1 (1261).2.20 *Kantō shinsei kotogaki* (KI, 12: 8628) and Bun’ei 3 (1267).3.28 *Kantō migyōsho* (KI, 13: 9516).

²⁹⁵ Pitelka, Morgan. *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability*, p. 99.

shrine (located south of the Nakano/Ichikawa holdings in Shinano, near the center of the province) were allowed to continue using the birds throughout the Kamakura period.²⁹⁶



Image 5: Goshawk painting at the upper (southern) Suwa Shrine. (Photo by the author, 12/26/2013).²⁹⁷

A record in the *Azuma Kagami* from 1212 confirms both the early ban by Kamakura, which prevented the *shugo* and *jitō* in all provinces from hunting with falcons (*shokoku shugo jitō ni rei shite, takagari o kinzu* 諸國守護地頭二令シテ、鷹狩ヲ禁ズ), and also lists an exception for the use of sacred birds to hunt ritual prey (*on-nietaka* 御贅鷹) taken for the god *Suwa Daimyōjin* (諏方大明神).²⁹⁸ The law effectively allowed hunts by the Hōjō in the area to

²⁹⁶ Noriko Otsuka, “Falconry: Tradition and Acculturation,” p. 200. It seems that all shrines with falcons could continue to use the birds, at least in the 1245 version of the code.

²⁹⁷ This painting is likely of a goshawk, based on the pattern of its markings and its white color. As E.W. Jameson notes “...light-colored individuals, prized for their unusual appearance, were often painted.” *Japanese Hawking*, p. 5. White Goshawks were also imported from Korea and China as prized goods. For another mention of the special value of light-colored goshawks, see Noriko Otsuka, “Falconry: Tradition and Acculturation,” p. 200.

²⁹⁸ See the *Azuma Kagami* entry from Kenryaku 2 (1212).8.12, also found in *SNS*, 3, pp. 526-527. See also Nagano-ken, eds. *Nagano ken-shi*, vol. 2, *chūsei* 1, pp. 180-183, which further outlines the practice and related records, including *takagari* bans, and confirms that the ritual hunts occurred yearly in the fifth month.

continue, and the Nakano (and their Ichikawa heirs) to keep providing the birds, while warriors elsewhere were nominally restricted from the practice.²⁹⁹ The spiritual significance of *taka* as hunting birds was later formalized in a “Falcon Sutra” that reifies the practice of falcon-keeping at Suwa as well as the sacred status of the mountains where they roost.³⁰⁰ Images of falcons adorn the ceiling joists of the outbuildings of the main hall of the Suwa shrine, and a painting of a falcon, donated as an offering to the gods, sits outside the main prayer hall at the upper shrine. Medieval records provide no description of the birds or their breed, though goshawks were the most common, and were the “falcon” of choice from the classical to the early medieval period.³⁰¹

The Nakano and their Ichikawa successors were primary suppliers of falcons to the Suwa shrine, which held tax rights in their territory of Takai alongside the Hōjō, its managers. Itō Tomio, a founding scholar in the local history of Shinano, notes that falcons were a highly revered, spiritually significant product of the Takai region dating back to ancient times, and reiterates that they were provided to secure dedications to the gods of hunting at Suwa in ritual hunts.³⁰² Specific records from the Nakano/Ichikawa are limited, but inheritance documents from the early 1300s indicate that the Ichikawa made regular, probably yearly pilgrimage trips to Suwa, attended by most or all of the *ichizoku*.³⁰³ Ichikawa Morifusa instructed his children specifically not to quarrel with one another on these pilgrimages in his series of bequests from 1321.³⁰⁴ The relationship to Suwa (and the Hōjō) was an enduring one that carried ritual,

²⁹⁹ In addition to the law itself (above), see also Ihara Kesao, “Kamakura-ki no Suwa jinja kankei shiryō ni miru shintō to butsudō,” pp. 158 on the law itself, 159 on the exception for Suwa, and 170 on falconers (*takajō* 鷹匠).

³⁰⁰ Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, p. 53. The extant copy of the “falcon sutra” or *Taka gyōben giron* (鷹經弁疑論) survives as a set of three scrolls recorded in 1503 by the courtier and monk Jimyōin Motoharu (持明院基春, 1453-1535). See the *Kokushi daijiten* for additional details on Motoharu.

³⁰¹ See Noriko Otsuka, “Falconry: Tradition and Acculturation.”

³⁰² Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, p. 53. According to Itō, Minamoto no Yoritomo, founder of the Kamakura government, had a penchant for falconry, and held hunts using falcons at Suwa.

³⁰³ See Miyasaka Mitsuaki, “Suwa jinja kamiyashiro no mikari to ōntō (2 and 3),” as well as Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24).

³⁰⁴ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

political, and financial weight for the Nakano and Ichikawa. At war, the Ichikawa remained nominally linked to the shrine as indicated in a single report of arrival for military service (*chakutōjō* 着到状) from 1335, in which Ichikawa *sōryō* Sukefusa and his youngest brother Tsunesuke signed the document together as *kami* (神), in devotion to the native Suwa gods.³⁰⁵

Kōno Minoru has written on the history of falconry in northern Shinano province, and notes that Takai-*gun* is historically well-known for its birds, which were captured as chicks, taken from their nests before they could fly and raised domestically into adulthood.³⁰⁶ Between 1446 and 1489, out of a total of twenty-seven falcons donated to the Suwa shrine, twelve came from Takai-*gun*, triple that of any other administrative locale. The Ichikawa records include some of the earliest written mentions of the domestication of falcons, from 1229, when a lawsuit broke out between the Nakano and their neighbors after an incident in which a neighboring rival (from the Kijima) sent servants to steal four falcon chicks from Shikumi-*yama*.³⁰⁷ This resulted in a border dispute over the mountain, apparently based solely on the presence of these highly-valued nests.³⁰⁸ In one of his articles, Kōno makes an important point based on this case; that the land in dispute was a mountain, not an agricultural property, and that the wild produce from that mountain was significant enough to prompt a major lawsuit overseen by the Kantō court, which

³⁰⁵ Kenmu 2 (1335).3 *Ichikawa Sukefusa-nado chakutōjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1:221; *SNS*, 5, p. 260). See the signature line, which includes *kami Tsunesuke* (神経助) and *kami Sukefusa* (神助房) who sealed the document on the back. This was an at least somewhat common practice in the early fourteenth century to signify ties to the shrine. See Gōdō Noriaki, “Suwa-shi to ‘Kamisha’ ‘Shimosha,’” p. 16, which lists several such records and analyzes documents for significant signals of allegiance to the shrine. The use of “kami” as a family name, as is the case in these Ichikawa records, symbolizes “service” to the shrine (*Shinano bushi ni kaserareta Suwa jinja yaku* 信濃武士に課せられた諏訪社神役).

³⁰⁶ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka.” On white falcons as prized birds, see Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, p. 53, which includes reference to a “white falcon diary” (白鷹記 *Hakuōki*) that documents the donation of special white falcons to the court from Shinano local Nezu Kamihira (瀬津神平) in 1327.

³⁰⁷ Two records survive of the court’s approach to the case. The first, from the *shugo*’s deputy, appears in Kangi 1 (1229).11.28 *Saemon shōi Kanemune shōjo* (*KI*, 6: 3904), the second, from Hōjō Shigetoki himself, appears in Kangi 1 (1229).12.13 *Hōjō Shigetoki migyōsho* (*KI*, 6: 3908). See also Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, pp. 54-55, for an additional description of these events.

³⁰⁸ For more on the dispute, see Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, pp. 53-57.

served to determine who had rights over the otherwise untamed wilderness in the area.³⁰⁹ Land of this type was usually beyond the reach of Kamakura (which focused on agricultural land), but the presence of the luxury birds in the mountain peaks increased the visibility and significance of this area in central eyes.³¹⁰

Falcon nests or rookeries became a highly protected and specially designated form of mountain wilderness land in the Tokugawa period (1603-1868). Shikumi was protected as such in 1613, and the records of the Ichikawa and their neighbors form some of the earliest concrete evidence of the economic centrality of falcon-raising in the region.³¹¹ The neighboring Kijima rivals of the Nakano, accused of stealing young birds from their nests, claimed that their falcons were not stolen from Shikumi mountain but taken legally from a separate rookery on their own land.³¹² This suit, along with the network of falcon donations recorded by the Suwa shrine, indicates that the collecting and domestication of falcons was an economically, socially, and spiritually significant practice common to the region. Knowledge of the locations of falcon roosts was a specially protected form of information, and the Ashikaga court sent orders to refrain from sharing information about the locations of nests in the late medieval and early modern periods.³¹³

The profession of falcon-keeping was longstanding. Early protections of the Shikumi nests were formalized in the sixteenth century; an Ichikawa descendant signed an order in 1581 banning all hunting from the second through fourth months of the year as an ecologically

³⁰⁹ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” p. 30.

³¹⁰ Mountain land was often a highly permeable, communal form of property shared between family members. Ichikawa inheritance documents outline mountain use in greater detail than is typical in warrior records, but undeveloped land was still shared freely between siblings. The Nejime exhibit similar traits, where the smaller mountains in Nejime-in were a shared hunting territory.

³¹¹ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” p. 31.

³¹² Which they refer to as the mountain estate of Kemi Gorō (*Kemi Gorō no shoryō yama* 毛見五郎の所領山). Kangi 1 (1229).11.28 *Saemon shōi Kanemune shōjo* (KI, 6: 3904)

³¹³ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” p. 30.

protective measure during the period in which falcons breed and hatch their young.³¹⁴ In the same year, the Takeda, one of the most powerful daimyo houses and at that point the nominal lords of the Ichikawa, sent a request for an early tax payment in the form of falcons from the Ichikawa head.³¹⁵ In their request, they refer to Shikumi as “falcon mountain,” which is still a common term for the peak and others that host birds of prey in the area.³¹⁶

The Takeda request demonstrates that for over 300 years the Nakano and Ichikawa paid at least some of their taxes, first to the Hōjō through the Suwa shrine and then to their Takeda daimyo lords, in the form of non-agricultural produce, and that their official position in the region depended at least partially on their capacity as the managers of falcon collection and domestication activities including the protection of the Shikumi rookery itself. The supplementation of the normally-taxed rice crop through this special professional capacity helped entrench Nakano and Ichikawa as specialists in their harsh region, and was part of what cemented their hold on the remote area despite centuries of political upheaval and a difficult position in the political and military landscape.

The Kamakura polity, administered by the Hōjō as its line of successive regents, depended on the local managers of Shikumi to provide the falcons needed for their ritual hunts at Suwa. It is likely that the special connection that the Nakano developed with the Suwa Shrine and the Hōjō, who granted them immunity from interference by the deputies of the *shugo* (who were successive Hōjō relatives themselves and the direct superiors of the Nakano and Ichikawa,

³¹⁴ Such practices were common, especially near the time of annual ritual hunts. Hattori Hideo notes that the Suwa hunts took place in the fifth month, though this information is likely from the Tokugawa period. see Hattori Hideo, *Bushi to shōen shihai*, p. 20.

³¹⁵ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” pp. 30-32. By 1581, the Takeda were in decline, following the death of Takeda Shingen in 1573 and the failure of his son Katsuyori’s forces at Nagashino in 1575.

³¹⁶ The nickname for the mountain is either *suyama* or *sutakayama* (巢山 or 巢鷹山), found in both Kōno’s report and used by locals in Sakaemura (at the mountain’s base) and the surrounding area today. The name is common to falcon-rich mountains. See Hattori Hideo, *Bushi to shōen shihai*, p. 17, and Ueno Shō, “Nozawa no kyūchime ni yoru Ichikawa-shi jōkan no kenkyū,” p. 62 for another reference to “*sutakayama*.”

as described in Chapter I), benefitted them in ways that normal farmland could not.

Professional Specialization: The Port of Nejime Harbor

Compared to the detailed example of local exploitation of avian wildlife from the *Ichikawa Monjo*, we have very little to go in in terms of access to and control of individual specialty goods by the Nejime.³¹⁷ For example, there is no documentary evidence from residents of Nejime-in regarding fishing or the hunting of whales and dolphins, although both were traditional and essential foodstuffs in Kyushu dating back to prehistory.³¹⁸ Kyushu historian Kozono Kimio notes that today the regional economy of the Ōsumi peninsula is half-agricultural and half-fishing, and always has been.³¹⁹ This is a fact we should not forget when examining agriculturally slanted documents from Nejime officials.

There is limited documentation of a professional capacity that the Nejime developed through their connection to the ocean, which we can explore in some detail. I would like to examine one case, when the disruption of fishing and fish transport by a small neighboring group caused problems for the Nejime that were significant enough to warrant legal action. A series of records based on that enduring case reveals that the Nejime must have had significant interests and rights regarding oceanic activity around their land, which included trade, naval activity, and

³¹⁷ Only one minor example survives: in the late fourteenth century, in a letter from father to son, a retired Nejime head requested monkey leather from his son. The Nejime region is prime habitat for Japanese Macaques (which live across the archipelago, and famously bathe in hot springs near the former Ichikawa homeland in Nagano). Yet because monkeys are only mentioned a single time, and only anecdotally, in the Nejime collection of over eight hundred records, I cannot draw any conclusions about their significance or value to the kin group. Beyond these examples, there is no evidence of any locally particular goods of value or significance to the group, though there were probably many that went undocumented. See Ōei 2 (1395) *Anraku Kiyotsuna shojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #309). We can infer that Anraku Kiyotsuna is a name adopted late in life by Nejime Kiyohira based on the timing of the record and its opening lines, in which he comments on his name change through consultation with an oracle or *shintaku* (神託). The reference back to Kiyotsuna, a key figure in Nejime History, is also evidence of the identity of Anraku as a former Nejime head, who must have been Kiyohira in 1395. This letter is one of three, all dated 1395 with no months or days listed, found in documents #309-311 in the *Kagoshima ken shiryō Iewake*, volume 1.

³¹⁸ See Kara Hoover and Mark Hudson, “Resilience in Prehistoric Persistent Hunter Gatherers in Northwest Kyushu, Japan as Assessed by Population Health and Archaeological Evidence,” p. 29.

³¹⁹ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 3.

policing the coastline.

In 1305, the *shugo* of Ōsumi province, Hōjō Tokinao, and the *Chinzei Tandai*, the Kyushu legal officer that represented the Kamakura polity through a local headquarters in Hakata (established in 1293 following the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281), settled a dispute that began under the tenure of Nejime head Kiyochika.³²⁰ The case dealt with problems with a local from the Isashiki (伊佐敷) known by the Buddhist name Jōi (淨意). The Isashiki controlled the village of Isashiki-*mura* as minor independent landholders on the southern end of the Ōsumi peninsula. They were likely distant relatives of the Nejime or the Sata, and used the Takebe (建部) courtly choronym common to the area and all three groups.³²¹ Map #2 at the opening of this chapter outlines the position of the Isashiki.³²²

The Isashiki developed financial difficulties related to taxes (*nengu* 年貢) and the costs associated with service duties (*kuji* 公事) levied on their estate, a common problem for smaller landholders in the Kamakura period.³²³ Due to their sandwiched position between the Nejime

³²⁰ Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36), Enkyō 2 (1309).10.22 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #37), and Enkyō 2 (1309).12.22 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #38). Ishii Susumu defines the *Chinzei Tandai* as "a powerful political organ in Hakata that administered defense measures against external attack and executed judicial decisions for the entire Kyushu region." See Ishii Susumu, "The decline of the Kamakura Bakufu," p. 160.

³²¹ On the Isashiki and Sata connection, see Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, pp. 34-35 and 130-134.

³²² As an aside, in terms of its history, Isashiki-*mura* is best known today as the site of a Tokugawa-period specialty medicine garden (*yakuen* 薬園), now called *Sata kyū yakuen*, which produced a variety of exotic medicinals and tropical fruits, many of which were nonnative imports from China and Southeast Asia. Multiple markers for the garden, as well as a commemorative arboreal orchard-park designated as a historical landmark survive today in the heart of Sata township. See the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* entry for *Sata kyū yakuen* (佐多旧薬園). No medieval records of these medicinal and exotic specialties survive, but the Tokugawa-era Sata/Isashiki gardens were known for lychee, longan, rose apple, bitter orange, macadamia, rubber fig trees (*ōbagomu no ki* オオバゴムノキ), guava/strawberry guava (*banjirō* ばんじろう), alocasia odora / night-scented lily (*kuwazuimo* くわずいも, used in treating the common cold), northern yellow boxwood or pouteria obovata (*akatetsu* アカテツ, used for wood and charcoal, for lacquerware production using leaf-gum, and in tide-protection forestry), all of which were exotic to Japan in the premodern and early modern periods.

³²³ On the topic of financial trouble for small landholding samurai in the mid-to-late Kamakura period, see Ethan Segal, "Awash with Coins" and *Coins, Trade, and the State*. I will explore the failure of the Isashiki in detail in Chapter IV.

and the Sata, they had nowhere but the ocean to expand into to bolster their income and repay debts to central proprietors. The lawsuit from the Nejime came about after the Isashiki began to cause trouble in the waters around the peninsula. This was a problem that Nejime Kiyoharu had to address as administrative head (*gunji* 郡司) in the Nejime region (which included the Isashiki and Sata territories).³²⁴ In the lawsuit, Kiyoharu reiterated claims dating back to his father Kiyochika's tenure that the Isashiki had caused disruption of the sea lane (referred to in the document as *kairo* 海路), where they violently confiscated fish from local fisherman, attacking them along the well-traveled ocean routes around Nejime-in.³²⁵

After Kiyoharu filed his initial suit, the Isashiki ignored several summonses from the *shugo* governor of Ōsumi. The *shugo* sent deputies to the region to hear the Isashiki side of the story.³²⁶ One of these deputies successfully recorded a brief testimony from Isashiki Jōi, who stated simply that there was no tangible evidence of their wrongdoing, and that he could not be prosecuted on hearsay alone. The *shugo*, Hōjō Tokinao, stated that because Nejime-gun was surrounded by the ocean on the east, south, and west (an indication that these waters fell under the jurisdiction of the Nejime *gunji*), that while fishermen operating in the southeastern sea could be subject to special levies, the Isashiki held no rights to collect them or to take any fish caught in the area. The *shugo* then ordered the Isashiki to cease their violence and incursions into the rights of the Nejime.³²⁷

The Ōsumi *shugo* backed Nejime Kiyoharu as the only legitimate agent to handle special

³²⁴ The genesis of the Nejime *gunji* post is explained in Chapter I.

³²⁵ Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36). Nejime documents have surprisingly few mentions of water traffic, boating, fishing, and control of the seas, though a few hints do appear here and there to suggest that they had significant aquatic interests. For a maritime focus on medieval Japan, see Amino Yoshihiko, *Nihon shakai saikō: umi kara mita rettō bunka*.

³²⁶ Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36).

³²⁷ Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36). The term Tokinao used to describe special taxes on fishing resources is *shoj* or *shojibutsu* (所持物).

levies on fishing or other oceanic activity (probably including trade) in the region, in support of his position as the administrator of all of Nejime-*in*. Though not explicitly stated, this decision also effectively rejected the idea that local landholders could impose their own local levies on those using the routes through (or in the water next to) their land, especially in regards to produce or other goods that fell outside the purview of standardized, agriculturally-based tax collection. The efforts of the Isashiki to seek alternative sources of income through piracy are a sign of their desperation as minor stakeholders whose lands were not sufficient to survive on. The story of the Isashiki is not unique, as the harsh economic reality of the late Kamakura period squeezed small-scale landowners out in favor of larger, richer groups like the Nejime. One of the primary ways in which the Nejime grew their portfolio of lands was through the cash-based purchase of property from smaller landlords like the Isashiki who needed money to pay down their debts and back-taxes.³²⁸

Seven years later, in 1312, the Isashiki were implicated in another lawsuit brought by their southern Sata neighbors over mounting tax debts and stood accused of slandering the Sata in their efforts to shirk payment.³²⁹ Conflict with both the Sata and the Nejime illustrates the difficult position that the Isashiki found themselves in in the early 1300s. The Isashiki gradually sold most of their land, initially in three parcels to Nejime Kiyomasa (founder of the later Sumino sub-lineage) in 1303 and 1305.³³⁰ Some Isashiki land also passed from the Sata to the Nejime leader in 1324, as well as to another figure known only as Hama no Hikojirō-*dono* in

³²⁸ We will examine this process in detail in Chapters IV and V.

³²⁹ Shōwa 1 (1312).12.27 *Chinzei Tandai saikyōjō-an* (KCSI vol.1, #560). The *Chinzei* court did not elect to rule on the accusation of slander (*akkō* 悪口) by the Sata, and simply commanded that they follow the *kuji* tax ordinances laid out by the Sata *sōryō* Chikaharu (親治).

³³⁰ Kengen 2 (1303).4.18 *Takebe Chikaakira, Shami Shiyau (Jōi) renshō kokyakujō, onajiku Takebe Kiyomasa uragaki* (KCSI vol. 1, #760), Kagen 3 (1305).3.18 *Shami Shiyau (Jōi), Takebe Chikaakira kokyakujō* (KCSI vol. 1, #485), Kagen 3 (1305).7.11 *Takebe Chikaakira, Shami Shiyau (Jōi) renshō kokyakujō* (KCSI vol. 1, #762). The Sumino (previously known as Nishimoto) sub-lineage gained the greatest portion of the Isashiki estate through these purchases.

1342.³³¹ The Isashiki remained in the service of the Ōsumi *shugo* in the 1320s, but sold off nearly all their land by the end of the Kamakura period.³³² They lingered in the area to hound residents of the Nishimoto (later Sumino) Nejime sub-lineage estate in 1333 as bandits, stealing crops from the holdings they sold off thirty years earlier.³³³ The Nejime and its sub-lineages gradually absorbed the lands of the Isashiki, following their inability to maintain their holdings in the face of mounting tax debt, and the Nejime and its sub-lineages continued to buy up chunks of land to the south, mostly from the Sata, throughout the early fourteenth century. The authority of the Nejime over the waters that surrounded the peninsula suppressed the Isashiki, and ensured predominance over the smaller group.

Although we know very little about how directly involved members of the Nejime were in actual fishing activity or in the management thereof, the value of their access to aquatic resources (as well as their possession of designated hunting grounds and mountains) should not be discounted when considering their economic situation. Records of trade in the early medieval period are sparse, and the primary Kyushu port of Hakata in the north dominated trade with the mainland, serving as the mandated port of entry for all of Japan. Nejime harbor was primarily a domestic port until the Sengoku period, when trade with the southern Ryūkyū Islands grew and Nejime became a southern trading center, according to Hinokuma Masamori (though no early Nejime records reference this activity).³³⁴ It is clear from their dispute with the Isashiki that the

³³¹ Genkō 4 (1324).1.26 *Takebe Chikaatsu kokyakujō* (KSSI vol. 1, #552), and Ryakuō 5 (1342).5.12 *Takebe Chikafusa kokyakujō* (KSSI vol. 1, #550).

³³² Genkō 4 (1324).4.18 *Ōsumi shugo kari-fu* (狩夫) *shihai-jō* (KI #28727). Here, the Isashiki were asked to provide 5 attendants for a hunt by the *shugo* (The Nejime were asked for 20, the Sata for a total of 15, and the Tashiro for 10, making the Isashiki the smallest local shareholder on the peninsula).

³³³ Genkō (元弘) 3 (1333).12.22 *Shami nanigashi kakikudashi* (KSSI vol. 1, #491). Here the Isashiki conflicted openly with Nishimoto Kiyomasa (who purchased their land in 1303 and 1305), engaging in violence and stealing in his fields (刈田狼藉し).

³³⁴ Hinokuma Masamori believes that much of the official interest from the provincial government and the Hachiman shrine in Nejime-in was due to its position as a potential site for trade with both the Ryukyu kingdom and

normal operation of the Nejime port and the waters around it for fishing and transport purposes was an issue of Nejime sovereignty and authority.³³⁵

The early medieval Nejime were apparently not regularly involved in intercontinental or long-distance trade (at least not documented trade), but they were active on the islands immediately south of Ōsumi including Tanegashima (種子島) and Yakushima (屋久島), which were considered a part of Kyushu as early as the ninth century (thus falling into the tax base and administrative districting of the court in Heian), and which the Nejime and its Ikehata sub-lineage partly controlled from at least the mid-fourteenth century onward.³³⁶ Though it is not a concrete, material resource, it is useful to consider access to transit across the local island-landscape as a material prerogative derived from the environment, especially because it often translated into material and financial wealth. For the Nejime, the surrounding seascape meant less competition from powerful neighbors, more leverage over weaker ones, and provided easy access to aquatic resources and sea-based transportation routes as sources of unsupervised income generation.

The Ichikawa, through their control of falcon production on and around Shikumi mountain, and the Nejime, through dominance over the waters around their peninsula, developed professional interests that exceed the raw acreage of crop lands recorded in the bulk of their inheritance records and correspondence with central authorities. These two sets of peripheral documents (on mastery over fish and fowl) are marginal records within the full context of the

China. See Hinokuma Masamori “Heian kōki kara Kamakura-ki ni okeru Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū no Nejime-in shihai.”

³³⁵ For more on the Nejime port or harbor, which saw foreign visitors (both welcome and unwelcome) in the sixteenth century, see Nejime Ken’ichi, *Tōsei runesansu no kaichō: nanban to Nejime-shi no rekishiteki seikai o motomete*, pp. 86-87.

³³⁶ *Nejime kyōdo-shi*, vol. 2. See the *nenpyō* (年表) chronology at the end of the volume. See also Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, pp. 91 and 93, which list Tanegashima as a part of the Shimazu-shō integrated into that estate between 1135 and 1141.

Ichikawa Monjo and *Nejime Monjo*, which record mostly official correspondence regarding the status of taxable fields. Yet they also reveal significant professional elements of each group that were not directly controlled by the *shugo* or Kamakura, but which were clearly vital to their success at the local level. Though document-producing proprietors viewed both groups first-and-foremost as tax collectors and keepers of provincial peace, the Ichikawa and Nejime clearly held a variety of professional interests that exceeded these roles. The Ichikawa were falcon-tamers, protectors of ritual, and independent managers of the northern border reaches of Shinano. The Nejime were port managers with some authority over fishing and the maintenance of peace in Kagoshima bay and administrators of a small but growing island network at the edge of Japan.

Mapping Kin Structure onto Geographical Space

In the case of the Ichikawa, in every case of the transmission of the *jitō-shiki* that granted administrative rights in Shikumi and Nakano and the internal position of headship or *sōryō* (sometimes categorized as a *sōryō-shiki*), possession of the ancestral home and fields in Shikumi-*gō* were included. In the Nejime, with each transfer of both *gunji* and *jitō-shiki* dual-administrative posts over the southern half of Nejime-*in* (which included Minamimata, Sata 佐多, and Tashiro 田代), an extensive core of property in Kōrimoto, including lands in surrounding villages (Mitsumatsu 光松, Mochimatsu 用松, and others), accompanied the offices. The core residence shifted over time, but the most longstanding site of habitation was a lowland residence and later fortification called Tomita (富田), where the graves of the Nejime from the medieval period remain (in the ruins of the former Katsuōji temple 勝雄寺跡). Today's gravestones are a mix of surviving medieval material and newer reconstructions, located at a temple on the far side of Tomita.



Image 6: The Nejime gravesite at Katsuōji, on the far side of their primary residence at Tomita (Photo by the author, 4/2/2015).



Image 7: The Kunimi plateau (upper) and modern retaining wall (lower) (Photo by the author, 4/1/2015).

Kōrimoto is bordered on the north by a set of barrier mountains (later the host of a fortress and second residence at Kunimi 国見). Though their total elevation is low, these mountains rise sharply into tall plateaus that provided excellent borders and barriers with the north. Collateral holdings to the south (in Yamamoto, Isashiki, Heta, and later parts of Sata) served as a border zone between the Nejime and their only direct neighbors.

While the Nejime never developed a formalized position of headship (like the *sōryō* of the Ichikawa), possession of the group's key offices and properties in Kōrimoto were always the symbolic property of the administrative leader of the kin group, which while diffuse, all fell under the limited administrative prerogatives of the *gunji* and *jitō* (alongside all other landholders in the region, including the Sata, the Isashiki, and the Tashiro), and served as a basic definition of headship, expressed through economic, political, and administrative authority.

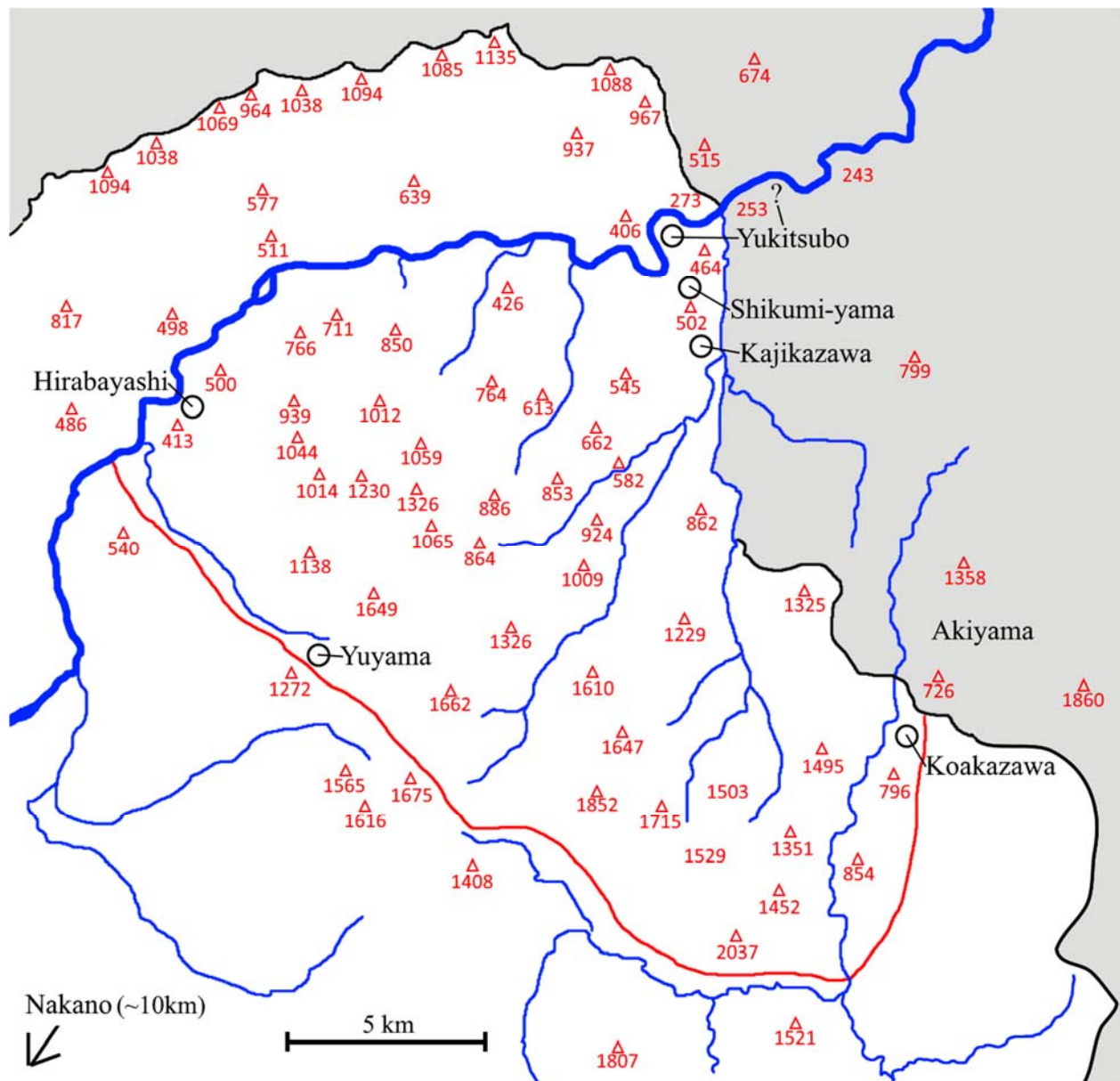
Headship positions are visible as uniform packages of rights and property in every main-line property transfer (which took the form of *yuzurijō* 譲状 and *okibumi* 置文, and sometimes also survive through lawsuit records even when bequests do not) in the *Ichikawa Monjo* and *Nejime Monjo* collections. Transfers of core lands and offices were definitive of who the main heir was, though their roles were different in each kin group.³³⁷ Additionally, the recipients of these positions and lands inherited the body of related records, which were often, but not always, directly listed in inheritances.³³⁸ The most formulaic element of medieval bequests was the transmission of the primary lands, documents, and offices, which were packaged together in the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa.

The positions of these two cores of property are mapped in Maps #5 and 6. In the Ichikawa case (Map #5), topography is particularly vital to understanding the basic layout of the region, and elevation data from surrounding and central peaks is included on the map. There were fewer habitable areas in Takai than in Nejime, and aside from the grant of a residence and taxable land on the Shikumi river in Yukitsubo to a daughter who may have married into a

³³⁷ See Chapters IV through VI on the topic of headship and comparisons of these two approaches to inheritance, leadership, and group composition.

³³⁸ Though other terms were also frequently used, the most common word for this compiled set of documents was *tetsugi*, which both the Kantō and its clients understood to mean the set of most vital constituent records that proved successive and authenticated possession of lands and titles.

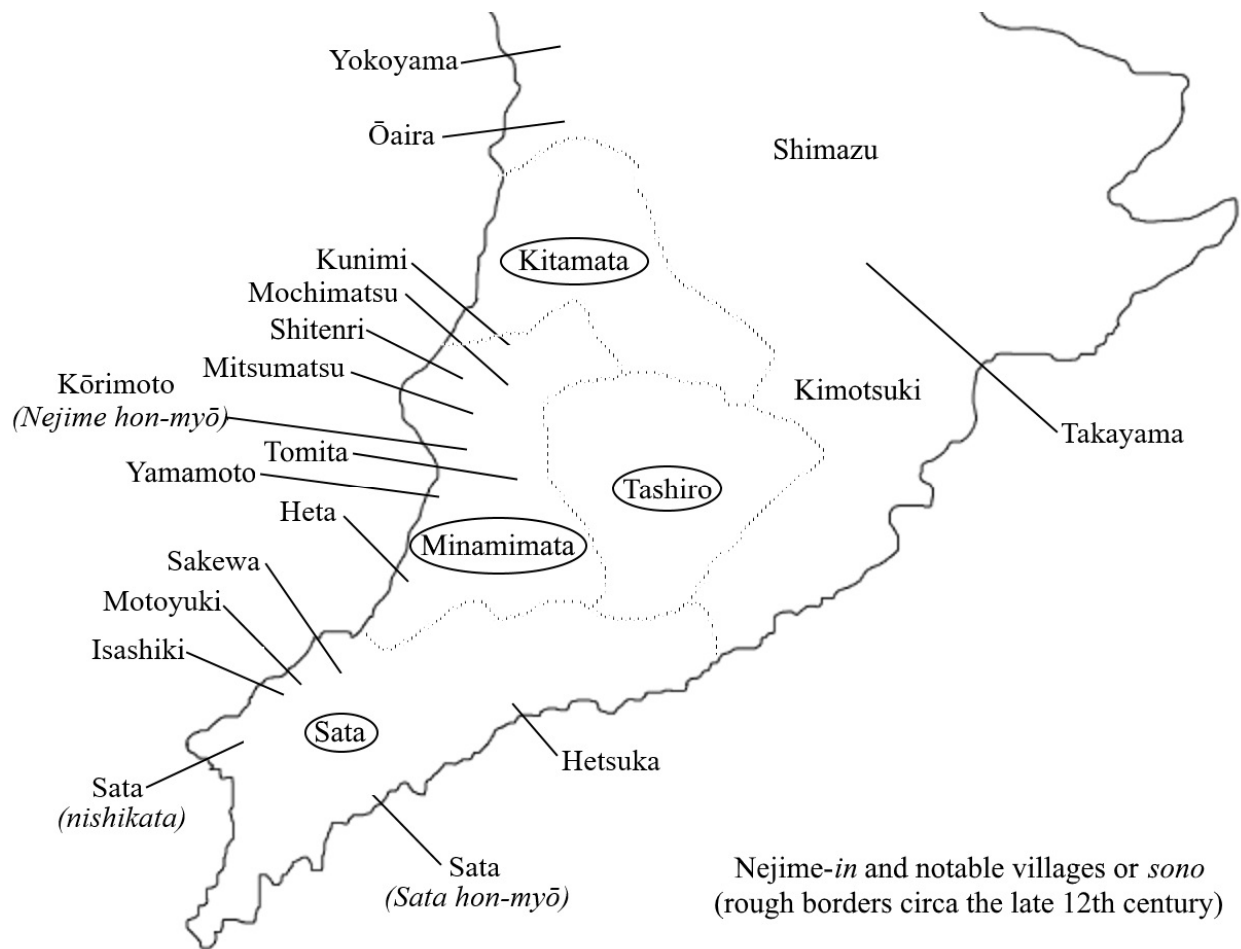
neighboring group, the Ichikawa seem to have inhabited only four core areas.³³⁹ These were the lowest points in the district, and the least topographically resistant to human development.



Map 5: Nakano/Ichikawa-inhabited regions of Shikumi-gō and surrounding elevation figures.³⁴⁰

³³⁹ The daughter was called the “Ōita daughter” for the name of the Ōita, with whom she may have had affinal ties and descent bonds through a son. See Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22). The exact size of the residence and lands are unknown, but may have included land across Shikumi river. there must have been productive fields there because the bequest outlines taxation guidelines for the property.

³⁴⁰ Made with elevations data from Google Earth in consultation with materials from the Nagano Prefectural Museum of history, the Takai historical society, and NASA LP DAAC / USGS topographical data.



Map 6: Nejime-in including Nejime inhabited regions and neighboring group territories.³⁴¹

While it is difficult to get a sense of topographical space from a flat map, elevation data demonstrates that outside the marked locations of Shikumi (and surrounding land), Hirabayashi (平林), Koakazawa (小赤沢), and Yuyama (湯山), little of Takai-gun was habitable or suitable for clearance and farming. The bordering Akiyama (秋山, also written 明山 and あけやま, now *Akiyama-gō* 秋山郷 and likely named for the red leaves that cover the mountains in fall) was an abstract, borderless zone with few or no permanent inhabitants that Ichikawa heirs could all freely utilize. Wood is listed as a communal resource to be taken from the Akiyama mountain

³⁴¹ Map developed by the author in consultation with the geographical data from the *Nejime-kyōdo-shi* and Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*.

hinterland in one will.³⁴² The Shikumi region was too remote for major centrally-driven logging activity in the medieval period, which did not become a major industry in the area until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁴³

Image 8: The Akiyama border hinterlands, photographed from the south bank of the Shikumi River across the



Shikumi river valley. (Photo by the author, 3/10/2013).

The Ichikawa *sōryō* controlled farming rights on Shikumi, though one matriarch, Senkō, left instructions for at least one generation to allow the shared use of dry fields by their kin.³⁴⁴ The Ichikawa employed a southern *yashiki* residence with attached fields in Nakano (on the bottom left edge of the map), inherited from their predecessors, as a detached retirement home and key farming base, though possession of the separate estate is impossible to trace past the mid-fourteenth century.³⁴⁵ The far bank of the Chikuma River, on the north and west, fell under

³⁴² Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

³⁴³ Conrad Totman, *Green Archipelago*. See especially “Map #2” in the frontmatter.

³⁴⁴ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

³⁴⁵ I will detail the status of this territory alongside the military record of the Ichikawa in Chapter IV. The level of actual control of the Ichikawa over detached estates and the far side of the Chikuma river are major topics in Gōdō Noriaki, “‘Ichikawa monjo’ no kenkyū: Shōgen yuzurijō oyobi Morifusa yuzurijō ni kakawaru ni san no mondai.”

the administrative authority of the Shikumi *jitō*, though the Nakano and Ichikawa do not appear to have settled there or owned lands of their own on the far bank, which was likely in flux in terms of military control from 1333 onward.³⁴⁶



Image 9: Part of the former core Nejime holdings in the Kōrimoto area, with surrounding mountains.
(Photo by the author, 4/4/2015).

For the southerly Nejime, topography also determined the basic areas of concentrated human habitation, but was less significant than political and social geography. The bulk of the lands that the group owned sat along or just inland from the western coastline, where runoff from the mountainous eastern half of the peninsula carves numerous small pockets of patchwork floodplain and larger flat basins which made for the best farming in the territory. The core holdings of Kōrimoto sit around and just inland from the small Nejime port, which undoubtedly served as a hub of activity (though that activity is largely invisible in the medieval record). The

³⁴⁶ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi." Documents do not provide enough detail to confirm specific areas of control during the fourteenth century, but Yumoto believes the far bank likely passed in and out of Ichikawa control, which aligns with the general currents of military action in the region.

position of the administrative head was geographically central; control of Kōrimoto meant both control of the best farmland and the best water access in all of southern Nejime, and was always in the hands of the line of *gunji* and *jitō* officers. These two overlapping administrative positions became synonymous, and then dropped from the group vocabulary entirely, as central authorities faltered and group headship came to encompass the direct, autonomous administration of the peninsula by the late fourteenth century under the command of the Nejime-*dono*.³⁴⁷

In both the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa cases, collaterals and cognates were responsible for the management and growth of peripheral properties outside these core residences and seats of power under control of their respective heads. For the Nakano/Ichikawa, these locations were selected from a combination of pure environmental necessity and strategic or economic significance. We know little of the exact locations of neighbors and rivals of the Nakano and Ichikawa, who, while numerous, shifted significantly over time.³⁴⁸ Because much of their homeland and the surrounding region was still wild and unsettled, the Nakano/Ichikawa had to clear new land through the direct application of considerable human labor, and the areas where this was possible were few.

In the Nejime case, where oceanic surroundings limited the movement of their neighbors across the landscape and in terms of the regions they might inhabit, a slowly shifting balance of power is visible between the *ichizoku* and neighboring groups, whose pre-cleared and cultivated lands made for attractive potential acquisitions. The bulk of the inheritances or new properties of the Nejime sublines were in villages or individual estates on the border of the Sata and Nejime areas, as the Nejime slowly encroached on their neighbors, large and small, to expand their land

³⁴⁷ The need to specify these posts evaporated as central control diminished or disappeared from southern Kyushu. I will explore the significance of the ambiguous “title” of Nejime-*dono* in Chapters V and VI.

³⁴⁸ Ihara Kesao goes into detail on much of the activity in the region. See his book *Takai chihō no chūseishi*, as well as the five-part article series by the same name in the *Sudaka* journal that preceded it, all listed in the bibliography.

base.³⁴⁹ Through manipulation of the legal system, direct land purchase, and quasi-inheritances (a complex topic covered in Chapter IV), the Nejime collaterals slowly carved out new holdings that were contiguous with their core properties. Later, the Nejime expanded into the southern islands and detached territories to the north, both in Hakata and near the Ōsumi provincial office, though the success of these detached expansions varied.

In both the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa, mapping known collateral holdings alongside the properties of the main line in rough strokes reveals a clear pattern of residence. Collateral kin served as a buffer between the main line's property and potential or active rivals, and helped to tame the wilderness where such activities were still possible (as by the thirteenth century, most of the land available for easy agricultural adaptation had already been tamed).³⁵⁰ This is a heretofore unknown element of *ichizoku* structure, and one that certainly calls for further research and more comparative examples.

Conclusion

While kinship was not environmentally determined, spatial and environmental constraints were a major factor in social expansions, contractions, and shifting roles within warrior *ichizoku*. The underlying element of the predominant argument for a shift from divided to unified inheritance is related to limited access to habitable and arable land for a growing medieval population.³⁵¹ The point visible in the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime cases is that access to

³⁴⁹ This process occurred over roughly a century, and is detailed in Chapters IV and V. Some lands were purchased directly, others won in lawsuits, still more gained through inheritance and fictionalized kinship ties used to skirt laws and inheritance stipulations or prohibitions against direct sales. Still more lands were earned through military service, as property confiscated and redistributed as spoils of war.

³⁵⁰ See Conrad Totman, *Green Archipelago and Japan: An Environmental History* on the broad context of human development and land clearance, particularly in relation to lumber usage. An occasional paper titled "The Origins of Japan's Modern Forests: The Case of Akita" also preceded the book.

³⁵¹ See William Wayne Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age*. Though the issue of population is contentious, Farris believes that the population in 1150 was between 5.5-6.3 million, and by 1600 had reached 15-17 million, with the greatest growth occurring between 1280-1600 and the 1450 population estimated at 9.6-10.5 million. See page 5 for a basic outline of his ideas, followed thereafter by a

land and resources was a highly variable condition. Some groups could creatively exploit their surroundings (natural and/or human) to maintain the capacity for land division and group expansion for longer and in greater degrees than others, whose environment determined a maximum capacity for elite status and ownership at the local level, and may have forced some degree of unification. In this chapter, I have presented evidence for the value of a more detailed view of warrior groups in their particular environments – a view that both reinforces and complicates the prevailing theory of social change in medieval Japan and of major inheritance shifts as they occurred on an individual basis.

In the case of the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa, an admittedly limited sample, geography and topography had an undeniable impact on the shape and size of each group. As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, in which the inheritance practices, social roles, and kinship designs take center stage, the environment was always a powerful agent in the history of these two groups. The shape of their relationships reflected the environment. The Nakano/Ichikawa formed around a powerful singular leader who administered the territory directly and controlled, in large degree, the destinies of their kin. The Nejime, unbounded by their proximity to the sea and surrounded by weaker neighbors to the south and east, built outward, filling the ever-expanding outer reaches of their domain with collateral groups.

series of other estimates by previous scholars, all of whom see a boom of various periodization and size occurring in the early medieval period. A main reason for the boom seems to have been the suppression or development of immunity to pathogens and diseases, as well as an increase in land availability, dietary quality, and caloric intake. See page 11 for a further summation of these shifts.

CHAPTER IV: INHERITANCE, HEADSHIP, AND INTERNAL CONFLICT

This chapter (Chapter IV) builds on the foundations laid in Chapters I-III to draw direct, detailed comparisons between the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime and their internalized and specific conceptions of kinship using inheritance records and lawsuits from the twelfth through early fourteenth centuries. The primary goal of this comparative effort is to seek out the commonalities and peculiarities of these two disparate groups and to consider these two case studies as potential microcosms of the evolution(s) of the warrior class. Due to the lack of parity in content across the *Ichikawa Monjo* and *Nejime Monjo*, some of the following sections focus more on one group than the other. In some cases, I have chosen to divide short narrative examples from each group, while in others their examples are interleaved. Each subsection takes a roughly chronological look at each *ichizoku*, though gaps in the Nakano/Ichikawa and Nejime records require some degree of flexibility to allow for cross-group comparison.

Although many elements of each group are not chronologically aligned, the Nakano/Ichikawa and Nejime stories do share a similar basic rhythm, which follows the course of Japanese history in the cadence of broad political, economic, and military shifts. As we will discover, there is a high degree of shared historical experience that determined some of the basic flows of these two groups. These similarities are largely due to their identical positions as provincial representatives of the same central warrior governmental and administrative bodies.

Introduction: Headship, Inheritance, and Property Disputes

Inheritance lies at the heart of surviving knowledge of early medieval warrior kinship. The bulk of the warrior records written in this period delineate or debate the shape and nature of property divisions, the transmission of titles, and the designation of successive authority within a kin group. Documents that cover these debates, often resolved by the legal system of the Kamakura government or its representative branches in Kyoto and Hakata, appear most frequently from the late twelfth through early fourteenth centuries, when the Kamakura judiciary was directly involved in helping to settle the internal affairs of individual warrior groups.

As I explained in the Introduction, extant scholarship on warrior kinship tends to emphasize a general dwindling of the total number of intrafamilial inheritances, often expressed as a shift from divided to unitary inheritance.³⁵² This shift frequently led to the consolidation of transferrable political power and wealth in the hands of one figure, to the detriment of siblings and other collateral kin (which might include cousins, aunts and uncles, in-laws, and others depending on the specific formulation of each group).³⁵³ Women in particular tended to lose out as the set of potential heirs shrank down to a single, dominant figure, often inheriting lifetime-only inheritances (*ichigobun* 一期分) or nothing at all, at least in terms of recorded land.³⁵⁴

³⁵² For one elucidation of the social consequences of this shift in general terms, see Hosokawa Ryōichi, “Josei, kazoku, seikatsu,” p. 197. This article explores gender in medieval Japan, and is part of a move toward the analysis of gender by historians of medieval women. See also Kurushima Noriko, Nagano Hiroko, and Osa Shizue, eds., *Jendā kara mita Nihon shi: rekishi o yomikaeru*, the most recent compilation of medieval gender analysis, ongoing since the 1990s.

³⁵³ Hitomi Tonomura describes the shift on p. 592-594 of “Women and Inheritance in Japan's Early Warrior Society.” Jeffrey P. Mass’ *Lordship and Inheritance* focuses on the shift, which he describes “guardedly” as a country-wide pattern on p. 5. He then contrasts Japan with medieval Europe, where he asserts that neighbors might have entirely different social structures. In this regard, I disagree with Mass; the condition of social variability even in the same locales also existed in Japan, as I have found in the neighboring Sata/Nejime and Takanashi/Ichikawa. I will go into further detail on the idea of local trends and the potential regionality of contrasting familial structures in Chapter VII, and outlined some recent trends from kinship theory in the Introduction.

³⁵⁴ On lifetime inheritance, see Kurushima Noriko “Marriage and Female Inheritance in Medieval Japan,” p. 240. Kurushima states that “It is generally agreed that in the late medieval period, daughters and widows were accorded only a temporary claim to family property (*ichigobun*, literally “portion for one lifetime (or generation).” We will see this type of grant in both the Ichikawa and Nejime records.

Landholdings and titles served as the physical and political manifestations of group identity, which was threatened by division. Were land subdivisions to continue past the point of basic utility, groups of kin would, and sometimes did, collapse under the burdens of taxation and service imposed by both central proprietors and the Kamakura government.³⁵⁵ Yet even the most well-established ideas of this shift universally cite its lack of uniformity and the ubiquity of variance at the local level.³⁵⁶ Those who could continue to divide their land still sometimes did, often by dividing up income shares or use rights rather than physical plots. A major goal in this chapter is to determine how and why such decisions were made.

Consolidation around group heads is visible in varying degrees in both the Nejime and the Ichikawa in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, but as I will demonstrate in this chapter and those that follow, the meaning and form of “headship” as it existed in these two groups is very different, as were the roles, obligations, and power of these heads vis-à-vis their cognates and collaterals. In our case studies, the shift toward unified inheritance occurred early in one group, and very late or not at all in the other, complicating generalist views of social change. Further, the meaning of unification is different for every kin group, and the power of the head was fluid not only from group to group, but also from generation to generation.

A continuous examination of inheritance records from one kin group allows the modern reader to trace, in either rough or fine strokes, depending on the period and the nature of the record, the general flow of properties and prerogatives from one generation to the next. This flow

³⁵⁵ “Service” as a broad category includes local duties, guard duty at the capital, and rice taxes imposed through estate proprietors. My terminology is deliberately indistinct, as warrior documents typically provide little detail on the specifics of the services they provided to central elites, usually listed simply as *onkuji* or *mikuji* (御公事), with taxes as *nengu* (年貢).

³⁵⁶ As it is a prevailing and largely accurate conception of property relations, the conception of a shift from divided to unitary inheritance is found in numerous works. For one early example of its use within the framework of an increased tendency toward unified familial power represented by the *sōryō* system, see Nitta Hideharu, “Chūsei no sōzoku-sei,” especially the conclusion on pp. 50-51.

of property and various rights and duties is limited to the people mentioned in documents, and does not demarcate the entirety of the kin group. Yet inheritance records inform us of critical elements of kinship designation, and lawsuits surrounding inheritance reveal the social flows and internal conflicts such designations could create. Because inheritance forms the bedrock for the analysis of kinship in this chapter, I will begin with a rough explanation of the practices of headship, inheritance, and property transmission in the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime as they developed over the early medieval period.³⁵⁷

Early Headship, Inheritance, and Property in the Nakano/Ichikawa

Until the middle of the thirteenth century, almost all the documents in the “*Ichikawa Monjo*” concern their predecessors, the Nakano; as Ishii Susumu notes, it would be more accurate to call the first few dozen documents the “*Nakano-ke Monjo*.”³⁵⁸ Nakano records begin with conflict over succession and property, a theme that permeates the entirety of their (short) documented history. Internal conflict over inheritance is often a defining feature of groups in which property division was the norm, and the Nakano seem to have been especially burdened with internal disunity. Nakano Yoshinari (能成), introduced in Chapter I, is the second documented figure in the kin group and the first that we can trace concretely. He is, both for our purposes and in the eyes of his successors, the founder of the Nakano.

A series of four documents from Kamakura issued between 1203 and 1204 reveal the extent of Yoshinari’s holdings, and may have been prompted by Yoshinari’s participation in the

³⁵⁷ For a background on these two groups, see the Chapter I, which outlines how these families and their properties came to be (the two being mutually constituted in both cases), and Chapter II, which examines the history of their records into the modern period. This chapter is concerned only with the records that provide some level of familial detail, with a focus on the peaceful Kamakura period. Earlier documents tend to tell us little beyond the individual origins of family founders. Military issues dominate later documents, but still allow for a broad overview of relational dynamics, and varying degrees of inheritance practices and kinship designations.

³⁵⁸ Ishii Susumu, “Shinano no fūdo to rekishi,” p. 10.

campaign against the outlaw Hiki Yoshikazu. An initial 1203 record from Hōjō Tokimune served as a broad confirmation of all of Yoshinari's property, listed simply as his *honsho* (本所).³⁵⁹ More detailed confirmations followed, beginning with leftover rights from the temporarily-suspended Shikumi *jitō-shiki*, which was instead replaced by income rights (*tokubun* 得分).³⁶⁰ Yoshinari (or Gorō 五郎) had a natal competitor in his brother Shirō (四郎, likely the elder of the two), who Hōjō Tokimune instructed to cease any attempt to disrupt his brother's holdings in 1204.³⁶¹ The document confirms the largest chunk of early Nakano property, which included 10-*chō* of named fields (*myōden* 名田), a *yashiki* residence, and an unspecified number of servants (*shojū* 所従) in Nakano-gō. Finally, again in 1204, Tokimune sent another document listing an additional set of one *chō* and eight *tan* of *uchisaku* (内作) fields.³⁶² In the case of the founding figure of the Nakano name group, held aloft by a half-dozen generations of Nakano and Ichikawa successors who credit him as the origin point for the legitimacy of their lands and *jitō-shiki*, all we really know about his natal kin group is that he did not get along with his brother, as no other individuals are mentioned in this series of documents, and no bequest to Yoshinari survives.

This murky background of a contentious, undocumented inheritance involves the adoption of “Fujiwara” Nakano Yoshinari by “Fujiwara” Sukehiro, also described in Chapter I. Though no bequest survives, Nakano Yoshinari apparently received the *jitō-shiki* for Shikumi and several properties including named fields and residences in Nakano from Sukehiro around the turn of the thirteenth century, and is verified as a landholder in the region in the above series of confirmation documents. These initial holdings constituted the set that would form the core of

³⁵⁹ Kennin 3 (1203).9.4 *Hōjō Tokimasa kudashibumi* (KI, 3, 1378 and SNS, 3, pp. 499-500).

³⁶⁰ Kennin 3 (1203).9.23 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 3:1381). The suspension of rights is detailed in Chapter I.

³⁶¹ Kennin 4 (1204).2.21 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 3:1434).

³⁶² Genkyū 1 (1204).3.19 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 3:1442) lists one *chō* and eight *tan* of *uchisaku* (内作) fields. These four records also appear in sequence in SNS, 3, pp. 500-507.

Nakano/Ichikawa lands and titles (*jitō-shiki*) for the coming centuries. Yoshinari held them from around 1203 through 1249, when he wrote his will, the first in the *Ichikawa Monjo*.³⁶³

In 1249, Yoshinari designated his main heir (*chakushi* ちやくし), and passed down the Nakano and Shikumi-*gō jitō-shiki* (by then restored) to his son Tadayoshi, having divided his individual landed properties among his children and grandchildren or *komago* (こまこ).³⁶⁴

Almost all of what we know about the group prior to 1249 must be inferred from administrative records of offices and political and military activity. The bulk of the familial narrative of the first half of the century comes from later documentary retellings, and there is no information on group makeup prior to the 1240s.

After the Jōkyū War (1221), Yoshinari's holdings were reconfirmed, and he is referred to as Sama-no-jo Fujiwara Yoshinari (左馬允藤原能成) in a pair of documents from Hōjō Yasutoki. On 1224.11.1, Yoshinari's *jitō-shiki* in Shikumi-*gō* (here written 檣郷) was fully restored.³⁶⁵ Another document from two days later clarifies the status of Shikumi as the income land of Suruga no kami, Hōjō Shigetoki (この所ハするか守給て候), the Shinano *shugo*.³⁶⁶ Yoshinari held these properties without issue for several more decades prior to writing his wills. His *jitō* offices would grant later recipients in the Nakano and Ichikawa rights and duties in the Takai sub-regions of Shikumi and Nakano, along with substantial income and the ability to develop the Shikumi region. Yoshinari's extensive properties in Nakano, to the south, included initial living quarters, though at some point in the following decades the primary site of residence shifted to Shikumi. The Nakano held a privileged status as autonomous local elites, with a direct

³⁶³ Kenchō 1 (1249).12.15 *Myōren yuzurijō* (KI, 10:7149 and SNS, 4, pp. 147-148). See also Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, pp. 69-70 on this bequest.

³⁶⁴ Kenchō 1 (1249).12.15 *Myōren yuzurijō* (KI, 10:7149 and SNS, 4, pp. 147-148).

³⁶⁵ Jōō 3 (1224).11.11 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 5:3307; SNS, 3, pp. 612-613).

³⁶⁶ Jōō 3 (1224).11.13 *Hōjō Yasutoki shōjō* (KI, 5:3308, SNS, 3, p. 613).

tie to the *shugo* and immunity from his deputies, thanks to the special right of non-entry by *shugo* deputies conferred to Yoshinari in 1225, as well as direct ties to Hōjō regency.³⁶⁷

Yoshinari's bequest (a *yuzurijō*), signed using the Buddhist name Myōren, states:

Regarding the inheritance of my estate [*shoryō*],
Within the two *gō* of Nakano and Shikumi, other than the paddies [*ta た*] and residences [*zaike* さいけ] that I have divided among my children and grandchildren [*komago* こまこ], regarding the *sō-jitō-shiki*, this is granted to Jirō Tadayoshi as my main heir [*chakushi* ちやくし], along with the *onkudashibumi*, and the other *honmonsho* [ほんもんそ confirmation documents] as a permanent grant. Regarding Tarō Mitsunari,³⁶⁸ because he has betrayed the will of his parent [*oya no kokoro o somuku yue* おやのこゝろをそむくゆへ] and is lacking in merit [*kiryō* 器量] I shall not name him as my *chakushi* [*chakushi ni tatezaru nari* ちやくしにたてさる也]. If he should file a suit [*soshō* そせう] regarding this, let the word of Tadayoshi, as well as the word of Myōren [Yoshinari himself] prevail.³⁶⁹

The official, original documentation of the *jitō* post, an *on-kudashibumi* (御下文), the most highly valued record received from the Kantō with confirmation in 1192,³⁷⁰ along with the collection of successive documents, was passed along to the group head in each intergenerational transfer.³⁷¹ Headship, which was demarcated by possession of the the *sō-jitō-shiki*, carried overarching administrative authority but undefined familial rights and was directly linked to the control and management of land through the pair of Nakano and Shikumi *jitō-shiki*.

Yoshinari distributed his individual plots of land unevenly among his children and grandchildren. His apparent eldest son, Tarō Mitsunari, was excluded from any major inheritance for going against the will or “heart” (*kokoro*) of the parent and thus being rightfully excluded

³⁶⁷ Karoku 1 (1225).9.16 *Hōjō Shigetoki kakikudashi* (KI 5:3406 and SNS 3, p. 617-618).

³⁶⁸ Likely the eldest son, based on general naming conventions. Tarō (太郎) is a name usually reserved for eldest sons, while Jirō (二郎), translated literally, means “second son.”

³⁶⁹ Kenchō 1 (1249).12.15 *Myōren yuzurijō* (KI, 10:7149 and SNS, 4, pp. 147-148).

³⁷⁰ Kenkyū 3 (1192).12.10 *Shōgunke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 2:645 and SNS, 3, pp. 440-441).

³⁷¹ These documents can be viewed as a primary treasure conveyed in any bequest. As Jeffrey Mass has characterized them, *kudashibumi* “were edicts of long-term or permanent efficacy and were therefore reserved for matters of importance....during the post-Jōkyū [1221] era [they] functioned as the nearly exclusive vehicles of appointments and confirmations.” See Jeffrey P. Mass, “Translation and Pre-1600 History,” pp. 71-72.

from status as a main heir (*chakushi* 嫡子). Yoshinari's second son Tadayoshi was named his successor and primary recipient of offices and land, and was the only documented heir despite an abstract reference to divisions to others.³⁷² Yoshinari's statement regarding filial piety justifies the exclusion of an eldest son from inheritance, as required by the 22nd article of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*, which would have otherwise mandated that the son receive a minimum one-fifth share of the amount of property given to the *chakushi*.³⁷³

At the end of the bequest, Yoshinari also stated that if Mitsunari, the first son, challenged Tadayoshi for possession of the *jitō-shiki* or other property, Tadayoshi should receive favorable judgment in any case that went to court.³⁷⁴ The parallel to the earlier quarrel between Yoshinari (or Gorō) and his contentious brother Shirō, who was also likely the elder of the two due to the numeric naming practices, is striking, and the inclusion of the clause against the interference of the disinherited elder brother is the first of several efforts by benefactors to prevent legal conflicts they experienced as younger heirs from repeating themselves in their successors.³⁷⁵

Such a challenge eventually (one might say inevitably) came from Mitsunari, who took the Buddhist name Tarō Nyūdō Seigan (太郎入道西願), and seems to have contested the inheritances of multiple siblings, including at least two brothers and an unknown number of sisters. Though Mitsunari's initial petition(s) against his siblings has not survived, two decrees from the Kantō, issued two days apart in in 1252, reveal more information about the Nakano.³⁷⁶

The first document reinforced the parental prerogatives exercised in the will of the “dead father” (*bōfu* 亡父) Yoshinari, ignoring contradictory details (*shisai* 子細) listed by

³⁷² Kenchō 1 (1249).12.15 *Myōren yuzurijō* (KI, 10:7149; SNS, 4, pp. 147-148).

³⁷³ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, p. 21.

³⁷⁴ Kenchō 1 (1249).12.15 *Myōren yuzurijō* (KI, 10:7149; SNS, 4, pp. 147-148).

³⁷⁵ Kennin 3 (1203).9.23 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 3:1381).

³⁷⁶ Kenchō 4 (1252).12.26 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 10:7506; SNS, 4, pp.183-184), and Kenchō 4 (1252).12.28 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 10:7508; SNS, 4, pp.185).

Mitsunari/Seigan, which the court found to be baseless.³⁷⁷ The court upheld Yoshinari's bequest(s) transferring his Shikumi *jitō-shiki* to the main heir Tadayoshi and other minor properties (which are not detailed) to Mitsunari/Seigan and their (unnamed) sisters, which it confirmed in accordance with precedent (*senrei* 先例).³⁷⁸ This record confirms that Yoshinari had multiple heirs aside from his main heir and *sō-jitō-shiki* recipient Tadayoshi (who was thus likely considered head of the kin group or *sōryō*, a term common in later Ichikawa records), and the second decree reveals the extent of one of those secondary grants, to a grandson called Fujiwara Masayasu (藤原正康). The grant, which the Kantō court cited as the En'ō 1(1239).1.25 *yuzurijō* of "grandfather" (*sofu* 祖父) Sama-no-jo Yoshinari to grandson Masayasu, has not survived.³⁷⁹ According to the confirmation of that lost bequest document, Yoshinari passed a *yashiki* residence and eight *tan* of paddy (cleared by a commoner named Kumaya 弥熊) in Nakano-gō, as well as a paddy (cleared by Mune Daibu 宗大夫) and *zaike* residence in Shikumi to his grandson, whose parentage is unknown.³⁸⁰

The new head Tadayoshi also engaged in a property dispute with one of his sisters, called Fujiwara-uji (藤原氏), though again, the limited surviving details of the case come from court judgements, and the original petition from Tadayoshi is unknown.³⁸¹ In 1254, two years after the resolution of the eldest brother Mitsunari's disputes, the Kantō court sent a third judgement to the sister Fujiwara-uji, confirming a (non-extant) bequest from Yoshinari, which he wrote on

³⁷⁷ Kenchō 4 (1252).12.26 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 10:7506; SNS, 4, pp.183-184).

³⁷⁸ Kenchō 4 (1252).12.26 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 10:7506; SNS, 4, pp.183-184). The document also confirms that Tarō was the elder brother (*shakei* 舎兄). Based on the language of this record, it seems likely that there were originally multiple bequests from Yoshinari released in a set to Tadayoshi and his siblings separately, of which only the main bequest survives.

³⁷⁹ Kenchō 4 (1252).12.28 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 10:7508; SNS, 4, p.185)

³⁸⁰ Kenchō 4 (1252).12.28 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 10:7508; SNS, 4, p.185)

³⁸¹ Kenchō 6 (1254).12.12 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 11:7829; SNS, 4, pp. 204-205).

Tenpuku 2 (1234).10.25, granting the daughter five *tan* of paddy and a *zaike* residence in Nakano Nishijō (中野西条田伍段・在家宅宇).³⁸² Fujiwara-uji and Tadayoshi had apparently resolved their dispute out of court in her favor, and the Kantō judgement stated that they should follow the bequest of (their father) Yoshinari and Tadayoshi's (non-extant) *saribumi* (避文), a document used to abandon land claims (in both lawsuits and as receipts in land sales).³⁸³

The court's judgements confirmed the landholdings of both Tadayoshi and his relatives Fujiwara-uji and Masayasu (the further details of which are unlisted), and displays a clear effort to curtail further legal challenges by the disgruntled eldest son Mitsunari. They also reveal that Yoshinari was well-connected in Nakano and Shikumi, both of which were under active development by commoners working under him to clear land. Following his failed suits against his co-heirs, Mitsunari continued his own, now disconnected lineage separately from the main Nakano line, and resurfaced later as an outside party.

Major External Conflict in the Nakano

As is often the case in medieval records, little evidence of Tadayoshi's life as head of the Nakano remains beyond these early disputes and confirmations, which might make a kin group seem more contentious than it was. We do, however, gain a great deal of insight into the Nakano based on the circumstances surrounding his death, which confirm and enhance earlier signs of disharmony. Tadayoshi's run as head was much shorter than his father's extensive tenure; by the year 1265, Tadayoshi had died intestate (*mishobun* 未処分) following an illness.³⁸⁴ This turn of events led his surviving kin to lob extensive and complex sets of charges against one another, as

³⁸² Kenchō 6 (1254).12.12 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 11:7829; SNS, 4, pp. 204-205).

³⁸³ See the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for *saribumi* (避文), which were gradually replaced by *sarijō* (避状) during the Kamakura period. The two types of documents are functionally identical.

³⁸⁴ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

relatives came out of the woodwork to fight over the scraps of Tadayoshi's estate. The Nakano were left in disarray, and the Kantō court interceded again, sorting out the distribution of inheritance in Tadayoshi's place. After receiving several dispute documents, the Kantō handed down a decree addressed to the parties involved in the suit, and recounting their various arguments.³⁸⁵

A man calling himself Nakano Jirōtarō Tameyasu (中野次郎太郎為泰) filed suit against several relatives including the nun-widow (*goke ama* 後家尼) of Nakano Umajirō Tadayoshi Hosshi Hōren (宝蓮, Tadayoshi's Buddhist name), their daughter Fujiwara-uji (a different woman from the one above), an adopted son (*yōshi* 養子) Nakano Yagorō Nakayoshi (中野弥五郎長能), and "others" (*nado* 等), who engaged in dispute over Hōren's estate (*Hōren no iryō* 宝蓮遺領).³⁸⁶ Importantly, because no record from Tadayoshi survives, it is unclear how he viewed the mother of his children, and whether or not her designation as his widow (*goke*) was made in his own lost (and hotly contested) bequest, or by the court itself.

The "son" and claimant Tameyasu is a fascinating figure who illustrates the lengths potential heirs would go to in attempting to gain lands through the legal process. Tameyasu, the widow (also known as Ren'a), her daughter Fujiwara-uji (also known as Kesa Gozen and Shakua), and the adopted son Nakayoshi argued over who should be considered Tadayoshi's main heir in a series of increasingly contentious documents (each quoted by the court) that saw Tameyasu and Fujiwara-uji as his two potential primary successors. The Kantō's resolution, authored by Hōjō Masamura and Hōjō Tokimune, begins by quoting Tameyasu's claim:

Regarding Hōren's [Tadayoshi's] Shinano province, Nakano-gō property share (*chigyōbun* 知行分), and the *jitō-shiki* in Shikumi, etc.,

³⁸⁵ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

³⁸⁶ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

Regarding this dispute, Tameyasu has stated: “These properties are the ancestral holdings (*sōden no shoryō* 相傳之所領) of Hōren. Tameyasu is Hōren’s main heir (*chakunan* 嫡男). In the second month of last year, Bun’ei 1 [1264], Hōren suddenly fell ill. His relatives (*shinrui nado* 親類等) all implored him to leave instructions (*kyōkun* 教訓) regarding his estate (*iseki* 遺跡), but while he was of ill-mind (*fuben* 不弁), he died intestate (*mishobun* 未処分) without writing a bequest (*yuzurijō kaki ni oyobazu* 不及書讓狀) on the nineteenth day. Because Tameyasu is the *chakushi*, he should have been the manager (*kanryō* 官領) of the estate, but the daughter claimed to have been declared the *sōryō* (惣領), [or alternatively- the *sōryō* claimed that the land was bequeathed to the daughter]³⁸⁷ and as she forced her way into these two properties (*kudan no ryōsho ni ōryō suru no aida* 押領件兩所之間), [I] Tameyasu was left in a helpless position (*Tameyasu musoku ni makarinaru* 為泰無足罷成), and suddenly in a miserable state without any means (*mujutsu no shidai nari* 無術之次第也). I request that [the court should] immediately follow precedent to reserve a portion [of the estate on my behalf] (*hayaku bōrei ni makasete gohaibun azukaran to hossu* 早任傍例欲預御配分).”³⁸⁸

The two judges in charge of the case moved on to cite an even longer passage from a counter-claim filed jointly by Hōren’s widow (*goke* 後家) and daughter (*ujime* 氏女), which countered each of Tameyasu’s claims, stating first that he was not the *chakushi*, second, that his mother (*bodō* 母堂, another woman) had for many years while she was involved with Hōren also had another relationship with a secret (*setsu* 竊) lover (*aiyome* 相嫁) named Hirota Yajirō Tamemura, was now in fact his “wife” (*saijo* 妻女), and that after she had gone to him (*Hirota ni kudarimuki suru no ato* 下向広田之後), had given birth to Tameyasu and many other children (*Tameyasu ika sushi o umashimu to iedomo* 雖令生為泰以下數子), all of which occurred after her separation (*ribetsu* 離別) with Tadayoshi.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ This section of the document is written with peculiar grammatical structure, and could be read as either a statement by the daughter that she was the *sōryō*, or that the *sōryō* had given her his land and offices (but did not formally reference Shakua as *sōryō*).

³⁸⁸ Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

³⁸⁹ Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261). I use the term “separation” in this case because while we know that the woman left Tadayoshi’s, it is not clear that anything considered a “marriage” or “divorce” was involved.

In the rest of their statement, quoted by the judges, the widow and daughter claimed that the false son Tameyasu had already been the *chakushi* of Hirota Tamemura and had inherited his property twenty years earlier, and that when Tameyasu learned that Hōren had no male heir (宝蓮無男子之由承及之), had tried to stake a claim on his land (競望所領). Further, the women charged that when Tameyasu came to visit (*rairin* 來臨) Hōren, after Hōren expressed doubt that Tameyasu was his son (*shisoku* 子息), Tameyasu had instead inquired about taking a wife (*saijo* 妻女, and presumably “marrying” into the Nakano through a daughter, or rather as an adoptive son through affinal ties).³⁹⁰ The women asked rhetorically, “what one body can have two fathers!?” (*nani o motte isshin chichi futari motsu beki ya* 何以一身可持二人父哉).³⁹¹

A series of further arguments from the women followed: that Tameyasu had already inherited from one person, and taken “Tame” as part of his name (*Tamemura no meisei* 為村之名姓) in succession (*aitsugu* 相繼) and was thus ineligible to do so again under Hōren; that Hōren’s bequest, written in his own hand (*jihitsu* 自筆), clearly transmitted his estate to his daughter and only child (氏女依為一子、可相傳所領之由); and that both the father and grandfather’s handwritten documents listed Shakua as *chakushi*.³⁹² The mother and daughter went on to state that the adoptee Nakayoshi had been granted his own portion by Hōren, and that Tameyasu had been given a small portion of the daughter’s share as ordered (*ujime no hakarai to shite shobun kyūyo subeki no yoshi* 氏女之計小分可給与之由),³⁹³ as it was not known whether

³⁹⁰ Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261). Thus, Tameyasu was simultaneously claiming to be a biological child of Tadayoshi/Hōren and asking about marrying his would-be sister!

³⁹¹ Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

³⁹² As neither record survives, we cannot verify or invalidate this claim.

³⁹³ This action, although of course not specifically drawing from it, follows the general moral outline given by Hōjō Shigetoki in his *Gokurakuji Letter*. For the letter, see Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 322-346. Therein, Shigetoki included a clause for *sōryō* stating (as translated by Steenstrup): “he should treat with compassion even those who are not [legitimate co-heirs], knowing that if he discards them, no one else will provide

or not he was a real son (*jitsu no shisoku* 実子息).³⁹⁴

In a counterclaim, Tameyasu argued that he had not accepted the offer of minor lands, and continued his legal attack. He lobbed a series of claims, including that the bequest document that the nun-widow and daughter Fujiwara-uji submitted was illegitimate, altered from its original version, forged to appear as if in Tadayoshi's hand, and bore a false signature that did not look like that of Tadayoshi.³⁹⁵ Tameyasu also claimed to have attended to Tadayoshi in his final days when he was in his sickbed (*byōshō* 病床) staying with him until his final moments (*saigo no ji ni itari* 至干最後之時), and that the statement in the forged document claiming that Tameyasu was unfilial (*fukō* 不孝) clearly could not be true because of his service to Tadayoshi on his deathbed.³⁹⁶

The court's lengthy summary of the case continues at length; the daughter countered the claim of forgery, stating that her father requested that she write his final document for him (as he was on his deathbed), and that as she wrote it (based on Tadayoshi's dictation), his widow (*goke*) and their children (*shisoku*), had all stood by. Hōren's sister, a nun named Ama Hirade (尼平出) noted as a witness in the case that Tameyasu was the one person that had not been gathered

for them." See Carl Steenstrup, "The Gokurakuji Letter. Hōjō Shigetoki's Compendium of Political and Religious Ideas of Thirteenth-Century Japan," p.22. By dividing a part of her property for Tameyasu, the daughter Fujiwara-uji was performing the same leadership role as that of *sōryō* in the family due to her status as the main heir, and appears to have been considered the de facto *sōryō* by the Nakano and the Kantō. It is generally assumed that females could not be *sōryō*, though this case complicates that assumption significantly. However, Tameyasu's comments can only be taken as indicating that the family had, by general consent, acknowledged that Tadayoshi, and they, regarded Fujiwara-uji, his sole biological child, as the *sōryō* irrespective of the fact that he had also adopted Nakayoshi as a male heir. Thus, for her to follow moral standards like the one enunciated by Shigetoki was a prudent course of action, regardless of her dispute with Tameyasu.

³⁹⁴ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

³⁹⁵ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285 and SS, v., pp. 255-261). See also Gōdō Noriaki, "'Ichikawa Monjo' yomoyama hanashi," p. 81, which discusses (and refutes) Tameyasu's issues with this *yuzurijō* and its provisions, as well as the court's handling of the case. Godo's conclusion on the matter relegates the claim of Tameyasu to a wholesale legal fiction constructed around the clumsy development of the document, which aligns well with the sorts of small issues competing heirs might raise with the Kamakura judiciary to secure property.

³⁹⁶ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

together in the room.³⁹⁷ Hirade and the daughter Kesa testified that both Nakayoshi and Tameyasu had signed the will where the two pages met to authenticate it, and that Tameyasu had in fact taken a farmhouse and land in Nakano as an inheritance, while refusing a farmhouse and land in Shikumi that the daughter had offered.³⁹⁸ The widow and daughter forwarded four documents written in Tadayoshi's hand for the court to use for comparison with the document to prove its legitimacy. The issue of forgery was clearly taken very seriously, as the documentary link to land was a vital legitimizer.

Next, Tameyasu claimed that the signature where the pages joined was not his and was also forged, and that he was present when the bequest was written (rather than in the next room). He attested to the legitimacy of the four documents sent to the court, but claimed that because the bequest in question had sections that were overwritten, that regardless of whether it had originally been a forgery it was now an illegitimate document (due to revisions after-the-fact). He accused Hirade, Tadayoshi's sister, of lacking credibility as a witness (*shōnin fuzoku* 不足証人) because she had adopted Hōren's daughter as an heir (*yōshi* 養子), presumably making her a biased party.³⁹⁹

In yet another rebuttal, the daughter and others (*Ujime-nado* 氏女等) stated that she had not been made an heir of her aunt Hirade, and that Tameyasu had made up this story to discredit her as a witness to the writing of Tadayoshi's final bequest. Further, she pointed out that Tameyasu clearly owned lands in Hirota, in Musashi province (and was thus an heir of the Hirota), because when he had gone there he took possession of horses, men, and other

³⁹⁷ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

³⁹⁸ The authenticating signatures overlapped the joint of two separate pages of the original bequest.

³⁹⁹ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

goods/equipment (馬人召具之上当知行).⁴⁰⁰ She also argued that Tameyasu had in fact taken possession of the small shares of land in Nakano and Shikumi she granted him, and that this action constituted an earlier acceptance of the bequest (regardless of his current claims). The daughter then reiterated the 1264 bequest and its contents, which listed her as the main heir (*chakujo* 嫡女) by a new name, Kesa Gozen (袈裟御前, illustrating that toward the end of the suit she adopted a Buddhist name).⁴⁰¹ Other small secondary holdings, including a “family temple” (*ujidera* 氏寺) and a share of Kesa’s property (with borders listed) are reiterated as having been provided to the adopted son, Nakayoshi, listed by the childhood name Yagorō (弥五郎), whom they had cared for since he was an infant (*yōshō* 幼少).⁴⁰²

Finally, the Kamakura judges re-summarized Tameyasu’s claims, made across all the above-quoted records, and weighed in on each one. Beginning with Tameyasu’s claims of falsified signatures on the 1264.2.17 bequest of Tadayoshi, the Kantō judges stated that the signatures from the documents they had been sent matched that of the bequest, and that the peculiarities of these signatures were explained in the record.⁴⁰³ Next, the judges declared that the overwritten portion of the document (added between lines) did not deal with critical matters, and asked rhetorically “what other purpose they could serve than to benefit the clarity of the document?”⁴⁰⁴ The judges agreed with the statement by the daughter that by taking possession of

⁴⁰⁰ Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261). Presumably he brought these men, horses, and their equipment back with him to Nakano after leaving for Musashi at some point, demonstrating his inheritance from the Hirota.

⁴⁰¹ Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

⁴⁰² Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261). Having raised the adoptee from childhood did not, thus, indicate any plan for him to become main heir as a part of the adoptive process, which was often the case when adults were selected as adoptees.

⁴⁰³ Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

⁴⁰⁴ Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261). (次判刑二箇所内端判不分明之处、奥判明自由為泰同雖申之) The indication here is that there was clearly no attempt to conceal the lines that were added to the bequest, and that they were obviously written to clarify rather than conceal the details within.

the lands assigned to him in Nakano, and by signing the joint of the pages of the document himself, Tameyasu had effectively conceded the genuine nature of the document. This further discredited the claims by Tameyasu on the lands. The court determined that the lands held by the daughter (listed again as Ujime 氏女) and (adoptee) Nakayoshi were lawful and had been established as beyond dispute (如元不可有相違矣).⁴⁰⁵

Tameyasu's claim that he was the legitimate heir of the group was also deemed in conflict with his status as the *chakushi* of Hirota Tamemura. The court reiterated that he was claiming to have two fathers and that such a claim was "atrociously wicked" (*mōaku* 猛惡).⁴⁰⁶ Further, Tamemura's lack of possession of a separate document of inheritance from Tadayoshi, alongside the fact that he was given a small portion included in the 1264 bequest, ruled out his ability to challenge the "older sister's" claim (*ane no hakarai* 姉之計).⁴⁰⁷ Tamemura's portion of the inheritance was confiscated and returned to the *sōryō* (*yotte Tameyasu bun ni oite wa, sōryō ni fuseraruru tokoro nari* 仍於為泰分者所被付惣領也).⁴⁰⁸ The court settled the matter through this set of points, ultimately rejecting all of Tameyasu's claims and upholding the daughter and adopted son's inheritances.

Although only this lengthy summary of previous claims and counter-claims survives, it provides insight into the vicious and extended cycle of documents that often erupted from inheritance conflicts. One of the most striking elements of the dispute is the lengths to which Tameyasu went in attempting to legitimize himself as not only deserving of property, but of in fact being the legitimate main heir (*chakushi*) of two separate groups. Furthermore, Tameyasu

⁴⁰⁵ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

⁴⁰⁶ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

⁴⁰⁷ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

⁴⁰⁸ Bun'ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261). Here, "sōryō" may refer to the female main heir Shakua or her adopted son Morifusa.

not only attempted to inject himself into the Nakano lineage, he did so twice, in such a bold way as to directly expose his own false claim. Yet the Kantō court and the legitimate heirs were forced to treat his claim as a realistic threat to the succession of the Nakano. The dispute also illuminates the tenuous and largely informal nature of succession. The tenacity of Tameyasu in the face of a virtually insurmountable barrier to his ability to succeed in his lawsuits is fully evident. Even if he had been a legitimate son of Tadayoshi, and thus his only non-adopted son, his exclusion from Tadayoshi's bequest nullified his claim to the Nakano property. As we have already learned, the rights parents enjoyed when granting property to their heirs had, as established in numerous documents, given them the prerogative to be "entirely arbitrary in the disposition of property and the naming of house heads."⁴⁰⁹

The nature of the arguments in the suit centered upon the legitimacy provided by the possession of an individual bequest document, which could very easily make or break the capacity of any of these individuals to enjoy primary status within the *ichizoku*. Forgery issues became increasingly common in the latter portion of the Kamakura period, as desperation drove secondary heirs and others who would otherwise gain little to no land from their parents to claim forgery as a last-ditch effort at establishing their own property lines, and this was just such a case.⁴¹⁰ Had the court ruled that the document was forged, a serious crime, the livelihood of not only the main heir Fujiwara-uji / Kesa Gozen, but also her mother and Tadayoshi's widow (*goke*) could have been practically wiped out as punishment. As article 15 of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* stated, "If a samurai commits the above [forgery], his [or her] fief shall be confiscated [*bosshū* 没収]; if he [or she] has no investiture [*shotai* 所帶] he [or she] shall be sent into exile [*onru* 遠

⁴⁰⁹ Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan*, p. 71.

⁴¹⁰ Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan*, p. 105. For another case involving forgery, see Kevin Gouge, "Alpine Samurai: The Ichikawa and Warrior Family Dynamics in Early Medieval Japan," Appendix A, document #7, or Kagen 2 (1304).4.24 *Kantō gechijō-an* (KI, 28: 21802).

流]” (translated by John C. Hall).⁴¹¹ While it is unlikely that the court would have given the property to Tameyasu due to his judicial failings, the danger to Kesa Gozen was serious.⁴¹²

The Nakano and the Ichikawa in Legal Competition

A month after finalizing its decision on the dispute with Tameyasu, the Kantō passed down a final confirmation of the daughter Fujiwara Uji’s (or Kesa Gozen’s) inheritance, which solidified the passage of her father Hōren’s Nakano Nishijō lands and *jitō-shiki* in Shikumi to her.⁴¹³ The female head (whose lands and *shiki* were those of a “*sōryō*,” though the term was not directly applied to her by the Kantō), having secured her position as Tadayoshi’s main heir and head of the Nakano, certified by the Kantō judiciary through the above court decisions and with the support of her mother and Tadayoshi’s *goke* widow, enjoyed security in her holding of her late father’s lands as well as holdings from her mother for the rest of her lifetime. However, when she passed the same holdings on, more problems cropped up.

In 1272, the head of the Nakano, first known as Fujiwara-uji, then as Kesa Gozen, and finally as the nun Ama Shakua (尼寂阿), wrote her bequest, a short *kana*-script document that transferred her property to Yakuō (やくわう), the childhood name of adoptee Ichikawa Morifusa (市河盛房).⁴¹⁴ The specific properties mentioned include her *jitō-shiki* in Shikumi (Hirabayashi 平林), as well as the core properties in Nakano-Nishijō and her proof documents (*honmonsho* ほんもんふ). On the rear of Shakua’s bequest, an extra slip of paper, attached later, labels it as the *yuzurijō* of Shakua “Amidabu,” (さくあみたふ) to her “son” (*shisoku* 志そく)

⁴¹¹ Here, I use the English translation from John C. Hall, *Japanese Feudal Law*, p. 27, and the Japanese from Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 16-17. My additions to Hall’s translation appear in brackets.

⁴¹² The precedent for protecting against accusations of forgery found in later bequest documents from this property lineage, formulated roughly 50 years later under Morifusa and Senkō, are most likely based on this dispute.

⁴¹³ Bun’ei 2 (1265).5.25 *Shogunke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 13: 9293; SNS, 4, pp. 260-261).

⁴¹⁴ Bun’ei 9 (1272).8.18 *Ama Shakua Amidabutsu yuzurijō* (KI, 15:11547; SNS, 4, pp. 287-288).

Ichikawa Morifusa (いしかのもりふさ).⁴¹⁵

The short bequest was Shakua's final document. It contains multiple dropped characters and minor errors, and was likely written very near the end of her life, seven years after securing her property in court. Based on a series of related records, which I will explore momentarily, it seems that sometime after settling her own inheritance, Shakua began a relationship with a member of the Ichikawa, Shigefusa, and adopted multiple heirs, including Ichikawa Morifusa, the first among them. Shigefusa and Morifusa were father and son, although it is apparent from the records that followed that Morifusa was Shigefusa's son from another woman, and was not Shakua's biological offspring (*shisoku* thus seems to have flexibility as a category, and does not imply biological relatedness in this case).⁴¹⁶ The Kantō confirmed "Ichikawa Fujiwara Saburō Morifusa's" receipt of the property, and also Shakua's claim that Morifusa was her son, listing her as his "mother" *haha Ama Shakua* (母尼釈阿).⁴¹⁷ The Kantō court cited Shakua's bequest from Bun'ei 9 (1272).8.18, which (according to the court, which was more specific than the will itself) committed to him the *yashiki* in Nakano Nishijō, as well *jitō-shiki* in Hakoyama (筥山, in Nakano, adjacent to Nishijō)⁴¹⁸ and Hirabayashi, therein listed as part of "lower" Shikumi (*Shikumi shita-jō Hirabayashi* 志久見下条平林).⁴¹⁹

Following Shakua's death, her adopted brother Nakayoshi (who wrote his name 仲能, not 長能 as it appeared in the court's records) filed a suit (*sojō* 訴状) against Morifusa regarding his violation of the borders (*sakai* 堺) between their lands through his nephew (*shakei* 舎兄) and

⁴¹⁵ Bun'ei 9 (1272).8.18 *Ama Shakua Amidabutsu yuzurijō* (KI, 15:11547; SNS, 4, pp. 287-288).

⁴¹⁶ Bun'ei 9 (1272).8.18 *Ama Shakua Amidabutsu yuzurijō* (KI, 15:11088; SNS, 4, pp. 287-288).

⁴¹⁷ Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.20 *Shogunke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 15:11547, SNS, 4, pp. 290-291).

⁴¹⁸ The name reappears later, and is also listed in the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai* entry for "Hakoyama" (筥山).

⁴¹⁹ Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.20 *Shogunke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 15:11547, SNS, 4, pp. 290-291). The nebulous nature of place names and *jitō* offices is evident in early Nakano records; a half-dozen different terms were used to categorize the two posts in Nakano and Shikumi.

deputy (*dai* 代) Sukekiyo (助清).⁴²⁰ Nakayoshi's complaint document is undated, but the Kantō court sent a notice to Ichikawa Morifusa on Bun'ei 11 (1274).6.15 regarding the dispute, requesting an expedient response (弁申之状).⁴²¹

Thus, soon after Ichikawa Morifusa took control of his properties, his adopted uncle Nakayoshi quickly disputed the borders of their holdings.⁴²² In the document, the deputy Sukekiyo stated that "Ichikawa Saemon Saburō Morifusa" (市河左衛門三郎盛房) had violated the north/south boundary (*nanboku sakai* 南北堺)⁴²³ of Nakayoshi's territory (*bunryō* 分領) in Shikumi-gō, and had illegally seized upland fields, mountain fields, and hunting grounds, among others (令押領畠地・山野・狩倉等).⁴²⁴ Nakayoshi went on to cite the initial bordered divisions of properties that followed Tadayoshi/Hōren's death, as outlined in his (lost) bequest document, which, "because it was written while [Tadayoshi was] urgently ill, includes the older sister [Kesa/Shakua] and Nakayoshi's portions together on one piece of paper" (彼讓状者所勞火急之間、云姉分云仲能分所令書一帋也).⁴²⁵ This can be read as an explanation for why Nakayoshi could not produce his own proof document for his property; the Nakano documents including the singular bequest had been granted to Morifusa by Shakua, and Nakayoshi did not have one of his own. Morifusa would have carefully protected this document, as it was also the proof of his own property lineage, and would have had little motivation to help his competitor to

⁴²⁰ Undated (mid-1274?) *Nakano Nakayoshi gonjōjō* (KI, 13: 9286; SNS, 4, pp. 293-294). Regarding the inconsistency of Nakayoshi's name; the previous mentions of Nakayoshi came from the Kantō court, which may have misinterpreted a *kana* version of his name, なかよし, as "Nagayoshi" (長能) though there is no way to verify this theory. It is not uncommon for a provincial warrior's names to appear with different kanji even when written by the same person.

⁴²¹ Bun'ei 11(1274).6.15 *Kantō migyōsho* (KI, 15:11671; SNS, 4, pp. 294-296).

⁴²² The two are labeled as uncle and nephew in two pasted slips next to their names.

⁴²³ Presumably where Shakua and Nakayoshi's holdings met.

⁴²⁴ Undated (1276?) *Nakano Nakayoshi gonjōjō* (KI, 13: 9286; SNS, 4, pp. 293-294).

⁴²⁵ Undated (1276?) *Nakano Nakayoshi gonjōjō* (KI, 13: 9286; SNS, 4, pp. 293-294).

make a copy.

The border dispute continued and intensified over the next several years. Morifusa's response to Nakayoshi's initial accusation has not survived, though we know he did send one; in a second round of petitions, Nakayoshi cited Morifusa's defense document (*Morifusa chinjō* 盛房陳狀) and again demanded that Morifusa follow of Hōren's division of the properties (this time listed as *Hōren no mune* 法蓮之旨), reiterating the particular borders of his share of the land.⁴²⁶ Among these borders, Nakayoshi mentioned a *gokebun* (後家分) or "widow's share" which sat adjacent to part of Nakayoshi's inheritance.⁴²⁷

The case took many years to resolve and grew into an even more convoluted set of testimonies than the ones that accompanied Shakua's inheritance. Shakua's mother, the *goke ama* widow of Tadayoshi (whose Buddhist name was Ren'a 蓮阿), attempted to intercede to cancel her daughter's bequest and support her adopted son Nakayoshi, while Morifusa's father Shigefusa began to submit documents in defense of his son, adding a third and fourth dimension to the dispute between Nakano Nakayoshi and Ichikawa Morifusa.

Two lengthy summary resolutions from the Kantō court were handed down in 1278⁴²⁸ and 1290.⁴²⁹ The first document is listed in the format of a point-by-point listing of various claims (with each point clearly marked as "point/item" *hitotsu* 一), which I will briefly reiterate. The six key points of the 1278 decision, written by Hōjō Tokimune, are as follows:

The first point reiterates a settlement between Shakua's mother Ren'a and Morifusa's father Shigefusa regarding lands named Horinouchi (堀内) and Machida (町田) in Nakano-gō as

⁴²⁶ Nakayoshi reiterated his claim in slightly more detail, this time himself rather than through a deputy.

⁴²⁷ Undated (1276?) *Nakano Nakayoshi jūshinjō* (KI, 23:17481, SNS, 4, pp. 295-296).

⁴²⁸ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴²⁹ Shōō 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480). My copy of the *Shinano shiryō* has a publication error which caused the omission of this document, which may also be missing in other copies.

well as Yuyama (湯山) in Shikumi-gō. The court reviewed multiple past records dating back to a bequest from Myōren (Nakano Yoshinari) from En'ō 2 (1240).^{1.25}, and determined that these lands were originally the property of Shakua's mother Ren'a, not her father Tadayoshi, and that once Shakua predeceased Ren'a (*Shakua Ren'a ni sakinjite shikyo seshimuru no aida* 釈阿先于蓮阿令死去之間), they should have been returned to her mother.⁴³⁰ Ichikawa Shigefusa acceded to this claim and the property was returned to Ren'a, and he noted that although it had already been split up among a number of adoptees, he had no objections to the return of the lands to her.⁴³¹

The second point deals with the untangling of documents related to specific properties, listed as “generations of *onkudashibumi*, *yuzurijō* and other *shōmon* proof records, etc.” (*daidai no onkudashibumi narabi ni yuzurijō ika shōmon nado no koto* 代々御下文并讓狀以下証文等事).⁴³² These documents were also related to the possessions of Ren'a that had been appropriated by Shigefusa after Shakua's death. Ren'a lobbied to regain control of all of Shakua's documents, as did Shigefusa, and the court mandated that they be divided into shares. Ren'a was to take back control of the records related to her lands, and was instructed not to interfere into the “records of the *sōryō*'s portion” of the estate (*sōryōbun no shōmon* 惣領分之証文), which Shakua had inherited from her father Tadayoshi, clearly delineating these separate parental property lines.

The third point covers Shakua's estate (*Shakua iryō no koto* 釈阿遺領事), which Ren'a attempted to recoup. In line with the previous points, the court ruled that because the lands were not originally Ren'a's, she had no claim over them. The court noted that: “Ren'a stated that

⁴³⁰ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴³¹ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴³² Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

because Shakua was childless, she adopted multiple relatives as adoptees, and passed her lands on to them, including dry fields and residences, and assigned Shigefusa to divide up her paddies” (如蓮阿申者、釈阿無一子之間、以親類等為養子、令分讓所領之處、於畠・在家者、面々雖令配分、至田者可為重房計由令申置畢).⁴³³ However, Ren’a also pointed out that since Shakua’s death, Shigefusa had taken “another wife” (*hokano tsuma* 他妻), and thus it was difficult for him to be in control of the property of his “previous wife” (*sensai no shoryō o chigyō seshimegatashi* 難令知行先妻所領).⁴³⁴ A series of further details followed. In the end, the court ruled against Ren’a, as she admitted in her own testimony the lands were not originally hers, and had been properly passed down from Hōren to Shakua; Ren’a amounted to an unrelated party in regards to them.⁴³⁵

The fourth point in the judgement from the Kantō deals with another bequest from Myōren (Nakano Yoshinari) from En’ō 2 (1240).1.24 (a day earlier than the bequest from the first point, neither of which survives), and whether or not it was a false or forged document (*bōsho* 謀書).⁴³⁶ The document was apparently submitted to the court by Shigefusa or someone else other than Ren’a, who attested to the veracity of an original second bequest, but stated that the document that had been sent to the court was falsified in Shigefusa’s favor, as evidenced by what Ren’a claimed was a mislabeling of Yoshinari as Myōren the day before he took that name. Shigefusa argued that the dates were correct. Ultimately, the court declined to act on the accusation of forgery, as the document in question did not benefit Shigefusa.⁴³⁷

The fifth point covers a direct conflict between Morifusa and Ren’a, in which Ren’a

⁴³³ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴³⁴ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴³⁵ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴³⁶ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴³⁷ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

accused Morifusa of invading her land in Ōmi without hesitation and seizing her income (盛房不憚敵対乱入近江所領押取得分致狼籍之間), and Shigefusa of aiding Morifusa by filing suits in support of him while he was doing so (*Shigefusa ichidō kore o utaemōsu no tokoro* 重房一同訴申之處).⁴³⁸ Shigefusa rejected the claim of Morifusa's invasions into Ren'a's land or actions as her opponent (*tekitai* 敵対), and stated that his documents in support of Morifusa were merely rejections of Ren'a's baseless suit (*hibun no so* 非分之訴). Due to an apparent lack of evidence, and having not received a counter-statement from Morifusa himself (*Morifusa shisai o mōsazaru no aida* 盛房不申子細之間), the court made no judgement (*sata ni oyobazaru nari* 不及沙汰矣).⁴³⁹

The sixth point also deals with the property (*shoryō* 所領) of Ren'a in Ōmi province, Ochi-gun, which she inherited from a man called Nushi-dono Shichirō Nyūdō (蓮阿所領近江国越智郡主殿七郎入道跡事).⁴⁴⁰ Ren'a stated that she originally gave the land to Shakua, but that after Shakua died, she transferred it to Ichikawa Shigefusa, treating him as her son (*Shigefusa o motte shisoku toshite jōyo shi owannu* 以重房為子息讓与畢).⁴⁴¹ This segment of the document is significant because Ren'a, like Shakua did in her bequest, also used the term *shisoku* to refer to a “son” who was not related by blood. Shigefusa went on to defend his inheritance of the land, but as was legal custom, the court ruled that Ren'a, the original owner, had the rights to revoke any grants she made earlier, and the land in Ōmi was returned to her.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁸ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴³⁹ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴⁴⁰ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴⁴¹ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

⁴⁴² Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316). A set of three minor points followed the first six, which the court elected not to rule on as they had already been dismissed during the ongoing proceedings of the case: first was related to Ren'a's compassion toward Shigefusa, second was related to the destruction of a storehouse and the theft of the rice within, third was related to needless killings.

The result of the case was a re-division of properties that had been initially funneled into Shakua's by both of her parents; the land of her dead father was hers beyond reproach, as were his *jitō-shiki* and her designation as *sōryō*. That these had been passed to an adoptee from the Ichikawa was beyond her mother Ren'a's purview. However, Ren'a could repossess her lands, some of which she had given to Shakua and Ichikawa Shigefusa, and others of which she accused his son Morifusa of invading, or seizing from her.

In effect, the bulk of the property once held by Shakua's grandfather, Nakano Yoshinari, was passed with legal validation to the Ichikawa. The substantive debate over the legality of this action stemmed only from the fact that Shakua gave Morifusa and Shigefusa lands that originated from both her father and mother's property lines, and her mother and adopted brother successfully claimed that property back after Shakua's death. Here we have two adoptees (Nakayoshi and Morifusa), neither related by blood to the groups whose estates they stood to take over, fighting for what constituted group headship, overarching economic control of the kin group, and administrative jurisdiction in their home territory.

In fact, almost everyone in the suit other than Shakua herself was some form of "adoptee." Ichikawa Shigefusa had been unofficially adopted and then officially disowned by Ren'a, Morifusa had been adopted and confirmed as the heir of Shakua; Nakayoshi was the adoptee of both Ren'a and Tadayoshi (though the maternal tie proved much more materially significant), and Ren'a herself was also adopted by Nakano Yoshinari, her "father-in-law," and was the daughter of Myōsei, one of the women Nakano Yoshinari had a relationship with (but who was not the mother of Tadayoshi, just as Yoshinari was not the father of Ren'a).⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³ Ren'a's status as an adoptee of Nakano Yoshinari is revealed in Shōō 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480, SNS, 4, pp. 388-392), which I will return to in the following subsection of this chapter.

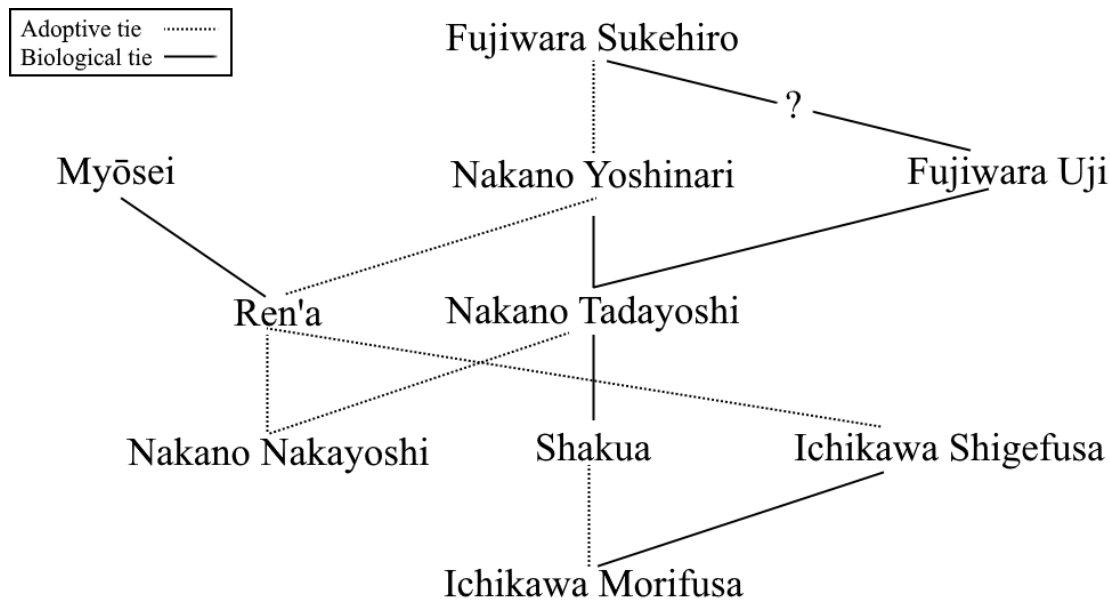


Figure 3: Adoptive ties revealed in early Nakano/Ichikawa disputes.

Using her rights as one of two original donors of a temporarily combined set of properties, Ren'a supported her adoptee Nakayoshi in his claim, and lands that were originally hers were redistributed to him without protest from Shigefusa, who acknowledged her right to do so. However, in the spirit of separate parental lines of property, the larger share of holdings that had belonged to Tadayoshi and been passed to Shakua were deemed hers to transfer as she pleased. The court denied Ren'a and Nakayoshi's claims over Tadayoshi's lands beyond the secondary portions originally granted to them by Tadayoshi himself.

The maintained legal division of affinal male and female property lines, in this case those of Tadayoshi and Ren'a, even two generations after the "husband's" death, is a valuable example of the strict codification of inheritance law and the dedication the Kamakura court had to upholding the rule of impartiality that simultaneously legitimized it and reiterated its authority in defining the parameters of such essential matters of succession. It also calls into question how we should categorize Tadayoshi and Ren'a, who were called "husband," "wife," and "widow" by the Kantō court, but whose documents confirming those categorical relationships are not extant. It is

possible that they did refer to each other as such, but no evidence survives. Although Ren'a remained alive, her claims to rights over Tadayoshi's lands were ultimately deemed entirely illegitimate, despite repeated references to her as his "widow" (*goke* 後家) by the judges managing the case.⁴⁴⁴ Because no record survived that clearly outlined the conditions of Ren'a and Tadayoshi's relationship, or the meaning of her status as a widow, the default position of the judiciary was to treat them as entirely independent legal identities without authority or rights over one another's land. The power and flexibility of inheritance prerogatives and the strict adherence to legal parameters are once again mirrored in this example.

The property that Ichikawa Morifusa retained following the suit included the *jitō-shiki* in Hirabayashi, a southern part of the Shikumi district, and a residential compound and lands in western Nakano district (Nakano *Nishi-jō* 西条 – a village still known by the same name today in Nakano city - 中野市).⁴⁴⁵ Hirabayashi was a significant point of expansion for Morifusa's heirs, and a critical site for extra agricultural development on the south end of the Shikumi mountain pass. The main residence on Shikumi mountain (where ruins remain today) goes unmentioned, and may have been established by the Ichikawa after their inheritance from the Nakano.

The property that Ren'a successfully reclaimed from Morifusa and Shigefusa, which constituted her original ancestral holdings, included paddy lands in Nakano and property around Yuyama in Shikumi that the Nakano would retain in future generations.⁴⁴⁶ Their revocation was

⁴⁴⁴ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-317). Again, because Tadayoshi's will is not extant, we have no way to confirm how he conceived of his relationship with Ren'a. On widowhood as a legal category, see article 24 of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*, in Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, p. 22, also discussed in Chapter II.

⁴⁴⁵ Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.20 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 15:11547; SNS, 4, pp. 290-291). On the Nishi-jō residence, which has seen major archaeological study over the course of the modern development of the town of Nakano, see Danbara Naganori, "Nishijō higashi yashikizoe iseki no hakkutsu chōsa (1)." This report is also available through the Comprehensive Database of Archaeological Site Reports in Japan, and includes images and illustrations of recovered objects and unearthed residential and agricultural structures from both the classical and medieval periods.

⁴⁴⁶ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4, pp. 311-317).

carried out in accordance with the legal precedent of parental rights, effective even after the court confirmed the transfer, and affirms that dual property lines were still present in the Nakano group despite the presence of a *sōryō*, who did not have any power over the property of his affine(s).

The Fate of the Nakano

Though by no means extinguished as landholders by their loss of the paternal property line to the Ichikawa, following the re-division of Ren'a's property from Tadayoshi and the succession to those properties by the adoptees Nakano Nakayoshi and Ichikawa Morifusa, the Nakano proceeded to fragment further, challenging each other and Morifusa in the courts until the start of the fourteenth century. In 1290, another extensive legal settlement appears from the Kantō involving the heirs of Nakano Yoshinari's largely disinherited son Nakano Mitsunari, the eldest son who was passed over in favor of Tadayoshi (the second son whose estate was the key point of dispute between the Nakano and Ichikawa) due to his unfilialness.⁴⁴⁷ My focus is the continuing lineal identity that fell under Nakano Yoshinari and Ichikawa Morifusa thereafter, and thus I will only gloss the salient details of this lengthy document.

The dispute reveals that Nakano Mitsunari had a son called Shigenari (重成) and grandson called Yasushige (泰重), who are visible as his lineal successors in a wholly divided Nakano lineage in the 1290 case. Mitsunari had died by this stage of the suit, which Yasushige continued, filing claims against Nakano Nakayoshi and his children, Sukenaka (右仲), Odagiri Sanemichi (小田切実道), and "others" (mentioned only as *nado* 等), who served as his deputies (*shisoku no dai* 代子息) in the suit.⁴⁴⁸ The dispute focused on paddies and a *yashiki* residence within Nakano-gō totaling one *chō*, as well as the Yuyama land in Shikumi that Yoshinari gave

⁴⁴⁷ Shōō 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480, SNS, 4, pp. 388-392).

⁴⁴⁸ Shōō 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480, SNS, 4, pp. 388-392).

to his “wife Ama Myōsei” (*saijo Ama Myōsei* 妻女尼妙性), which she passed to her daughter and grandchild (Ren’a and Shakua) in a (non-extant) document.⁴⁴⁹ Thus, Ren’a’s property was in jeopardy once again, this time from a disinherited adoptive sibling’s disgruntled successors.

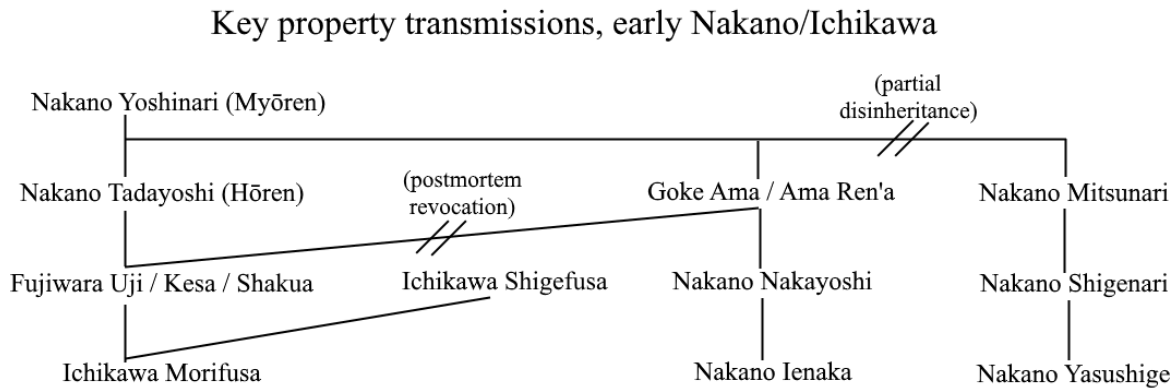


Figure 4: Major property transmissions and revocations in the Nakano and Ichikawa, 1200-1300.

The court’s decision rested firmly on documented familial precedent, as was fundamental to the entire legal process of the warrior courts created by the Hōjō. Precedent was sourced from Nakano Yoshinari (Myōren)’s foundational records for all of the Nakano and the Ichikawa that followed them. The court looked back to Yoshinari’s En’ō 2 (1240).1.24 bequest (non-extant, and which was also used in the 1278 ruling above),⁴⁵⁰ and determined that the lands had been properly passed to Ren’a and on to Shakua, and then lawfully recovered by Ren’a from the Ichikawa after Shakua’s death. The court’s statement carefully details the extensive documentary history of the case, which by then included the 1278 rulings that divided both Nakano-gō and Shikumi-gō into larger Ichikawa and smaller Nakano portions. Here, the separate branch of the Nakano under Mitsunari engaged in a further attempt at subdivision. Ren’a is listed as the step-child (*mamako* or *keishi* 継子) who had rightfully inherited land from Myōren (Nakano

⁴⁴⁹ Shōō 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480, SNS, 4, pp. 388-392).

⁴⁵⁰ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

Yoshinari) before passing it to Nakayoshi.⁴⁵¹ Yasushige's claim to Nakayoshi's land was rejected. The 1278 decision became precedential for Ren's adoptee Nakayoshi; it solidified his claim on the land his mother had been awarded and ward against future disputes.

Mitsunari's secondary and detached Nakano line was unable to secure any of the property from their cousins that had been up for grabs twelve years earlier. The discredited Yasushige reappears in a Kamakura decree (*gechijō*) from 1300; after a failed suit with Ichikawa Morifusa (which is not extant), he invaded part of Morifusa's land and was commanded to make repayments (*hensai* 返済), which he did not.⁴⁵² Issues between subsequent heirs of the lineage of Mitsunari and Ichikawa Morifusa and his main heir (Sukefusa) would continue into the 1330s, as several generations of that branch of the Nakano resisted the Ichikawa by ignoring their demands and the documents of the court regarding taxes and property lines.⁴⁵³

In 1302, an old lawsuit from Odagiri Sanemichi, another of the Nakano adoptees mentioned in the 1278 case, flared back up under his daughter Seira (性阿), over a *yashiki* residence and named fields in Yuyama. Seira abandoned her claim and settled with Morifusa, but died before Kamakura sent a confirmation of their settlement (a *wayojō* 和与状). Thereafter, her husband requested a confirmation document in her place, and the matter seems to have been settled (though no details of how survive).⁴⁵⁴ Yuyama was apparently a well-developed area with multiple related residents, as property there was variously claimed by Odagiri Sanemichi, his

⁴⁵¹ Shōan 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480, SNS, 4, pp. 388-392. (蓮阿者妙蓮継子也).

⁴⁵² Shōan 2 (1300).3.3 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 27:20385, SNS, 4, pp. 489-490). This case ran on past the end of Morifusa's life; we will return to it after examining Morifusa and Senkō's bequests.

⁴⁵³ I will return to this set of ongoing disputes, as they reappear in the 1320s and 1330s. The full sequence of records of this tax dispute appears in Shōan 2 (1300).3.3 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 27:20385, SNS, 4, pp. 489-490), Karyaku 2 (1327).10.8 *Kamakura Bakufu hikitsuke tōnin hōsho* (SNS, 5, pp. 66-67), Shōkyō 1 (1332).12.23 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41:31930, SNS, 5, pp. 179-180), and Shōkyō 1 (1332).12.27 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41: 31940, SNS, 5, pp. 179-180).

⁴⁵⁴ Shōan 4 (1302).12.1 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 28:21289, SNS, 4, pp. 515-516).

daughter, the Ichikawa, and the main line of the Nakano, who, in 1309, still held land there.⁴⁵⁵

Following a regional survey of all of Shikumi by the *mokudai* (目代) officer of the *kokushi* governor in 1309,⁴⁵⁶ Nakano Gorō Ienaka (中野五郎家仲), heir of Nakayoshi, is listed as a property holder (*chigyō* 知行) in possession of paddy and one or more *zaike* residences in the Yuyama area of Shikumi-gō, for which he was obligated to perform various service duties (*manzō kuji* 万雑公事) and pay taxes (*nengu* 年貢).⁴⁵⁷ Thus, members of several Nakano lines as well as the Ichikawa seem to have held chunks of the Yuyama area side-by-side.

Although their position was diminished, the Nakano cast a long shadow, and Nakano Yoshinari was referenced as the progenitor of the Ichikawa estate well beyond the end of the Kamakura period. Nakano names occasionally pop up in later Ichikawa military records, though their detailed inheritance records run dry after this series of cases. I will return to the history of the early Ichikawa later in this chapter; Morifusa and his affine Senkō, along with their many children and grandchildren, are fascinating subjects with a rich documentary legacy. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Nakano continued to divide, leading ultimately to a diminished position and ongoing internal rivalries. The Ichikawa unified around the idealized conception (but not the lived practice) of singular inheritance and overlapping property bonds, sets of rights and responsibilities, and shared identity. Before exploring these later details, we

⁴⁵⁵ Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano kokushi chōsen* (KI, 31:23678, SNS, 4, pp. 537-538). Yamagishi Keiichiro maps Yuyama in the southeastern end of Shikumi near the end of Ichikawa valley (市川谷, a modern appellation), near the border with Nakano-gō. See Yamagishi Keiichiro, “Kita Shinano ni okeru kokujin no dōkō: Ichikawa-shi no shoryō o chūshin ni shite,” p. 90 for a listing of key residential areas in the area including Yuyama, and p. 94 for a map of the Ichikawa holdings. See also Ueno Shō, “Ichikawa monjo to Nozawa Onsen mura,” pp. 43-44 on the lawsuit over Yuyama, and pp. 47-48 for information on a *yashiki* residence there, which has seen some archeological excavation, revealing a small attached shrine, 100-meter long earthen walls, irrigation channels, and a guard house – indicating that the residents of Yuyama were militarily active. Original research on Yuyama, from the 1940s, was conducted by Ishizawa Saburō, and appears in his article “Ichikawa monjo kara mita Yuyama ni tsuite,” which explores multiple documents relating to the transfer of Yuyama land.

⁴⁵⁶ Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano Shikumi-gō kenta zaike mokuroku* (KI, 31:23677, SNS, 4, p. 538).

⁴⁵⁷ Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano kokushi chōsen* (KI, 31:23678, SNS, 4, pp. 537-538).

must cross the length of the archipelago, to turn to the early history of the Nejime, who evolved into a quite different sort of *ichizoku*.

Early Headship, Inheritance, and Property in the Nejime

Like the Nakano/Ichikawa and most provincial warrior groups, we know only a little of the origins of the Nejime prior to the emergence of paper trails brought by the Kamakura government's predilection for documentation. Early Nejime records stretch back to 1069,⁴⁵⁸ but information on the group as a social entity is limited until the late twelfth century. The earliest years of the Nejime as local landlords saw some internal conflict, but long gaps in the record make the study of the late Heian Nejime as a cohesive unit impossible. Part of the possible reason for these gaps is that conflicts and lawsuits with neighbors grew into a dramatic back-and-forth struggle for control of the Nejime region that predominated the latter half of the twelfth century and spilled over into the Kamakura period. As with the Nakano/Ichikawa, most of this early struggle is undocumented, or has been lost over time.

In the Kamakura period, the most powerful member of the Nejime kin group was known by the old administrative title of Nejime *gunji* (郡司) and a newer Kamakura *jitō-shiki* that they inherited as the manager of the region. While land was divisible and partible, the Nejime offices (*shiki*) were never divided or shared between kin. The authority of the administrative head of the region that the *ichizoku* inhabited increased over time through extrafamilial ties to military and political authorities that accompanied *gunji* and *jitō* status.⁴⁵⁹

The solidified and unified nature of the core Nejime territory of Kōrimoto and multiple surrounding properties, including a primary Nejime residence, were packaged with the offices of

⁴⁵⁸ Jiryaku 5(1069).1.29 Fujiwara Yorimitsu *shoryō haibun-chō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #637).

⁴⁵⁹ The title of “*gunji*” was an older marker of status that grew out of the *ritsuryō* system, though both *shiki* (the *gunji-shiki* and the *jitō-shiki*) were held by the singular head of the kin group, and seem to have become conglomerated over time.

the Nejime head and never subdivided. This streamlining of core property might lead to an expectation of wholesale unification of all inheritance around the head of the primary lineage; however, from the mid Kamakura period onward, there were also multiple subdivisions of additional land to secondary heirs. As I demonstrated in Chapter III, Nejime sub-lineages (as I call them) were usually seeded with land on the physical periphery of Nejime control, or within areas the Nejime did not previously control at all. Lands under the control of sub-lineages included those inherited from or donated by the Nejime heads, purchased from neighbors, seized from enemies, or awarded by central elites for military service.

Prevailing theories on the pre-documentary history of the Nejime lean toward placing them as long-term residents of southern Ōsumi who rose to power under the Ritsuryō system of land management, probably as the original local agents of the head of Kyushu political authority, the Dazaifu. This is the general consensus of Kyushu scholars who have commented on the Takebe, including Hinokuma Masamori, who has written several articles on the Heian roots of the Nejime and traced their early lineage.⁴⁶⁰ The Nejime also held close ties to the Shō-Hachimangū shrine, which developed tax rights over the southern half of Nejime-*in* (Minamimata) in the late twelfth century. Their dual connections, to the central government and the landlord shrine, formed an overlapping set of political, religious, and economic bonds that tied the Nejime to Minamimata from at least the early eleventh century onward. These administrative connections were probably built on their long-term residence in the area.

The earliest record in the *Nejime Monjo*, from 1069, is an inheritance document from the

⁴⁶⁰ Particularly Hinokuma Masamori "Ōsumi no kuni Takebe uji keizu kōshō (1)" and Hinokuma Masamori "Ōsumi no kuni Takebe uji keizu kōshō (2)," which deal with the early lineage of the Takebe in Ōsumi. See also Hinokuma Masamori "Heian kōki kara Kamakura-ki ni okeru Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū no Nejime-*in* shihai," in which he explores the formation of Nejime-*in* itself as well as its Heian roots as shrine land under the administrative authority of the Hachiman shrine.

head of the local Fujiwara of Ōsumi, Fujiwara Yorimitsu (藤原頼光), in which he divided his estate among six heirs (including his own younger brother and sister). Out of these heirs, Yoshimitsu split the land in Nejime-*in* between his first and third sons.⁴⁶¹ Yoritsune (頼経), the first son, inherited three villages (*mura* 村) in the northern half of Nejime-*in*, while Yorisada (頼貞), listed third, inherited three in the southern half.⁴⁶² This division established the separation of Nejime-*in* into the two administrative halves of Kitamata (北俣) and Minamimata (南俣), which would remain distinct throughout the medieval period.

In the 1069 bequest, Nejime predecessor Yorisada is listed as *gon-no-daijō* (権大掾), a local agent of the Ōsumi *kokuga* or provincial governor's authority. Hinokuma Masamori has pointed out that Yorisada's title indicates that he already held the status of a small-scale *zaichō kanjin* (在庁官人), an encompassing term for an early form of local manager in service to provincial *kokushi* governors (also called "resident officials") at that time, suggesting that he administered the region prior to his inheritance.⁴⁶³ Such *zaichō kanjin* status indicates that Yorisada and his heirs were originally resident officials under the primary authority of the Ōsumi provincial headquarters, managing the region for the absentee provincial *kokushi* governor at the local level under the *kokuga*. This is the same general function that the Nejime would serve throughout the medieval period, though their patron institutions multiplied and shifted over time.

⁴⁶¹ This record serves as the foundational source for a variety of local family histories, which sprang out of this broad division of land. Almost all local histories of the region mention the record, but a concise summary of its significance to local history can be found in Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, p. 85.

⁴⁶² Jiryaku 5(1069).1.29 *Fujiwara Yorimitsu shoryō haibun-chō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #637). The respective properties are: Ōnejime, Enta, and Ōaira for Yoritsune, and Tashiro, Shitenri, and Sata for Yorisada. Yorimitsu also gave another son Sō-gun, his daughter Ogawa-*in*, his little brother Yoshida-*in*, and his little sister Kuwasai-gō, all properties in Ōsumi. These are large chunks of land, demonstrating a major difference between early land divisions and later ones, which were smaller due to the limited partibility of the land itself.

⁴⁶³ Hinokuma Masamori, "Heian kōki kara Kamakura-ki ni okeru Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū no Nejime-*in* shihai," p. 5. On "residential officials," See Peter J. Arnesen, "Suō Province in the Age of Kamakura" pp. 108-118. On *zaichō kanjin*, see Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Tochi seido-shi*, p. 176.

After Yorisada inherited Shitenri, Sata, and Tashiro, which would come to form the core of the regional interests for the Nejime, Sata, and Tashiro in the following centuries, there is a fifty-year gap in the documentary record.⁴⁶⁴ During this period, Yorisada's land passed from his son to his grandson, and he or his heirs shed the Fujiwara choronym in favor of Takebe (建部 sometimes written as *Takenbe* たけんへ in *kana* records and thus likely pronounced that way in the local dialect);⁴⁶⁵ the name change possibly signaled their independence from other relatives (those outside Minamimata) in an effort to establish a stronger claim of independent authority.

We know little about the early origins of the Nejime, especially their connection to the courtly name Takebe (建部), which is often cited as a tie to Taira no Kiyomori (平維盛),⁴⁶⁶ The Takebe name is an unusual one, and a departure from more common courtly names such as Taira, Minamoto, or Fujiwara. Local legend holds that the Nejime descended from Koremori, and adopted the Takebe name after the fall of the Taira to the Minamoto in the Genpei war (1180-1185). This story is so pervasive that it is even reiterated in some academic recapitulations of the Nejime history.⁴⁶⁷ The documented origins of the Takebe name come from Nejime

⁴⁶⁴ Shitenri (志天利) was later known as Kōrimoto (郡本), the heart of Nejime property in the region.

⁴⁶⁵ For example, see a bequest from a daughter of the Sata family, who signed her document in Kana as “Takenbe no uchi no me” (たけんへのうちのめ, which would normally be read as simply “*Takebe Ujime*”). Shōō 2 (1289).2.10 *Takebe Ujime yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #709). See also Kengen 2 (1303).4.18 *Takebe Chikaakira, Shami Shiyau (Jōi) renshō kokyakujō, onajiku Takebe Kiyomasa uragaki* (KKSI vol. 1, #760), which is signed by “Takenbe Kiyomasa” (たけんへのきよまさ) in an added section on the rear of the document, and by “Takebe no Chikakira” (たけへのちかあきら) on the front, demonstrating the inconsistency in written names between different authors.

⁴⁶⁶ Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, pp. 100, 102, and 104. The authors of this volume admit that any tie between the Takebe and the Taira is unverifiable and unknown, but go on to repeat the story of a potentially fictive link between the two. The possible Takebe tie to Taira roots is cited as a reason for the decision of the early Kamakura regime to grant control of a *jitō-shiki* for Nejime-in Minamimata to the Hishikari, rivals of the Nejime, who retained the Fujiwara choronym of their common ancestor and were thus not enemies of the Minamoto (which the Taira-linked Takebe might have been). This story is either ahistorical or is at least entirely unverifiable, and seems unlikely considering the identical (Ōsumi Fujiwara) origins of Nejime and Hishikari property (described above in the 1069 division of Fujiwara land, which encompassed both the Nejime and Hishikari areas) and their series of opposing records, in which the Nejime claim that the Hishikari took over the *jitō-shiki* through legal deception, which I will explore shortly.

⁴⁶⁷ For example, see Morioka Yasushi, “Toyō bunko shozō Nejime monjo ni tsuite,” p. 100, which retells the story of the early Taira document collection along with the later “re-adoption” of the Taira name by the later Nejime.

genealogies produced in the Tokugawa period, where Koremori appears as a fictive progenitor.⁴⁶⁸ Nejime records include an elaborate family tree titled the *Taira-uji Nejime Keizu* (平氏禰寝家系圖),⁴⁶⁹ as well as an undated *Nejime-ke yuisho gaki* (禰寝家由緒書), or family history, which combines fiction and history to trace the Nejime through the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷⁰ It is followed by a description of Nejime heraldry, an undated *Nejime uji uma-jiirushi yarigata* (調寝氏馬駿槍形), which includes a reproduced drawing and description of the Nejime family horse-flag, a crescent of twelve eagle feathers (*washi no hane* 鷲ノ羽) affixed to a pole, which would identify Nejime riders in late-medieval battles.⁴⁷¹

While this fiction of Taira lineage is fascinating, it is also demonstrably false. In some of the earliest records of the Nejime, from 1121 and 1145, over a half-century before the Genpei War and the fall of the Taira (which occurred in 1185), the Takebe name was already in use by the Nejime, discrediting the later claim of Taira ancestry.⁴⁷² It is possible that the Nejime adopted a fictive tie in support of the Taira during a documentary gap in the late 1100s, and then switched back to the Takebe name after their destruction, but there is no evidence of this; the story that the Nejime fled the capital and took over Nejime-in after the end of the Heian period appears to be made up of whole cloth and is refuted by earlier records of their local presence.

This is an example of how later modifications to elements of genealogical history can become solidified as a part of family legend, and why one must be particularly careful in

⁴⁶⁸ See *KKSI*, vol. 1, pp. 166, 170 for listing of Koremori in the genealogy.

⁴⁶⁹ *KKSI*, vol. 1, pp. 164-171, which traces an otherwise wholly undocumented legacy from Taira no Koremori no Nejime Kiyoshige, the historical founder of the Nejime (who is never referred to as “Taira,” but rather as “Takebe” and a descendant of “Fujiwara” progenitors in medieval documents).

⁴⁷⁰ Undated *Nejime-ke yuisho gaki* (*KKSI*, vol. 1, #649). The document was commissioned by the sixteenth-generation heir of Kiyoshige (listed as his ancestor or the “founder” of the line – *kōso* 高祖). The introduction to this document is damaged, but mentions Koremori as an ancestor from before the documented history of his lineage.

⁴⁷¹ Undated *Nejime uji uma-jiirushi yarigata* (*KKSI*, vol. 1, #650).

⁴⁷² For example, see Hōan 2 (1121).1.10 *Ōsumi no kuni gondai Takebe Chikasuke no ge* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #638) and Ten’yō 2 (1145).4.20 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Yoritaka okibumi* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #642), among several others.

consulting later genealogies and early-modern family records that seek to lend credit to falsified claims of elevated status like the Nejime's unverifiable Taira roots. As far back as the Nejime records go, we see them only as local proprietors and landed nobility native to Ōsumi, with no clear ties to far-flung Kyoto. An invented "re-adoption" of the Taira name by the Nejime of the late sixteenth-century added prestige to both their history as local elites and embellish their later status as uprooted samurai no longer bound to the land they had inhabited for centuries.

After inheriting the southern half of Nejime-in in 1069, later subdivisions by Yorisada's successors further split the region into smaller portions. In 1121, a set of three overlapping documents appears from Yorisada's grandson Takebe Chikasuke (親助), the Hachiman *mandokoro* shrine office, and the Ōsumi *kokushi* governor's office, regarding the further divisions and political developments in the region.⁴⁷³ The set of records from 1121 reveals that Takebe Chikasuke (建部親助) inherited Minamimata as main heir (*chakunan* 嫡男) upon his father Yorichika's (頼親) death in 1112, along with substantial tax debts that he was unable to repay (年々官物旁負物).⁴⁷⁴ The land is categorized as his own individually-owned property (*shiryō* 私領), a term often used to clarify that lands were eligible for sale.⁴⁷⁵ A decade later, in the first month of 1121, Chikasuke elected to sell the land (*uriwatasu* 売渡) to his uncle (*oji* or *hakufu* 伯父) Yorikiyo (頼清).⁴⁷⁶ Yorikiyo planned to settle their tax problems by donating the property to the Hachiman shrine. In return, the shrine would support Yorikiyo and his heirs as its

⁴⁷³ Hōan 2(1121).1.10 *Ōsumi no kuni gondai Takebe Chikasuke no ge* (KKSI vol. 1, #638), Hōan 2(1121).6.11 *Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū mandokoro kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #639), and Hōan 2(1121).10.11 *Ōsumi no kuni kokushi chōsen* (KKSI vol. 1, #640).

⁴⁷⁴ Hōan 2(1121).1.10 *Ōsumi no kuni gondai Takebe Chikasuke no ge* (KKSI vol. 1, #638).

⁴⁷⁵ Hōan 2(1121).6.11 *Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū mandokoro kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #639).

⁴⁷⁶ *Hakufu* indicates an uncle who is older than one's parent. The relationship is listed in Hōan 2(1121).1.10 *Ōsumi no kuni gondai Takebe Chikasuke no ge* (KKSI vol. 1, #638) and Hōan 2(1121).6.11 *Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū mandokoro kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #639).

representatives in the area, maintaining their extant *gon-no-daijō* (権大掾) status of local proprietorship, and make them shrine officers.

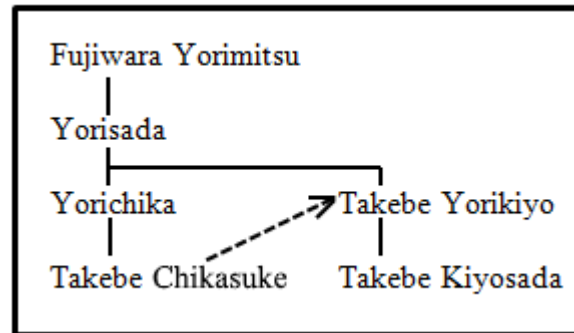


Figure 5: The early transmission of Minamimata.

Though few details remain, it seems that Chikasuke's brother-in-law (listed as his younger sister's "husband," or *imoto no otto* 妹夫), a resident of neighboring Satsuma province named Taira Gyōdō (平行道) opposed the sale, hoping to claim the region for himself using his affinal link to the group. The Hachiman shrine's *mandokoro* (政所) office rejected Gyōdō's claim in the sixth month of 1121, which was followed by a rejection by the governor (*kokushi*) of Ōsumi in the tenth month, with both offices calling for Gyōdō to cease his obstructions and make no further claims on the land.⁴⁷⁷ It is not surprising that the administration of the Hachiman shrine supported the claim of the Takebe, who already served the shrine and planned to donate the land to it soon thereafter. The move by the Takebe/Nejime to ally with the shrine was certainly a political as well as economic maneuver, which helped them escape both rival claims and tax debts while maintaining local authority. The Hachiman shrine was located far in the north, at the end of Kagoshima bay, in the same area as the Ōsumi *kokuga* provincial administrative seat, and the Nejime would remain its sole representatives on the southern side of

⁴⁷⁷ Hōan 2 (1121).6.11 *Ōsumi Shō-Hachimangū mandokoro kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #639), and Hōan 2(1121).10.11 *Ōsumi no kuni kokushi chōsen* (KKSI vol. 1, #640).

the peninsula.⁴⁷⁸



Map 7: Nejime-in and Ōsumi provincial administrative authorities.⁴⁷⁹

In 1145, Yorikiyo, the uncle who bought control of Minamimata, passed the largest share of his own lands along with the newly purchased holdings to Mae-no-jō Takebe Kiyosada (前掾建部清貞), apparently his first son.⁴⁸⁰ Takebe Yoritaka (頼高), who seems to be Yorikiyo's second son, inherited the land around Sata village (佐多村), the southernmost portion of the peninsula. Yoritaka then donated several of his own adjacent properties in Nejime-in and Ogawa-in (小河院) to his brother Kiyosada, whom he listed as their father Yorikiyo's main heir (*chakushi* 嫡子) effectively completing the core property portfolio that would become the

⁴⁷⁸ The shrine has been rebuilt multiple times and renamed. It is now called Kagoshima Jingū (鹿児島神宮), and sits on the same site as the original Ōsumi Hachiman shrine, and houses some medieval records in a small detached archive.

⁴⁷⁹ Developed by the author from template maps at D-Maps. Note: Sakurajima, the large volcanic island in Kagoshima Bay, was not attached to the main island of Kyushu in the premodern period (it erupted in 1914 creating a connection to the mainland of Kyushu on its eastern side), and this map has been modified to reflect the geography of Kyushu, as we know it, from the medieval period. The borders of Nejime-in are outlined in numerous secondary works, but this map was developed in consultation with maps from Hinokuma Masamori's "Ōsumi no kuni ni okeru Kenkyū zudenchō taisei no seiritsu katei" and Kozono Kimio's *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*. On the volcanic nature of the region and the history of Sakurajima, which used to be called "Kagoshima" (鹿児島), the name of the modern prefecture that contains the areas of premodern Ōsumi, Satsuma, and Hyūga provinces, see Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁰ Ten'yō 2 (1145).3.12 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Yorikiyo shobun no jō* (KCSI vol. 1, #641).

hereditary homeland of the Nejime thereafter under Kiyosada's successors.⁴⁸¹

The Sata-based brother Yoritaka's motivation for dividing off some of his lands, which lay within or alongside the core Nejime lands of Kiyosada, was likely to establish the geographical division and separate legal status of their holdings. This may have been the result of a dispute, as Yoritaka called for mutual peace (*wayu or wayū* 和融) between the two brothers (*kyōdai* 兄弟) while acknowledging Yorisada's acquisition of his own agricultural plots (*sono* 園) that neighbored Yoritaka's.⁴⁸² There is no record of conflict between the brothers, and we can interpret this document as an acknowledgement and confirmation of Yorisada's position as the primary heir of Yorikiyo (who is referred to by the Buddhist name Jakuzen 寂禪), with the condition that the secondary heir Yoritaka would continue to possess his more limited, neighboring inheritance as an independent proprietor in control of the southern Cape Sata area.⁴⁸³

Thereafter, the Nejime (under Kiyosada) and Sata (under Yoritaka) branches of the Takebe were effectively separated into two distinct landholding and social entities, with the Nejime holding regional administrative power across both sets of lands as representatives of the *Kokuga* and the Hachiman shrine. A third group, the Tashiro, inherited the mountainous eastern region of Minamimata, a largely undeveloped area. Compared to their relatives, Tashiro records

⁴⁸¹ Ten'yō 2 (1145).4.20 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Yoritaka okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #642). Ogawa-in was a well-developed region surrounding the provincial political center of the Hachiman shrine and *Kokuga* office, and the Nejime were one of many small-scale landholders with property in the region. See Gomi Yoshio, *Kamakura bakufu no gokeninsei to minami Kyūshū*, p. 214 for a small chart comparing the sizes of developed fields in Shō-Hachimangū records. There, Ogawa-in, it is listed as containing 160-*chō* 3-*tan* of paddy, roughly four times the amount in Minamimata, as recorded in the 1197 *Kenkyū-zudenchō* survey.

⁴⁸² Ten'yō 2 (1145).4.20 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Yoritaka okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #642).

⁴⁸³ Yorisada is listed as *tekishi* (適子), a relatively uncommon Chinese term synonymous with *chakushi* (嫡子) or main heir. See the *Jitsū* (字通 "Great Dictionary of Chinese Characters") entry for 適, which defines *tekishi* as *chakushi*. This is the only use of the term in the entire *Nejime Monjo*, and it may be a misprint in the edited edition, as I have not seen the original version of this document.

are scarce, and they appear to have had much less regional clout than the Sata or the Nejime.⁴⁸⁴

From 1145 onward, the Nejime and Sata would inhabit the Minamimata region as separate social groups, each serving as local representatives of the Hachiman shrine. Nejime Kiyosada held the heritable administrative title of *gunji* (or *in-shi*), theoretically serving as regional deputy of the absentee *kokushi* governor's office throughout the area, though this older post took a largely titular form after the Kamakura granted them *jitō-shiki* holders and the shrine formally took over income rights in Minamimata. However, the legitimacy of the Nejime was not yet solidified, and several challengers to their authority arrived in the final decades of the Heian period, which would plague them until the mid-thirteenth century.

In 1147, two years after his uncle passed down his former holdings land to his cousin, Takebe Chikasuke, original heir in the region who sold the Nejime property to his uncle in 1121, provided a *mōshijō* (申状) statement defending the sale of his land, to rebuke the claims of his nephew Tadaie (忠家).⁴⁸⁵ Tadaie was the son of Chikasuke's sister and Taira Gyōdō, who attempted to revive his father's claim over the region. Chikasuke called for his nephew to stop interfering with the land he had rightfully sold to his uncle, stating that he (Chikasuke) had inherited it as the "head" (*sōryō*, a rare use in the Nejime record) in sole control of their ancestral property, and sold it legally to escape his debts. Because he had already sold the land, Chikasuke argued simply that it was impossible to name Gyōdō or Tadaie as heir of property that he no longer possessed.⁴⁸⁶ Chikasuke must have remained on good terms with his uncle Yorikiyo, as

⁴⁸⁴ Records on the Tashiro are so limited that it is unclear who took over the area in the late 1100s after Minamimata was divided among the Nejime and Sata branches. See *Nejime kyōdo-shi*, vol. 1, p. 191-192. Later Nejime inheritance records from 1301 indicate that by that point, the Nejime had taken control of Tashiro village. See Shōan 3 (1301).2.21 *Takebe Kiyochika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #35), in which the head of the Nejime passed on possession of Tashiro village to his son.

⁴⁸⁵ Kyūan 3 (1147).7.15 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Chikasuke mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #537).

⁴⁸⁶ Kyūan 3 (1147).7.15 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Chikasuke mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #537).

his defense of the sale did not directly benefit him, and only served to support his cousins, who had effectively replaced him as the heads of their own lineages. Although his testimony ended this round of claims from the in-laws of Chikasuke and Kiyosada, more legal trouble lay just ahead.

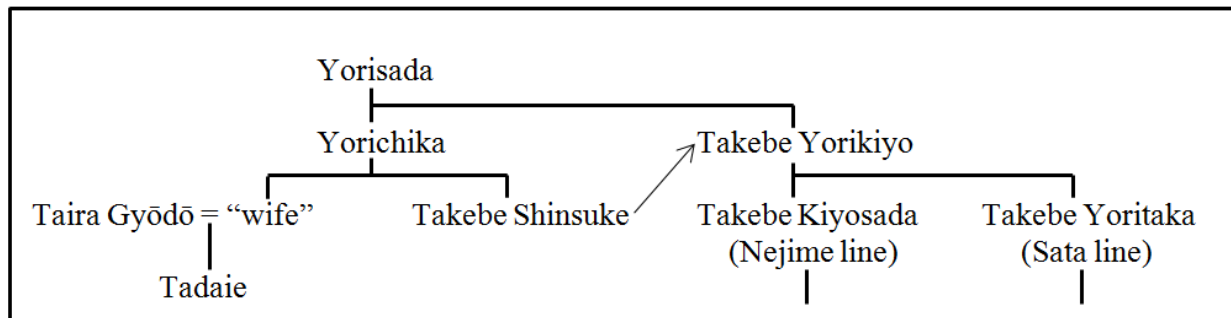


Figure 6: The parties involved in the 1121 and 1147 Nejime lawsuits.

It is not clear precisely when the Minamimata region became the nominal property of the Hachiman shrine, though we can infer that it was donated by Yorikiyo and/or Kiyosada sometime between 1145, when the area was still the individual property of Yorikiyo (taxed by the *kokushi* and *kokuga*), and 1173, the earliest date mentioned when the shrine reported several issues with its new lands in 1187.⁴⁸⁷ Kyushu historian Kozono Kimio states that Kiyosada's daughter Sainen's (西念) "husband" Fujiwara Takahira (藤原高平), a new contender vying to take over the area, successfully petitioned the Dazaifu to become the *jitō* of Minamimata in 1173 (though no record of this survives in the *Nejime Monjo*).⁴⁸⁸ This series of events is regularly cited

⁴⁸⁷ Bunji 3 (1187).11 *Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū shinkan nado no ge* (KKSI vol. 1, #645). This record cites an 1173 property dispute that referred to Minamimata as the shrine's property or *goshinryō* (御神領).

⁴⁸⁸ Kozono Kimio also notes that the exact date of the transfer is unclear, but that it happened between 1145 and 1173. *Jitō* was a general term for resident manager in the Heian period, and does not usually appear as a *jitō-shiki*, though the earlier conferral of *jitō* status to numerous figures across the provinces was a part of the impetus to codify those positions into *shiki* by Minamoto no Yoritomo. On the Hishikari, See Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 4. See also p. 10 on Sainen's relationship to Takahira, as well as the inheritance disputes of Kiyosada's daughters. Kozono describes this period as the transition between *ritsuryō* and *shōen* style landholding for the Nejime region, with the *shōen* authority in this case being the Hachiman shrine. In an unrelated note, although I can only speculate, it seems likely that the later Nejime proclivity toward holding their *gunji* title in higher esteem than the *jitō-shiki* post they received after the Hishikari failed, may lie in the fact that they were not the original *jitō* in the region, and that the post itself was less stable than the ongoing *gunji* had been.

as an example of the earlier jostling for position by local warriors in the shakeup on the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, as conflicts over *jitō* offices regularly endured for decades.⁴⁸⁹

Takahira was a member of the neighboring Hishikari (菱刈), a rival group that would continue to contest the Nejime region into the Kamakura period.⁴⁹⁰ It is possible that he was a distant relative from the same local lineage as the original proprietor Fujiwara Yorimitsu, though this is only speculation as to why his claim was sufficient to take administrative control of the area. Fujiwara Takahira's position as *jitō*, conferred to him by the Dazaifu, resulted in a bureaucratic split in the region, with Takebe (Nejime) Kiyosada retaining his status of *gunji* or *in-shi* deputy representing the declining *kokuga* and *kokushi* governor's authority. Such administrative jostling at the local level was symptomatic of many early *jitō* offices, and in this case the split took place even before the establishment of the Kamakura warrior government itself, which apparently confirmed Takahira as *jitō* thereafter (though no record survives).

Neighboring rivals and rebellious local landholders quickly exploited the political and authoritative instability in Nejime-*in*. The Hachiman shrine reported that the new *jitō* deputy Hishikari Takahira ran into immediate problems with invaders from his home area of Hishikari-*gun*, who had been causing recurring problems with the payment of yearly taxes by 1187.⁴⁹¹ As he was unable to perform this essential tax-collection service for the shrine and could not secure the region, it is unclear to what extent Takahira exerted real administrative control in Nejime-*in*. Takahira transferred his *jitō* status (which was not at that point codified as a *shiki*) to Shigenobu

⁴⁸⁹ See Gomi Yoshio, *Kamakura bakufu no gokeninsei to minami Kyūshū*, pp. 340-341 on the Hishikari and the Nejime. Gomi cites several related studies on p. 344 in note 25, including his own earlier work. See also Yoshie Akio, "Zaichi ryōshu ni okeru shoryō shoyū to sono rekishiteki seikaku."

⁴⁹⁰ Both the Nejime and the Hishikari survived into the Sengoku period, when both retained extensive ties to the Shimazu, who evolved from *shugo* into the *daimyo* lords of southern Kyushu. On the later affinal dynamics of the Shimazu and the Hishikari, see Niina Kazuhito, *Muromachi-ki Shimazu-shi ryōgoku no seiji kōzō*, p. 353.

⁴⁹¹ Kenkyū 3 (1192).9 *Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū shinkan nado no ge* (KKSI vol. 1, #644).

(重信 and 重延), presumably his son, by 1192. Shigenobu had similar problems in handling tax duties.⁴⁹² By 1203, when Shigenobu died, the new Kamakura authority saw fit to transfer the *jitō shiki* post (by then codified as such) to Takebe Kiyoshige (清重), ending roughly thirty years of administrative juggling and restoring the Takebe Nejime to sole power in Minamimata.⁴⁹³

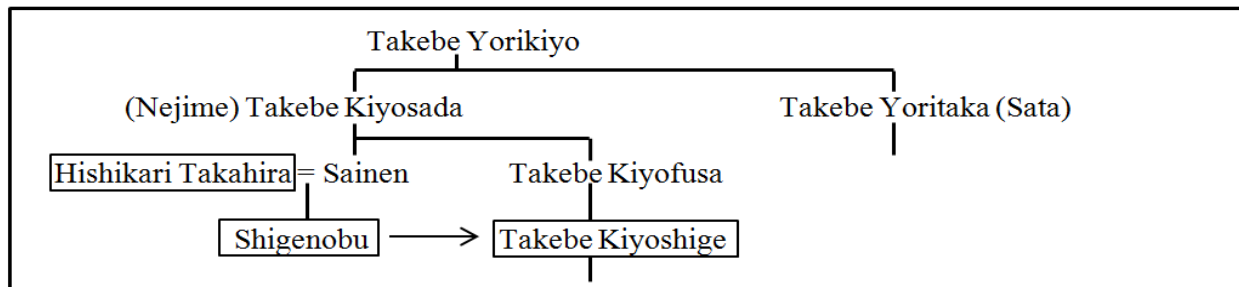


Figure 7: Nejime-in *jitō* in the Heian and early Kamakura periods. The names of *jitō* appear in boxes.

Shigenobu's death is confirmed in a 1202 *kudashibumi* document from the Ōsumi *kokushi* governor's office (*rusudokoro*), which called for his relatives to give up any efforts to sue back for the post.⁴⁹⁴ The document lists Takebe Kiyoshige as the *hon-ryōshu* landlord, the *jitō-shiki* officer, and the *gunji* absentee (*kokushi*) governor's deputy, meaning that the fragmented forms of local authority that came from the Hachiman shrine, the new Kamakura shogunal and *shugo* military governor's authority, and the Ōsumi *kokushi* office were now finally unified in Shigenobu's position as sole local manager of the Minamimata region.⁴⁹⁵ A number of confirmations followed, from Kamakura regent Hōjō Tokimasa,⁴⁹⁶ the Ōsumi

⁴⁹² Bunji 3 (1187).11 *Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū shinkan nado no ge* (KKSI vol. 1, #645). This document summarizes the history of the Hishikari from the perspective of the Nejime land dispute, though the earlier documents it is based on are not extant.

⁴⁹³ Kennin 3 (1203).7.3 *Kantō kudashibumi-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #1). Although Kiyosada passed on some lands to his son Kiyofusa, due to the disruption of control in the area by the Hishikari, Nejime records from Kiyofusa's time are limited, and the Nejime story resumes under Kiyoshige. See Kyūan 4 (1148).5.9 *Mae Ōsumi-no-jō Takebe Kiyosada yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #643) for the landed inheritance of Kiyofusa, which does not include all the Nejime holdings that Kiyosada or his grandson Kiyoshige possessed.

⁴⁹⁴ Kennin 2 (1202).5.24 *Ōsumi no kuni rusudokoro kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #281). Shigenobu's death is confirmed in this document.

⁴⁹⁵ For another recapitulation of the process of the development of *jitō* in Ōsumi, which draws from Nejime Kiyoshige's records and the conflict with the Hishikari, see Yoshie Akio, "Kamakura bakufu jitōshiki no seiritsu (kami)," pp. 173-175 and note #20 on p. 223.

⁴⁹⁶ Kennin 3 (1203).7.27 *Hōjō Tokimasa shōjō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #2).

kokushi,⁴⁹⁷ the Hachiman shrine,⁴⁹⁸ and its affiliated temple, Mirokuji (an affiliate of the Usa Hachimangū, part of the same Iwashimizu *shōen* network described in Chapter I),⁴⁹⁹ signaling the consolidation of power in Kiyoshige and the beginning of centuries of continuous rule of the area by the Nejime, as well as the beginning of the use of “Nejime” as a surname.⁵⁰⁰ For our purposes, the history of the Nejime as a traceable social unit with full regional authority in southern Nejime-*in* begins with Kiyoshige's confirmation as the *jitō-shiki*-holding land steward in 1203, and Kiyoshige is regularly referenced as the progenitor of the *ichizoku* in later records.

To reiterate, the Nejime lost control of their early *jitō* designation (assigned by the Hachimangū after the donation of the land to the shrine, later recast as a *jitō-shiki* over all of Minamimata)⁵⁰¹ between 1145 and 1173 after a son-in-law from the neighboring Hishikari petitioned for the post.⁵⁰² The Hishikari spent at least three decades as *jitō* in tax delinquency, and their debts to the Ōsumi Hachiman Shrine were significant enough that they were forced to give up their position, which the new Kamakura regime returned to Nejime (or Takebe) Kiyoshige in 1203, likely at the behest of the shrine itself, which shared close ties to the Nejime.⁵⁰³ The Nejime rivalry with the Hishikari deepened following Kiyoshige's confirmations.

The Nejime Under Kamakura

Following the decades-long loss of their official bureaucratic headship in Minamimata, the first transfer of Nejime property in the Kamakura period appears in 1221 in a short bequest

⁴⁹⁷ Kennin 3 (1203).8 *Ōsumi kokushi chōsen* (KKSI vol. 1, #3).

⁴⁹⁸ Kennin 3 (1203).10.3 *Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū kumonjo kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #268).

⁴⁹⁹ Kennin 3 (1203).8 *Mirokuji jike kumonjo kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #280).

⁵⁰⁰ The temple and shrine had separate offices, but were to some degree synonymous in their authority as representatives of the central *shōen* holding in Minamimata. See *Iwashimizu Hachimangū monjo hoka: Tsukuba daigaku shozō monjo*, #26, *shita* volume, #83 and glossary p. 41.

⁵⁰¹ Bunji 3 (1187).11 *Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū shinkan nado no ge* (KKSI vol. 1, #645).

⁵⁰² Kozono Kimio also notes that the exact date of the transfer is unclear, but that it happened between 1145 and 1173. See Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁰³ Kennin 3 (1203).7.3 *Kantō kudashibumi-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #1), and Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, pp. 4-5.

from the first Nejime *in-shi* of the Kamakura period, Kiyoshige (*Nejime inshi Kiyoshige Nyūdō* 祢寢院司清重入道).⁵⁰⁴ Though no earlier bequests from Kiyoshige survive, we learn from this record that he had previously given his lands and titles (*jitō* and *in-shi*) to his first son Kiyotada (清忠). Following Kiyotada's takeover of these offices, the legal battle between the Takebe and the Hishikari resumed, prompting the Kamakura court to summon the young heir Kiyotada and his Hishikari rivals to the distant warrior capital to settle their dispute.

According to his father Kiyoshige's will, while his successor Kiyotada was en route for an in-person trip to face the Hishikari in the Kamakura court (literally “on the day he was on the way up to the Kantō” *Kantō ni sanraku no hi* 関東参洛之日), he was murdered in a night attack (*youchi koroshi* 夜打殺) while passing through Ōmi province by his “enemies” (*tekijin* 敵人), a reference to the Hishikari, who were making the same trip as disgruntled legal opponents.⁵⁰⁵ It is not clear what fate awaited the Hishikari after their murder of the new lord of Minamimata, but this was the end of their formal efforts to claim the region.

Following Kiyotada's murder, Kiyoshige selected his second son, Kiyotsuna (清綱), as his new main heir (*chakushi*), bestowing him the titles of both *in-shi* and *jitō-shiki* (當院司并地頭職) along with the main landed properties (listed only as his “lands” *ryōshō no chi* 領掌之地) and proof documents (*shōmon* 證文).⁵⁰⁶ No further stipulations are included, but Kiyoshige did make it clear that he wanted to pass on his estate well before his death due to the “uncertain nature of their world around them” (*seken fujō no aida* 世間不定之間).⁵⁰⁷ In solidarity with

⁵⁰⁴ Jōkyū 3 (1221).3. 23 *Nejime Kiyoshige yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #10).

⁵⁰⁵ Jōkyū 3 (1221).3. 23 *Nejime Kiyoshige yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #10).

⁵⁰⁶ Jōkyū 3 (1221).3. 23 *Nejime Kiyoshige yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #10).

⁵⁰⁷ Jōkyū 3 (1221).3. 23 *Nejime Kiyoshige yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #10). The phrasing of the document indicates that this transfer was made even though the father Kiyoshige was not near death. This type of early transfer of property was a tool to ensure stable succession invoked commonly in the Kamakura period. Invoking the instability of the

Kiyoshige, who would become the symbolic founder of the Nejime, future heirs for the next several hundred years continued to employ similar phrased regarding the uncertainty of the world, the future, or the perils of the current age. Kiyoshige's concern about uncertainty or *fujō* (不定) was likely amplified by the death of his first son and planned main heir. It could also include his concerns about the ability of the Nejime to maintain possession of their properties following their legal quarrels with the Hishikari, local instability following the Genpei war, and the broader political flux of the early Kamakura period.

The “uncertainty” that Kiyoshige felt as he wrote his bequest was punctuated by the 1221 Jōkyū war, a major uprising against the Kamakura regime, which began only three months later. Yet despite regional and central instability in Honshū, as Kiyoshige prepared to transfer his offices for a second time to a second main heir, conflict in (and between) the capitals did not threaten the Nejime in far-flung southern Kyushu. The group's hold on their home territory was finally re-solidified under Kiyoshige's successor Kiyotsuna, whose reign as *jitō* and head of the *ichizoku* brought stability to the administration of the Nejime region and kin group for the first time in roughly a century of legal conflict and local and regional upheaval. No documented challenges occurred in his lifetime, making him the first Nejime head to control the region without external opposition. Yet the turbulence of the recent past had a strong impact; unlike his father, who wrote one simplistic will, Kiyotsuna created a rich documentary legacy with specific designs for each of his heirs in a clear attempt to avoid internal or external quarrels.

Kiyotsuna held sole jurisdiction in Minamimata for almost forty years before he began writing his prolific set of bequests, which he modified over time and took twenty years to complete. Starting in 1259 with an initial pair of documents for his first two sons, he went on to

world around them justified and explained the early transfer. Kiyotsuna used the same language in his own bequests almost 40 years later. See Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #29).

write multiple additional grants, with the last of his documents appearing in 1280. Although not a complete set, seven of Kiyotsuna's bequests have survived, including a lengthy transfer of hereditary servants to over a dozen heirs.⁵⁰⁸ Though we can only speculate as to the reasons for Kiyotsuna's expanded set of bequests, it seems likely that he wanted to avoid the kinds of external legal quarrels that ended in the violent death of his older brother and had seen the Nejime fail to secure control in Minamimata. Those earlier conflicts arose directly out of a lack of documented proof of Nejime hegemony in the region.

Kiyotsuna's first will, from 1259, addresses the inheritance of his main heir (*chakushi* 嫡子) Kiyochika, who was the recipient of the Nejime-*in-shi* and *jitō-shiki* posts.⁵⁰⁹ Compared to the other grants to secondary heirs, it is brief and to the point; Kiyotsuna transferred the hereditary property, bureaucratic titles, and documents of his ancestors to Kiyochika, his first son, just as his father had transferred them to him. He also included a critical stipulation that after Kiyochika's death, his titles and property had to pass next to his grandson Kiyoharu (listed under the childhood name *bōmaru*) without obstruction (但清親一期之後者、以嫡子藏丸無他妨可譲与彼職也).⁵¹⁰ With this phrase, Kiyotsuna effectively denied his son Kiyochika the right to divide the core Nejime properties or select his own main heir, instead funneling them straight to his grandson and restricting his successor to lifetime-only control of Minamimata. Lifetime grants were common in late Kamakura, especially in transfers to secondary heirs, but were not usually applied to main heirs. The new Nejime leader, Kiyochika, would ultimately have little say in the division of his inherited property or in the designation of Nejime legacy. As a result, Kiyochika's documentary output was much smaller than his father's, and he only wrote two

⁵⁰⁸ Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shojū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30).

⁵⁰⁹ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #29).

⁵¹⁰ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #29).

short *yuzurijō* of his own.⁵¹¹

Although his first bequest seems to signal a drastic shift toward strict unified succession, Kiyotsuna also took a deliberate step toward broadening the Nejime kinship network by designating a large number of secondary heirs, some of whom were able to form their own lines of succession (sub-lineages) through permanent control of significant landed interests. This would result in a shift from an apparently small pool of potential property recipients and landed figures from the mid-Heian period through 1280 to a broad social group including these secondary heirs and their descendants as key elements of a nascent social network.

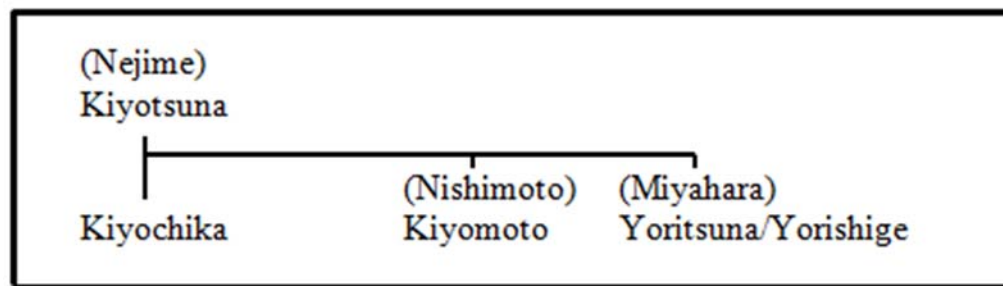


Figure 8: Primary property divisions made by Nejime Kiyotsuna.

As we will see from his further bequests, Kiyotsuna's secondary sons Kiyomoto and Yorishige operated as the heads of their own semi-autonomous branch lineages that drew their legitimacy and the origins of their property from the trunk line of the Nejime. To prevent conflict both within the main line and from potential competitors from branch lineages, Kiyotsuna attempted to establish a multi-generational plan for the succession of the Nejime headship, which would remain the administrative authority and predominant landholder in the region. By confining primary succession through Kiyochika to grandson Kiyoharu, it also seems clear that Kiyotsuna did not want the division of property to happen in each generation, but rather under his design alone.

⁵¹¹ Shōan 3 (1301).2.21 *Takebe Kiyochika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #35) and Kengen 2 (1303).6.21 *Shami Gyōkei yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #483).

Figure 9: Miyahara Yoritsuna's landed inheritance (Miyahara sub-lineage founding properties).⁵¹²

- Mochimatsu-myō (borders listed):
 - A total of 2 *chō* and 2 *tan* of wet paddy, including the following named fields:
 - Kitamata 5 *tan*
 - Minamimata 5 *tan*
 - Mitsubo 8 *tan*
 - Yamashita 2 *tan*
 - Sonoda 1 *tan*
 - Akasakada 1 *tan*
- Within Kōrimoto:
 - Miyawaki (borders listed)
 - Wakiji Kyōbō isono (borders listed)
 - Minami Nyūdō isono (borders listed)
 - Waki Hachirō Daibu sono (added in 1267)
 - A total of 2 *chō* of wet paddy, including:
 - Enden 4 *tan*
 - Muta Kitazoe Isaki-ta 6 *tan*
 - Bamon no uchi 1 *chō*, including:
 - Tayū 5 *tan*
 - Kawaharada 5 *tan*
 - (cleared by Kiyochika)
- Four mountain fields:
 - Hai
 - Shishigarikura
 - Azukino-"hae"
 - Matsuno-"hae"
- (contiguous borders listed for the above four plots)

Kiyotsuna's second *yuzurijō*, which he wrote on the same day as the first in 1259, was clearly meant to accompany it as part of a set of records for his multiple heirs; it is addressed to his second son Yoritsuna, granting him his portion of land (*Yoritsuna no tokubun* 頼綱得分).⁵¹³ Yoritsuna's properties were comparatively limited, but the grant to him is more detailed than the grant to the main heir Kiyochika, listing specific plots of land and their borders, which would become the property of the second son. This was not unusual; the establishment of clear, well-defined landholdings for secondary heirs (with the primary heir receiving everything else –

⁵¹² Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #706) and Bun'ei 4 (1267).12.24 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #707). The differences between these two documents are minor, the latter involving clarifications on some of the names in the original grant as well as one additional *sono* plot. Many of these place names are now wholly unknown, and my transcription of their pronunciations are based on the most common readings, when available.

⁵¹³ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #706).

which might not be detailed at all) was common in inheritance documents from the Kamakura period. The total allotment of land granted to Yoritsuna is quite large, and a translation of the specific plots is found in Figure #9. Yoritsuna's lands included Mochimatsu-*myō* (用松名), which straddled the north/south border of Nejime-*in*, several named residential agricultural plots (*isono* 居藺 and *sono* 藺), and wet paddies (*suiden* 水田) in the adjacent Nejime stronghold of Kōrimoto (郡本), and four named mountain plots (*sanya* 山野).⁵¹⁴

Unlike the limits placed on the main heir, no term limit or designation for the future of the Miyahara properties is listed. Kiyotsuna stipulated that in accordance with a document from the *shugo* (*shugojō no mune* 守護状之旨) the lands could not be sold to outsiders (*tanin*) without consultation with the *hon-myō* (本名 the estate of the main heir). Further, he ordered that a fixed ratio of one-fifth of the costs associated specialty payments (*goryōbutsu* 御領物) and with *kuji* service duties (*kuji kayaku* 公事果役) was to come from these lands, to be collected by the *hon-myō*.⁵¹⁵ Fixed ratios or set amounts of service and taxation are thematic in the *Nejime Monjo*, and will come up again in future wills. In total, Yoritsuna inherited over four *chō* of paddies as well as multiple other plots of undetermined size, constituting a significant individual estate.⁵¹⁶ *Sono* agricultural fields or residences are listed under the names of the commoners who either first cleared them and/or currently resided on and worked them.

Yoritsuna was left without any further stipulations about the future of his inherited lands. The property given to secondary heirs was less important in terms of its significance to the continuity of the Nejime lineage than the official titles (*shiki*) of the main heir, and Yoritsuna

⁵¹⁴ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #706).

⁵¹⁵ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #706).

⁵¹⁶ Of some comparative note, this is nearly twice as many paddies as were registered in the Ichikawa lands in Shikumi.

was effectively left to establish his own material legacy as he saw fit, with the main house retaining official authority over the broader Nejime region (including his individual lands, should he attempt to sell them). By establishing secondary heirs like Yoritsuna as smaller-scale landholders in the area, Kiyotsuna created a dynamic in which the head of the main line, as the *jitō* and *in-shi* officer, held some degree of administrative control over his siblings, as it was his duty to make sure any special levies or duties required by the *ryōke* or the *kokushi* governor's office were provided by the residents of Minamimata, and he had the standing obligation to manage the one-fifth share of the costs that were mandated in Yoritsuna's inheritance.

Simultaneously, secondary heirs and their successors were independent and insulated from any legal issues that might befall the main line, and were likely replacing or encroaching on other smallholders from outside the kin group, a trend that becomes increasingly visible in the early-to-mid fourteenth century. If Kiyotsuna's direct successors Kiyochika or Kiyoharu somehow lost the *gunji/in-shi* or *jitō* posts (again), the legacy of the Nejime household was not all in one basket; the extensive lands of Kiyotsuna's secondary heirs could endure even if the main line lost its claim, and resist any new hegemon, as they likely had done under the Hishikari (whose inability to tax the region led to their replacement).⁵¹⁷ Yoritsuna founded the first major offshoot lineage of the Nejime in the Kamakura period, later known as the Miyahara, though the details of this process, including when that name came into use, are wholly unknown. Sometime before writing his own wills, it seems that Yoritsuna changed his name to Yorishige, likely to establish a direct link to his grandfather and Nejime founder Kiyoshige for the Miyahara.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁷ Yoritsuna's extensive inheritance was a cause of jealousy in later years, leading to a longstanding dispute between Kiyotsuna's great grandson, Kiyoyasu, and his grandsons (Kiyoyasu's uncles) that was not resolved until 1323. We will analyze this case shortly. See Genkō 3 (1323).11.29 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #288).

⁵¹⁸ See Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 160. Here, Kozono lays out the Miyahara genealogy, and I share his theory that Yorishige must be a name adopted by Yoritsuna.

Kiyotsuna's initial bequest to (Miyahara) Yoritsuna required some fine-tuning, mostly regarding the specific borders of sets of lands, and the initial grant was altered slightly via a copy in each new set of documents, though it seems solely for the sake of clarification rather than any apparent increase or decrease in his actual inheritance. A second version of the grant, from 1267, states explicitly in the final line that all other property would go to the main heir Kiyochika (此 外田畠山野等者、嫡子清親可令領知也), making up for the lack of specifics regarding the landed property of the main heir in the original grants.⁵¹⁹ Further clarification on the lands of the main heir would soon follow, compartmentalizing the main line, the Miyahara, and a second offshoot.

In 1274, a detailed listing of at least some of Kiyotsuna's own properties and their residents in the form of a land index, or *shoryō chūmon* (所領注文) appears, followed a year later by a third reiteration of his original grants.⁵²⁰ One of the updated bequest documents is incomplete, with the second half missing (including the date), but the first half echoes the initial pair of *yuzurijō* and makes few changes to the grants to his first two sons aside from a few more minor clarifications on the now unknown names of the specific borders of a few properties.⁵²¹

The land index (*shoryō chūmon*) first lists six *sono*, all designated as *kokugaryō* farms under the management of Kiyotsuna (on behalf of the absentee *kokushi* governor's office) along with the names and ranks of the head of each farm plot, two *higokenin* (非御家人 – local elites who were not “housemen” of Kamakura) and four commoners without surnames.⁵²² Next is the

⁵¹⁹ Bun'ei 4 (1267).12.24 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #707).

⁵²⁰ Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.28 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shoryō chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #286), Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708), and Undated (1274-1275?) *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #285).

⁵²¹ Undated (1274-1275?) *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #285).

⁵²² Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.28 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shoryō chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #286). The first two *sono* are listed as one *chō* in size, while the following four go unmeasured and are listed under a subheading of *bun* (分), indicating that they might be within the first two, which were owned by *higokenin* rather than commoners.

village of Ikatoshi (板越村) within Kuwanotō-gō (桑東郷), purchased (買領地) by an otherwise unknown *higokenin* man called Daibu Tarō Suketsuna Nyūdō, whose name indicates that he may be a Nejime relative (via the shared *tsuna* character in his name and Kiyotsuna's). Following this is a large field of one *chō* listed as a shrine property of the Shō-Hachimangū, and a residence with attached mountain fields and freshly cleared paddy land. Finally, *kokugaryō* in Minoa village, Kuwanosai-gō (桑西郷皆尾村, a part of the northern Aira-gun)⁵²³ is listed as under the management of an unknown monk called Butsojōbō, including a total of one *chō* and three *tan* of wet-paddy (divided under the Shō-Hachimangū and a small local shrine listed only as Ogamida 小神田) and a set of four residences and a hunting ground.⁵²⁴

From this document, we can see that there were significant scattered properties in the Nejime region that belonged to the head of the Nejime, which were sourced from or still staffed by various subordinates and taxed by the Nejime head on behalf of both the Hachiman shrine (mostly individual paddies) and the Kokuga (mostly *sono*).⁵²⁵ These lands, or managerial and tax rights over them, were presumably inherited along with the *jitō* and *in-shi* posts, but were not always (and never altogether) laid out explicitly in the bequests to him, and were also sometimes parceled off to otherwise invisible relatives (possibly for lifetime-only use).⁵²⁶

After establishing his first two heirs in the Nejime main line and the newly formed Miyahara by 1259, and solidifying the details of their inheritances thereafter, Kiyotsuna wrote a fourth grant in 1275 allocating another set of properties for a third son, listed as a “secondary

⁵²³ See the *Nihon Rekishi Chimei Taikēi* entry for Kuwanosai-gō (桑西郷).

⁵²⁴ Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.28 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shoryō chūmon* (KKS vol. 1, #286).

⁵²⁵ Other than in this document, it is rarely clear how lands were taxed, or who was taxing them. Further, it is unclear whether all *sono* fell into the category of *kokugaryō*, taxed by the *kokushi* and their deputies, or if this set are only coincidentally divided as such.

⁵²⁶ Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.28 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shoryō chūmon* (KKS vol. 1, #286)

heir” (*shoshi* 庶子), later known as Kiyomoto.⁵²⁷ He is referred to by his childhood name Kyūbō (厩房 or 厩房丸 Kyūbōmaru), and it seems that his inheritance was pieced together from whatever remaining lands Kiyotsuna controlled, possibly those acquired or freshly cleared in the two decade interim between his first and last sets of grants. Kiyomoto was significantly younger than his brothers, and was probably born after the initial property divisions between the two.⁵²⁸ Although the amount of land he inherited was somewhat smaller than the second son’s, the *yuzurijō* to Kiyomoto is similar in style to the one that passed land to the Miyahara progenitor Yoritsuna, and includes a detailed outline of specific properties.⁵²⁹ As in Kiyotsuna’s second grant to Yoritsuna, individual properties are outlined based on their specific borders; The set of lands granted to Kiyomoto in Kiyotsuna’s 1275 grant is outlined in Figure #10.

*Figure 10: Nishimoto Kiyomoto's landed inheritance (Nishimoto sub-lineage founding properties).*⁵³⁰

- Five *sono*, including:
 - Three *sono* in *Nishimoto-sono* (borders listed):
 - *Tōta sono*
 - *Seizaburō sono*
 - *Genheita sono*
 - *Kimisawazu sono* (borders listed)
 - *Yatōta-dono sono* (borders listed)
- Eight *tan* of wet paddy, including:
 - *Shōbuta* 3 *tan* (borders listed)
 - *Hatakeda* 5 *tan* (borders listed)

Like Yoritsuna, Kiyomoto also had to uphold a specifically allocated form of tax burden, which included several rice duties paid as normal levies, and a special duty of keeping a set amount of special ceremonial black rice (*kurogome* or *kuromai* 黒米) stocked for visits by the

⁵²⁷ Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708).

⁵²⁸ Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shōjū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30). Here, though his brothers are listed by their adult names, Kiyomoto is only listed by his childhood name (Kyūbō). His brothers must have been significantly older, as their initial inheritances were outlined in 1259.

⁵²⁹ Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708).

⁵³⁰ Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708).

governor's surveying deputy (國ヶ初任之時使入部之時).⁵³¹ Such visits occurred for the purpose of land surveying whenever a new absentee governor (the nominal source of the *gunji* or *in-shi* post), came into office (*shonin* 初任) in Kyoto, and involved a show of hospitality by local landlords in order to establish good relations with the new absentee governor and his provincial deputies (and avoid potential over-taxation).

Kiyotsuna stated that if the deputy overstayed and the dictated supply of six *sen* of black rice was exhausted, no further contribution was necessary from Kiyomoto. In such an event, the *hon-myō* (the estate of the main heir) was to provide for any excess expenditures or other unusual levies or duties.⁵³² Although he was a lesser heir than either of his two older brothers, Kiyomoto was still a wealthy land owner expected to perform particular official functions for the Nejime, and was kept in a position of importance to the Nejime kin group as a provisioner for such official ceremonies.⁵³³ Again, these tax duties (like the one-fifth share of *kuji* costs to be handled by the second son Miyahara Yoritsuna) bound the sub-lines together with each other and the main line, as failure to uphold ceremonial duties would reflect on all of the Nejime network.

Despite his own admonition to his first son Kiyochika not to divide the Nejime property, Kiyotsuna's grants deliberately facilitated extensive divisions during his life. Second son Yoritsuna (also known as Yorishige) established the Miyahara (宮原), while third son Kiyomoto founded the Nishimoto (西本, named after Nishimoto-*sono*, an overarching name for multiple

⁵³¹ Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708). The exact amounts were laid out in allotments for both a *mikuji* (御公事分御佃新入田米二斗) service levy of 2 *to* of ceremonial rice, as well as a four *hiki* cash levy paid to the Hachiman shrine (御領物四疋), and the above-mentioned black rice allotment to be kept on-hand. This is one of numerous references to the provisioning of rice stocks in Nejime records, several others of which we will encounter in the following chapters, but this is the only record that I have found that lists the special black rice that the Nejime apparently kept stocked or acquired for these occasions.

⁵³² Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708).

⁵³³ Kōan 3 (1280).9.8 *Takebe Kiyotsuna okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #659). This final document from Kiyotsuna further detailed taxes on the common farmers in Kiyomoto's land. Kiyomoto had a great deal of trouble keeping up with his taxes, an issue that would later lead to lawsuits, land sales, and the restructuring of his sub-lineage.

adjacent plots listed above). This pair of independent collateral landholding lineages formed through sizeable inheritances from their father, and became known by the names of their holdings within their lifetimes. These two sub-lineages would endure as semi-autonomous but subordinate groups for multiple generations, forming a web of affinal and adoptive ties. These were the first two in a total of six well-documented sub-lineages, whose legacies we will trace as they interacted with the main line of the Nejime and higher political and military authorities.

The geographical locations of each sub-lineage are important elements of the story of the growing Nejime network, and are detailed in Chapter III. To reiterate the points I made there, although the Miyahara were an early exception and resided both within and adjacent to the district head's official home, in all other cases it seems that the leaders of the Nejime main line deliberately established and helped to maintain sub-lineages on the borders and most legally problematic regions of its core territory, a theme we will see repeated in other examples moving forward. This was the case for Kiyomoto, who inherited land neighboring the Sata in the southern Nishimoto region. Yoritsuna's external property was just to the north, and technically bordered the northern Shimazu-*shō* in the Kitamata region of Nejime-*in*, though a major mountain ridge formed a major barrier between them (pictured in Chapter III Image #9). Nevertheless, Kiyotsuna's division of landed property established his two most affluent secondary heirs as northern and southern buffers for the main line, and served to expand the total sphere of Nejime control in the southern half of Ōsumi peninsula.

Near the end of Kiyotsuna's life, in 1276, he divided the final major portion of his heritable property, revealing numerous other heirs who are otherwise unknown.⁵³⁴ His last bequest is a lengthy “*shojū shōchō*” (所従抄帳) register of Kiyotsuna's heritable servants (*shojū*

⁵³⁴ Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shojū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30).

所従), who were divided up among over a dozen heirs including the three main property recipients (Nejime) Kiyochika, (Miyahara) Yoritsuna, and (Nishimoto) Kiyomoto.⁵³⁵ This record is well known to Japanese historians because it provides a unique and rare view into the size of a Kamakura-era warrior *ichizoku* household including its large entourage of servants, who are mostly invisible in the historical record.⁵³⁶ No indication of residence patterns is expressly listed, and *shojū* might have lived separately on the lands of their masters, in the same residences (*yashiki* 屋敷) in small outbuildings (*koya* 小屋) or in the same buildings with them.⁵³⁷

Largely a list of names, the document is also the only document from Kiyotsuna in which he left anything to his daughters, who were provided only with servants, and any more substantial grants to them are not extant.⁵³⁸ In total, Kiyotsuna divided up his servants among fifteen heirs.⁵³⁹ At the end of the list, he declared that these servants were permanent property (*eitai o kagiru yuzuriwatashi owannu* 限永代譲渡了), meaning that they could be passed on to

⁵³⁵ See the *Kokushi daijiten* entry on *shojū* (所従), who were a subcategory of low-class commoners known collectively as *genin* (下人). *Shojū* were classified as heritable property alongside land and animals.

⁵³⁶ Mizukami Ikku's foundational "Chūsei yuzurijō ni arawaretaru shojū ni tsuite," pp. 1-30, is based largely on this document; see especially page 7, which discusses this grant in relation to later servant grants from Kiyotsuna's successors. See also Anno Masaki "Genin no uigezan," pp. 13-30, especially p. 26, for an analysis of the female servant's names. In Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, see pp. 16, 33, 46, 53-71 for close analysis and conclusions on the commoners of Nejime-in and medieval Japan more broadly based on this document. The record is also detailed in brief in Isogai Fujio's chapter "Genin no kazoku to josei" in Minegishi Sumio, ed. *Kazoku to josei*, pp. 132-133. The transfer, to a total of sixteen heirs, indicates the breadth of a warrior family often invisible to historians, and these heirs likely each had landed property of some kind (where these servants would be stationed). See also Nejime Ken'ichi, *Tōsei runesansu no kaichō: nanban to Nejime-shi no rekishiteki seikai o motomete*, p. 13, on Kiyotsuna's record as the most well-known element of Nejime history, which he laments is otherwise not as well-known as that of other Kyushu warriors.

⁵³⁷ For an elucidation on these three possibilities, alongside an analysis of the servants of the Sumida (隅田), see Amino Yoshiko et al., *Kōza Nihon shōen-shi*, vol. 1, p. 341.

⁵³⁸ I cannot speak beyond basic suspicion, but it is possible that Kiyotsuna's daughters are among the group of women who appear in the early fourteenth century as donors of lands to both the sub-lineages and main line. Because no early records or names for these women survive from when they were young, there is no way to corroborate this theory.

⁵³⁹ The total of 16 bullet points in Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shojū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30) includes living arrangements for a mother and child (in the 14th point) who were formerly Nejime servants, but were apparently freed or relieved of their duties by Kiyotsuna. The other 15 points listed in the document are the division of the servants among Kiyotsuna's numerous heirs.

future heirs as well, and presumably that their progeny would also be Nejime property.⁵⁴⁰

Heir	Grant	Notes
<i>Chakushi</i> Kiyochika ⁵⁴¹	15 servants	Nejime head.
Second son Yoritsuna	13 servants	Miyahara founder, listed as <i>jinan</i> (二男)
First daughter Takebe <i>Taishi</i>	6 servants	<i>Taishi</i> (太子) is an eldest daughter. ⁵⁴²
Second daughter (Takebe) <i>Chūshi</i>	3 servants	<i>Chūshi</i> (中子) is a “middle” or second daughter.
Third daughter (Takebe) <i>Sanshi</i>	7 servants	<i>Sanshi</i> (三子) is a third daughter.
Fourth daughter (Takebe) <i>Shishi</i>	3 servants	<i>Shishi</i> (四子) is a fourth daughter.
Kyūso Gozen	8 servants	(Mother of above children?)
The child Kyūbō (Kiyomoto)	17 servants	Nishimoto sub-lineage founder – fourth son?
Toramyō Gozen	2 servants	(Mother of Kyūbō? Out of order?)
Geshi Gozen	3 servants	(Mother of Torabō? Out of order?)
Torabō	1 servant	
Shōshi Gozen	2 servants	(Mother of Kiyosuke?)
Third son Kiyosuke	5 servants	Listed as <i>Sannan</i> (三男), otherwise unknown.
“Take” mother & child	1 residence	Commoners (illicit child of Kiyotsuna?)
Fujiwara <i>Chūshi</i> daughter	5 servants	
Yaōta-dono	1 servant	A non-relative (<i>dono</i> suffix) adoptee?

Figure 11: Kiyotsuna's 1276 servant grant.⁵⁴³

Servants are listed by their personal names, and did not have surnames.⁵⁴⁴ Many servants were passed down in pairs (listed by their relationships) or in small kindred units (usually called *ichirui* 一類). Kiyotsuna was meticulous in listing the exact number of people in such groups; in this case all between two and four people.⁵⁴⁵ This is a rare level of attention to detail, as in most servant grants, including others in the *Nejime Monjo*, *ichirui* kin units are of unknown size. Because of the vagueness of *ichirui*, in many cases, the total number of servants transmitted in

⁵⁴⁰ Direct control of servants became increasingly important from the 1330s onward, as they could be converted into military subordinates. On this process, which sometimes occurred through the formation of *ikki* “leagues” under warrior control, see Murai Shōsuke, ed., *Hito no tsunagari no chūsei*, chapter 2, especially pp. 36-37.

⁵⁴¹ Listed as *chakushi*, which I translate as “main heir.” Other children are listed by a combination of childhood and personal names.

⁵⁴² Kiyotsuna's daughters are not listed with personal names and probably did not have any, instead they are listed by birth order, 太子 “first child” 中子 “middle child” 三子 “third child” and 四子 “fourth child.” The first is listed as “Takebe *taishi*,” and subsequent daughters are listed as *onaji*, indicating that they were also known as Takebe *Chūshi*, *Sanshi*, and *Shishi* (or *Yonshi*). See Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shōjū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30).

⁵⁴³ Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shōjū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30).

⁵⁴⁴ Heritable servants lacked personal autonomy, and were essentially slaves. See the *Kokushi daijiten* on *shōjū* (所従), which equates them with *genin* (下人), and provides examples from the classical and medieval periods.

⁵⁴⁵ Pairs were often listed as *futari* (二人) or as affinal couples or *fusai* (夫妻). In Kiyotsuna's document, two *ichirui* groups of four people and four groups of three people are listed. See Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shōjū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30).

such a record is greater than we can directly count, though in Kiyotsuna's document, the numbers are clear. Using the ordering of these heirs and the information included in Kiyotsuna's other wills, we can make a few guesses as to the positions of individual relatives within the Nejime kinship network, the structure of the Nejime household under Kiyotsuna, and the future of the Nejime in succeeding generations. Although not a perfect equation, the relative size of each landed inheritance appears to be tied to the number of servants that heirs received; this is clear because the three largest servant grants went to the three sons who had already inherited large chunks of land – Kiyochika, Yoritsuna, and Kyūbō/Kiyomoto.

The large number of children and the presence of multiple women who were not his daughters in the above list (each listed as “Gozen”) indicates that Kiyotsuna probably had multiple affinal partners who bore offspring into his kin group, though some of these women may have been sisters or other adult female relatives.⁵⁴⁶ It would be curious to grant servants to wholly unrelated women; and the ordering of the list seems to indicate that the women may have been the mothers of the children next to their names. Kyūso Gozen received by far the largest number of servants among the four women who were not daughters, and I believe she may have been the mother of the first six children who are listed, and that mothers are listed after their respective children, although there is no way to confirm this possibility.⁵⁴⁷ If this is the case, it seems that Kiyotsuna's first two male and four female heirs were born to Kyūso.⁵⁴⁸ No other

⁵⁴⁶ *Gozen* (御前) is an honorific term for a woman, often applied for lay-nuns (*Ama Gozen* 尼御前). See the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry for *Ama Gozen*. The designation of *gozen* implies that these women were not daughters, though they might not all be affines, and could also be sisters or other socially related women. We will encounter several more women known by this designation later in Chapter VI.

⁵⁴⁷ Several colleagues at the University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute agreed that this was the probable (though not certain) structure of the document. The grant does seem to list children and widows in alternating order, in ordered fashion. No other mention of these wives appears anywhere in the record, nor do references to the daughters, though their names would be different in later mentions.

⁵⁴⁸ I am hesitant to designate Kyūso as Kiyotsuna's “wife,” as no such formal term was applied to her in Kiyotsuna's documents. “Main wife” was a proper category of kinship visible in courtly documents, but is not seen in early medieval warrior records. On “main wives,” as an aristocratic phenomenon, see Wakita Haruko, “Marriage and

daughters appear, but it seems that his sons from other women (probably Kyūbō from Toramyō and Kiyosuke from Shōshi) were significant heirs who inherited land and servants in Kyūbō's case and servants only in Kiyosuke's case.⁵⁴⁹

As we know, the eighth-listed heir, "Kyūbō" (later known as Kiyomoto), received a significant inheritance that allowed him to found what would become the Nishimoto sub-lineage.⁵⁵⁰ He also inherited seventeen servants, the most of any heir. Rather than viewing Kiyomoto as the seventh child of Kiyotsuna, it is possible that he was considered the "first son" from Kiyotsuna's second-most significant affinal partner. This would explain the otherwise somewhat peculiar structure of the document, which does not list all children or women together, or in generally descending order, but rather seems to sort them into sets. Beyond the first half of the list it is difficult to determine the exact relationships involved, as the individuals toward the end of the document are mentioned nowhere else in the *Nejime Monjo*. They may be relatives or close friends, possibly living with the Nejime but not immediate blood relatives. It is equally possible, given their names, which are inconsistent to those of anyone in the Nejime records, that they are outsiders known to Kiyotsuna through non-familial connections. This seems to be the case with the "Take" mother and child, Kiyotsuna's former servants, whom he released from duty (*hōmen* 放免) and lent a residence (*shōshi isono* 庄司居蘭) to sustain themselves until the end of "Chitosemaru's" lifetime (千歳丸), which was apparently the child's name.⁵⁵¹

Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History," p. 84, and William H. McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Late Heian Period."

⁵⁴⁹ Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shōjū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30).

⁵⁵⁰ Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708).

⁵⁵¹ Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shōjū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30). It is curious to see a servant given property in this way. Though once again I can only speculate, one possibility (indicated in the chart above) is that Kiyotsuna or one of his relatives impregnated this female servant, and the donation of a residence was a way to provide for her and this illegitimate heir, effectively raising the mother and child out of the particularly low status of heritable people to that of "free" commoners with a lifetime estate.

Kiyochika's numerous siblings were well cared for, each with a small retinue of servants of their own, although of the list of at least eight children, only three received property in individual grants (that we know of). Though not yet a move toward fully unified inheritance, Kiyotsuna clearly elected to focus on his male heirs. The overall decline in female inheritances is readily evident throughout the Nejime records, with daughters cut out of the landed property line, and several other sons also received nothing worth documenting.

Yoritsuna and Kiyomoto gained a similar amount of servants as the main heir Kiyochika, and this reinforces the substantial nature of their holdings as heads of new sub-lineages. There are clear precedents for the division into multiple social units based on property division in the earliest Nejime records, visible in both the split of Minamimata into the Nejime and Sata territorial groups in the twelfth century, and the even earlier partitioning of the local Fujiwara properties in the eleventh century.⁵⁵² However, unlike the social and property divisions of their Heian predecessors, in the case of the medieval Nejime, these new sub-lineages functioned as subsidiary branch groups bound to and identified with the main line, and still identified as parts of the broader Nejime *ichizoku* in both court cases and military documents.⁵⁵³

The Early Nejime and Ichikawa: Contrasting Structures

The above outlines of the early Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa chart the course of these two kin groups as they navigated the first half of the Kamakura period, until 1278 and the transfer of sole power in Shikumi to the Ichikawa (and the further fragmentation of the Nakano thereafter) and through 1276 and the division-driven wills of Kiyotsuna in the Nejime. For the

⁵⁵² See Jiryaku 5(1069).1.29 *Fujiwara Yorimitsu shoryō haibun-chō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #637), discussed at the start of this chapter.

⁵⁵³ This will become especially visible in the documents of Nejime Kiyonari, Kiyotsuna's great-great grandson, who frequently referred to the Nejime *ichizoku*, which included his cousins in the Nishimoto and Miyahara sub-lineages, as well as the later Yamamoto, Ikehata, Kita, and Sumino sub-lineages.

Nejime, the first half-century of regional stability saw three deliberate divisions of property as sub-lineages emerged with support from Nejime Kiyotsuna, one of the most documentarily prolific will-writers of either case study. For the Ichikawa, a highly contentious transfer of power from the Nakano left Ichikawa Morifusa in a vulnerable position despite having successfully defended his inheritance from several sets of in-laws, whose internal dissonance would create a drive toward consolidation.

There is a stark contrast in the early histories of these groups, which should be clear from these two early sets of documents. The Nakano, always at each other's throats, forged a position of solitary control of land and titles that was meant to consolidate power and reduce the ability of meddling cousins, siblings, and other kin to dilute the economic and residential base of the corporate entity of kin. The formal nature of this position (the *sōryō-shiki* post) meant that one person was expected to both provide for and manage the rest of the group. Exceptions to classic views of the *sōryō* system include the presence of a female group head, Shakua, and of a separate maternal property line under Shakua's mother Ren'a, among several other examples of powerful women operating within a nominally patrilineal society.

Yet internal conflict was ubiquitous despite, or perhaps even partly because of the *sōryō* designation, and several contending figures cropped up to compete with Shakua, including her adoptive brother, an unrelated man who impersonated a half-brother, and her own mother, who supported Shakua against the latter but attempted to recover her own and her "husband's" property thereafter to combine it with her maternal portfolio of lands. Centrifugal hostilities shattered the Nakano into at least five contending rival entities (four Nakano branches under Nakayoshi, Mitsunari, Odagiri Sanemichi, Hirota Tamemura, as well as the Ichikawa), with the bulk of the property passed to Ichikawa Morifusa, a contentious outsider, whose connection to

the Nakano was limited and tenuous, and who maintained his own family name.

The Nejime, on the other hand, deliberately divided up lands, as Kiyotsuna designed new lineages that formed a buffer between the Nejime and their neighbors. The first two sub-lineages that formed under his inheritance divisions set a precedent for partibility and semi-autonomy for collaterals, as these groups fell under the administrative purview of their *gunji* relative, but did not rely on him for additional land or income, having secured them from an earlier generation. Further, there is no evidence that these divisions were contentious or disputed; instead these divisions appear to have been constructed for the mutual benefit of the satellite groups and the familial core they orbited, as we will see moving forward.

I have already explored the possible environmental causality of these basic social distinctions; namely that the Nakano/Ichikawa had much less habitable or arable land, and had to build up rather than out to enhance the efficacy of their kin group as an economic unit. The Nejime, with access to new land for clearance, smaller-scale neighbors to buy out, and the ocean to exploit for additional, essentially unlimited resources, had less pressure to consolidate, and engaged in an entirely different strategy that resulted in no internal conflicts over Nejime succession in the textual record up to and in the period after the end of Kiyotsuna's life.

Yet in the following generations, after the 1270s, each group tried something new. As we see in Kiyotsuna's wills, although he personally divided his properties liberally, and in large enough chunks to sustain entirely new sub-groups, he also forbade his *gunji* successor from doing the same, and clearly intended the establishment of the sub-lineages to be a single moment in the history of the *ichizoku* rather than an ongoing tradition. History was not meant to repeat itself (although it did, eventually).

Ichikawa Morifusa sought to avoid the disharmony of his Nakano predecessors by setting

clearer, more significant roles for his non *sōryō* heirs, and for the rights and obligations of the *sōryō*, setting definite boundaries and roles that exceeded a simplistic declaration of encompassing headship. As we will see in the next section, the non-*sōryō* heirs of Morifusa had clearly delineated permanent or lifetime-only inheritances (*ichigobun* 一期分, an increasingly common practice) that also brought with them some level of autonomy, as each site of lifetime-inheritance was economically and/or militarily significant and included arable land that provided separate income.⁵⁵⁴ Morifusa's bequests, while fewer in total number than Nejime Kiyotsuna's, are the most carefully and painstakingly written I have witnessed, and deserve special attention. His only documented relationship with a single woman (as opposed to the half-dozen or so affines of Kiyotsuna) formed a stable center for the group and a set of mutual interests in sustaining kinship connections that did not exist in the split patrilineal and matrilineal property lines of his adoptive grandparents.

The Ichikawa in Late Kamakura

After defending his inheritance from his adoptive mother Shakua against the legal assault of several branches of the Nakano, the main property lines in Shikumi-*gō* and Nakano-*gō* shifted from the Nakano to the Ichikawa, as Morifusa retained his surname after his adoption. Members of the Nakano continue to appear in Ichikawa documents well after Morifusa's death, but from this period on they were tertiary figures, often with minimal visible social connection to the main kin unit of the Ichikawa *sōryō*, collateral kin, and affines. Simultaneously, the focus on landholding shifted geographically from Nakano to Shikumi.

Ren'a's maternal lands remained with the Nakano, and several extended Nakano branch lines continued to conflict with the Ichikawa over neighboring properties for decades. Ichikawa

⁵⁵⁴ On *ichigobun*, which were also mentioned in the opening pages of this chapter, especially on their prevalence in the late medieval period, see Nakagawa Rie, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru joshi ichigobun no tenkai."

Morifusa, having gained a significant portion of the landed and titular wealth of his adoptive great-grandfather, Nakano Yoshinari, proceeded to establish his own line of kin. Having no less than four sons and four daughters, one might expect that the group would have faced even more turbulent times in the future, yet there were multiple factors that led to an uncharacteristically stable period of internal relations. How were the Ichikawa different from the Nakano, and why didn't the Ichikawa heirs quarrel over their inheritances?

Ichikawa Morifusa gained his lands and *shiki* from his adoptive mother Shakua in 1274, and would continue to hold headship as *sōryō* until passing the position on over forty-seven years later, in 1321. While the year of Morifusa's death is unknown, we can infer from his three bequest documents, each dated Genkō 1 (1321).10.24, that Morifusa led the Ichikawa at least until then.⁵⁵⁵ We know that Morifusa had died by the year 1329, when his partner Senkō (listed as the “mother of their children” by Morifusa) issued her bequest,⁵⁵⁶ but the exact time of his death between these two documents is unknown. A 1327 document, in which Morifusa's deputy performed duties related to delinquent tax payments from a Nakano widow, indicates that Morifusa remained active in handling enduring issues stemming from his role as *jitō* even after formally passing on that title six years earlier.⁵⁵⁷ Morifusa's property was officially transferred

⁵⁵⁵ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

⁵⁵⁶ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁵⁵⁷ Karyaku 2 (1327).10.8 *Kamakura Bakufu hikitsuke tōnin hōsho* (SNS, 5, pp. 66-67). Ihara Kesao analyzes elements of this case in “Takai chihō no chūsei-shi (3),” pp. 25-26. The Nakano branch apparently owed a share of seven *kanmon* in cash for use in a service to the Suwa shrine (its upper branch shrine 上宮) called *kaitō-yaku* (*kaitō-yaku yōto shichi kanmon* 會頭役用途七貫文), from the fifth month of 1316 (正和五年五月), and had been ordered to pay their share following a lawsuit, the details of which are unlisted. The *Kaitō* (會頭 or 会頭) was probably a new head priest at Suwa, thus we can speculate the service in question may have been for a ceremony for his promotion to that rank, though no details survive. Morifusa is listed as the Buddhist retiree Ichikawa Shinzaemon Nyūdo Einin (市河新左衛門入道榮忍), represented by a deputy named Shūgan (秋巖). The document is addressed to the widow (*goke*) of Nakano Jirō-dono, and the editors of the *Shinano shiryō* included a note that Jirō-dono might be Yukishige (幸重力), from Nakano Mitsunari's disowned lineage, by then in its fourth generation. A pair of later documents from 1332 involves the same Nakano branch and reveals the widow's Buddhist name as En'a (円阿), who continued to refuse payment to the Ichikawa, this time in contention with Morifusa's successor. I will return to these records after analyzing Morifusa's bequests. See Shōkyō 1 (1332).12.23 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41:31930, SNS, 5,

and confirmed within a year of his bequest (two of the documents are signed on the back by Hōjō Takatoki and Kanazawa/Hōjō Sadaaki), whereafter he submitted no further records for certification to the Kantō.⁵⁵⁸ Based on the dates of the bequest and the subsequent confirmation, a conservative time frame puts Morifusa's active headship at 47 to 49 years in length, with a transitional period of six or more years thereafter in which he settled the outstanding tax matter (and likely tied up any other undocumented loose ends) through his deputy, taking the tonsure sometime after writing his bequests, which he signed only as "Morifusa."⁵⁵⁹

Based on the lack of recorded internal Ichikawa dispute documents after 1278, it seems that the presence of an extremely long-lived group head was a factor that muted conflict within the Ichikawa. Based on Morifusa's legally tumultuous experiences with multiple members of the Nakano, for whom dispute seemed ubiquitous, Morifusa had extensive personal motivations for limiting conflict among his heirs. In his record, the avoidance of disputes through the simplification of inheritance structure and detailed will-writing is readily evident. He did not adopt heirs or bequest property to anyone but his own children and their mother, and he took proactive steps towards avoiding confusion and conflict among his heirs.

In comparison to his predecessors, Morifusa's period of headship was extensive. His adoptive mother Shakua, for example, received her lands only seven years before passing them on to Morifusa. Her predecessor, Tadayoshi, held onto the bulk of the Nakao property for about fifteen years. Morifusa's longevity was an important facilitating factor that enabled his successors to maintain relative stability within the *ichizoku* (and mirrors that of Nejime Kiyotsuna). Long-lived group heads certainly seem to have had more time and impetus for the

pp. 179-180) and Shōkyō 1 (1332).12.27 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41: 31940, SNS, 5, pp. 179-180) for the ongoing conflict between the Ichikawa and En'a over taxes.

⁵⁵⁸ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

⁵⁵⁹ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

design of succession than shorter-termed ones, and this is a natural consequence of their greater total experience as corporate managers and local administrators. However, other factors were also at work. This will become apparent as we study his designation of succession and that of the mother of his children.

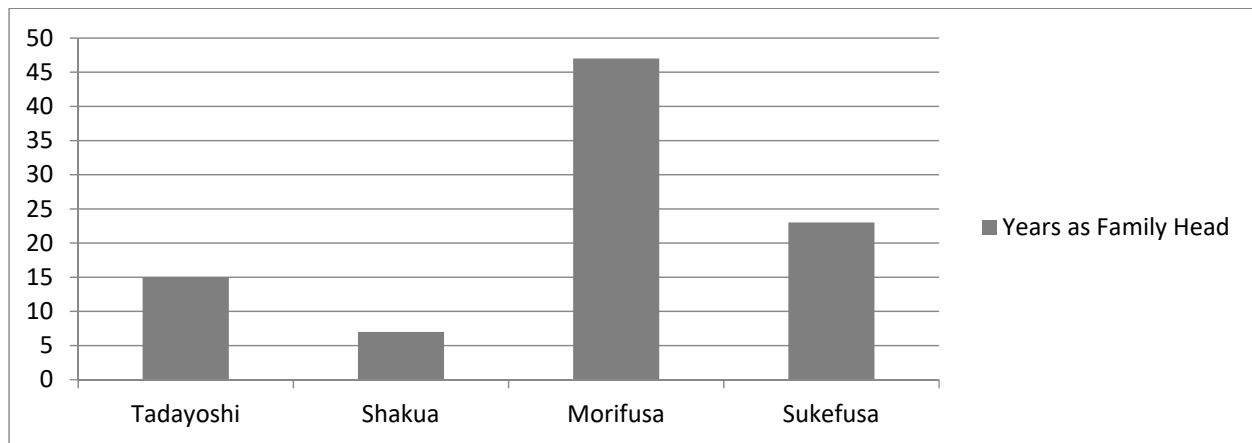


Figure 12: Comparative lengths of Ichikawa/Nakano headship.

Morifusa left behind three bequests, written on the same day in 1321 and constituting an overlapping set, including a *yuzurijō* to a daughter and her child, a *yuzurijō* to his four sons, and an *okibumi* containing instructions for the entire kin group that specifically outlined their parts in various *kuji* duties, which were to be managed by the *sōryō* and main heir.⁵⁶⁰ While Morifusa had at least eight children, four sons and four daughters, his bequests deal mostly with male beneficiaries. His sons, Sukefusa (Rokurō, 六郎), Hachirō (八郎), Tomofusa (Kurō, 九郎), and Tsunesuke (Jurō, 十郎) are usually listed by their childhood names, and were the primary recipients of his property. Their mother Senkō is mentioned frequently as an executor of

⁵⁶⁰ Morifusa left behind 3 bequest documents in the year 1321 (Genkō 1), all dated the 24th of the 10th month. These documents constitute a set of bequests submitted and created together, and should be read and interpreted together to understand the framework Morifusa had designed for his heirs. The order of these documents is not standard, and they appear in different orders in the *Kamakura ibun* and the *Shinano shiryō*. One addresses his son and main heir Sukefusa (助房), as well as the *ichizoku* at large. Another is the largest of the three, and deals with Sukefusa and his other sons and daughters, payments for service duties, heirlooms, and stipulations on lineage planning. The third is addressed to one of the daughters, who I detail in the following paragraph.

Morifusa's estate and caretaker of his legacy; and though he did not formally designate her as his *goke* "widow," her significant rights over his estate are concomitant with that status. Of the four daughters (who appear in Senkō's later bequest),⁵⁶¹ only one, the Ōita Daughter (大井田女子) was given land or even mentioned in Morifusa's documents. She is listed as the mother of a grandson, Iga Tsugirōtarō (伊賀次郎太郎), and received a separate will of her own.⁵⁶² Morifusa's bequest to her is the most self-contained, so I will begin with it before moving on to the overlapping elements of Morifusa's other two wills.

The bottom of the Ōita Daughter's document is damaged, leaving some elements of her inheritance unclear, as the characters in the end of each line are missing. Morifusa gave her a residence (*zaike*) adjacent to the Shikumi river in an area called Yukitsubo (雪坪, the same name of a modern village just across the river in Niigata), which seems to have straddled the river and was adjacent to the property of the local Ōi (大井) kin group (which included her mother's natal kin).⁵⁶³ The grant of the residence was for the daughter's lifetime, though it may have been meant to pass to her son thereafter (there is no specific stipulation that it return to the *sōryō*).⁵⁶⁴

The *Nagano ken-shi* maps this *zaike*, and lists medieval Yukitsubo only on the Shinano side, though the focus is on the lands given to the "Ōita" (大井田) daughter by her mother (which I will turn to shortly).⁵⁶⁵ Morifusa's bequest to the Ōita daughter left matters of taxation

⁵⁶¹ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁵⁶² Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22).

⁵⁶³ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22). The bottom few characters of each line in the document have torn off, apparently during its storage as a scroll. On the mother's relationship to the Ōi (大井), see Nagano-ken, eds. *Nagano ken-shi*, vol. 2, *chūsei* 1, pp. 334-338, which maps the Ōita daughter's inheritances from her mother and father, just below the primary Ichikawa residence on Shikumi mountain.

⁵⁶⁴ The exact clause regarding the lifetime inheritance comes at the end of the document, after Morifusa's signature. It reads "母いちこわしんたいたるべし," which clearly indicates a "lifetime inheritance/possession for the mother."

⁵⁶⁵ See Nagano-ken, eds. *Nagano ken-shi*, vol. 2, *chūsei* 1, p. 335, which maps the area including that included in Senkō's bequest. See Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

in the hands of “Jurō,” or Tsunesuke, who was to handle the payment of levies on her land by using income from a set of wet and dry fields in the Yukitsubo area, which the daughter was not granted for her own use. The exact location of these fields is unclear, though the residence itself was wedged between the Chikuma and Shikumi rivers with the Shikumi river listed as its eastern border (*higashi wa kagiru Shikumi-gawa* 東ハかきる志久見河); the fields may have been just across the Shinano-Echigo border abutting the neighboring Ōi territory.⁵⁶⁶

Morifusa outlined further details regarding tax payments sent up to the capital (*kyōjōyaku* 京上やく), and another type of service (*yaku* 役, probably guard duty or *obanyaku* 御番役, though the document is badly damaged here), and for various *kuji* levies and duties.⁵⁶⁷ These tax stipulations follow a pattern also evident in Morifusa’s other wills, which divide payment totals between the *sōryō* and the secondary heirs (in this case, termed *yoriko* 寄子). Though damage prevents a full reading, it seems that the daughter would pay 500 *mon* for every *kanmon* due, or half of the tax burden for the “*yaku*” duty.⁵⁶⁸ The exclusion of other daughters from any of Morifusa’s three wills likely indicates that they were not yet parents themselves, and highlights that Morifusa was largely concerned with transmitting permanent property to male descendants, including his daughter’s son.

In Morifusa’s *yuzurijō* to his sons, his apparent first son Sukefusa (listed by the child name Rokurō)⁵⁶⁹ inherited the *sōryō-shiki* and the generations of *on-kudashibumi* and other documents, with a pasted slip on the right side of the document indicating them as “Rokurō’s

⁵⁶⁶ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22).

⁵⁶⁷ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22).

⁵⁶⁸ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22).

⁵⁶⁹ The decision to start with the name Rokurō or “sixth son” is somewhat puzzling, but may be a reference to a new generation under the Ichikawa that followed in the footsteps of several earlier generations; multiple figures known by the childhood names “fifth son” (Gorō) appear in the Nakano and the Ichikawa in earlier generations. For several examples, see SNS, 3, pp. 498-502.

portion” (*Rokurō bun* 六郎ふん):⁵⁷⁰

Rokurō Sukefusa’s portion, including a *sōryō-shiki* in Shinano province, Takai-gun, Shikumi-gō, the generations of hereditary *on-kudashibumi*, and the *tetsugi* [full sequence of deeds] and other *shōmon* proof documents are all combined together and granted to him. [My] grants of portions to his siblings (*kyōdai* きょうてい) appear in separate *yuzurijō* documents. Other than these, let there be no other obstructions [to Sukefusa’s inheritance].⁵⁷¹

The possession of these *on-kudashibumi* documents was a key legitimating factor for the head of the group that allowed them to trace connections to the landed lineage back through time, thus constituting the most important single piece of property that could be passed from one person to another. Although more of the *sōryō*’s duties and the restrictions thereupon will be illuminated in the following sections, it should be made clear that Morifusa’s grant of the *sōryō* post, while a short clause in the full scope of his three wills, was by far the most significant of the inheritances he granted. The Ichikawa did not adopt strictly unified inheritance practices, as we will see, but by this generation the trunk line of the *ichizoku* was well defined and separate from that of the other siblings due to the conferral of *sōryō* status and proof documents through single heirs. Morifusa packaged his documents, offices (*jitō-shiki*), and familial prerogatives together in the form of a *sōryō-shiki* (惣領職), a post of headship that encompassed the formal *shiki* offices held by Morifusa as well as an internally generated role as *sōryō*.⁵⁷² While other sons and daughters inherited land and land use rights that were sufficient to live on, and two secondary sons received a mix of lifetime and permanent properties, Sukefusa clearly held the bulk of the Nakano/Ichikawa property and titles and the prerogatives that came with them.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷⁰ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22). The *Shinano shiryō* version of this document should be consulted, as the *Kamakura ibun* contains an editing error that caused the omission of a significant line in the bequest.

⁵⁷¹ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22). The

⁵⁷² Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

⁵⁷³ The passing of the *jitō* post to Sukefusa is not expressly stated in Morifusa’s document, although we can assume that he took on this title as a part of his receipt of the family document holdings. That the *sōryō* title had come to

Following the declaration of Sukefusa as *sōryō*, Morifusa's *yuzurijō* to his sons also contains a series of itemized points that set some basic parameters on his expectations from them, including the new *sōryō*. The first point deals with the physical boundaries of his estate, specifically the abstract mountain hinterland of Akiyama (秋山, sometimes 明山, here あけ山):

Item, As for Akeyama, since the boundary of this area with Sumiyoshi [an unknown person or place] has not been established, and it would be difficult to set up now, apart from giving holdings in Koakazawa to Jurō, this is divided among all of the siblings/brothers [兄弟]. Do not cause difficulty in the taking of lumber [from this area]. Over and above writing out and handing down this bequest as it is, the original holdings consists of fields and residences; speaking of them, once again you cannot cause difficulties [わづらい] with them or make alterations. Even among other siblings, and apart from things in their bequests, such parties attempting to do this are to be considered unfilial people [不幸の仁].⁵⁷⁴

Morifusa went on to carefully detail his expectations for his sons and warned them not to quarrel over Akiyama.⁵⁷⁵ Even in the late 1200s, large chunks of northern Shinano were still ill-defined, and that the boundaries of property on or near Akiyama had never been formally established.⁵⁷⁶ Akiyama is a mountainous region across the Shikumi river in Echigo that may also have crossed into Shinano to the east of Koakazawa, and was comprised mostly of undeveloped forests and mountain plots (*sanya* 山野), which explains the lack of a clear border in the region. The mountains of Akiyama made up the northeastern edge of Ichikawa territory, and by allowing all the siblings of the *sōryō* to use the area, Morifusa provided an active buffer for the main holdings on Shikumi and a site of expansion and solidification of the Ichikawa base.

The secondary plot in Koakazawa (小赤沢), was a *myō* on the Shikumi side of the valley

encompass the assumption of the *jitō-shiki* itself speaks to the importance and value of the position within the Ichikawa family hierarchy, yet the authority Sukefusa would enjoy as *sōryō* was qualified, as we shall see.

⁵⁷⁴ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22). Once again, see the *Shinano shiryō* version rather than the erroneous *Kamakura ibun* copy.

⁵⁷⁵ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

⁵⁷⁶ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

near the Akiyama region, which Morifusa granted to his second son Jurō Tsunesuke, who was also set to manage the fields near the Ōita daughter's residence. As detailed in Chapter III, Koakazawa served as a key secondary route through Shikumi on the far northeastern side of the district, a small river there serving as the eastern border of Ichikawa control.⁵⁷⁷

Yumoto Gun'ichi argues that the grant of use rights in the Akiyama forests represents a monopoly over the secondary heirs or *shoshi* (庶子) by the *sōryō*, who regulated their territorial rights and access to resources, and used secondary heirs to secure the peripheral areas of his control.⁵⁷⁸ Yumoto also believes there was a military impetus for the presence of secondary sons in the area; he states that by sending out the *shoshi* (secondary heirs) to each corner of the district, they could promote farm management while organizing village headmen (*myōshu*) as subordinate soldiers (*wakatō* 若党, among others) and create a system of rule by the landlords (*ryōshuteki shihai* 領主の支配) with the *sōryō* at its heart.⁵⁷⁹ These activities benefitted both the *sōryō* and his collaterals, providing enhanced control and human resources for the former and economic prerogatives for the latter.

Yumoto's assessment is accurate in the case of the undefined Akiyama region, where the head of the clear group established communal usage rights. However, in the case of Koakazawa, I believe the situation was more complex. By posting his second son at Koakazawa and dividing the region off as his life-long landed property, Morifusa enhanced both overall Ichikawa control of passage through Takai-gun, as well as the security of the *sōryō* at Shikumi. Simultaneously, the move provided his secondary heir with income, time-consuming responsibilities, and

⁵⁷⁷ Ishizawa Saburō describes transit through Takai in his article "Ichikawa-shi to Shikumi-gō," describing travel through the region as an impetus for its development. See p. 39.

⁵⁷⁸ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Chūsei Ichikawa-shi no rekishi," p. 8.

⁵⁷⁹ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Chūsei Ichikawa-shi no rekishi," p. 7.

independent authority. This insulated the *sōryō* from both external threats and internal dissidence from a potential natal rival, and benefitted both brothers as the second son gained a significant measure of independence. Finally, the focus of the *sōryō* on the western end of Shikumi district reiterates the significance of Shikumi-*yama* and the Chikuma/Shikumi river confluence as the most vital site of movement, economic activity, and political weight under Ichikawa control.

The second point in Morifusa's bequest to his sons details an otherwise unknown property (or income share) in Bizen province that Morifusa apparently controlled, probably from his natal house, but on which some matters remained unsettled (不調なる事もあり), and he left its later disposition to the "will of the mother" (*haha no kokoro* 母の心).⁵⁸⁰ The fate of this property is unknown.

A third point followed, granting the mother of Morifusa's children a lifetime grant on a set of early ripening rice fields (*waseda* わせ田) in Hirabayashi-mae (平林前), where she was granted a produce share of 200 "cuts" (*ni hyaku kari* 貳百蒔) to be collected for her by fifteen laborers (*ninpu* 人夫), presumably to be provided for her by the new *sōryō* Sukefusa (to whom the entire bequest is formally addressed).⁵⁸¹

The next point in Morifusa's bequest addresses the southern end of the estate and control of the village of Nakano Nishi-jō, which was already or would be inhabited by a Nakano relative referred to as Nakano Saburō (中野三郎), a Buddhist retiree.⁵⁸² This *yashiki* was the long-standing Nakano residence south of Shikumi (but within the same large district of Takai) that Morifusa gained after the lawsuit with his adoptive grandmother Ren'a. It seems that he

⁵⁸⁰ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22). This property is otherwise entirely unmentioned, and was likely a lost cause for the Ichikawa.

⁵⁸¹ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

⁵⁸² Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

temporarily reallocated the residence to an elderly relative from the Nakano line, which demonstrates the ongoing, not entirely negative ties between the Ichikawa and at least some members of the Nakano, despite the heated legal quarrels over Morifusa's inheritances.⁵⁸³

Danbara Naganori published a detailed article on the extensive archaeological excavation of this Nakano-area *yashiki* residence, some physical features of which are still visible today, including agricultural drainage ditches and earthen storage troughs.⁵⁸⁴ The excavation of the site reveals a great deal about the nature of *yashiki* in general, and yielded numerous artifacts including pottery shards, copper coins, chunks of iron, and metal casting tools. The most significant element of Danbara's article to this study is the revelation that this site was a large-scale property with enough attached land for the subsistence of the owners. It was one of several properties of such scale external to the core Shikumi property in the Ichikawa *sōryō*'s possession (including the residence given to the Ōita daughter and the lands lent to secondary sons). The former residence sits in the heart of the modern town of Nakano, about a dozen miles south of Hirabayashi, which formed the southerly border point of Shikumi-*gō* (roughly equivalent to modern *shimo-Takai-gun*) in the premodern period.⁵⁸⁵ Although was lost at least once to military rivals, sporadic control of the detached residence in Nakano is evident through at least 1400.⁵⁸⁶

Who exactly Nakano "Saburō" was remains unclear. It appears that a member of the Nakano line had been allowed to reside in this residence in the pursuit of Buddhist learning,

⁵⁸³ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316). See also Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.20 *Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KI, 15:11547; SNS, 4, pp. 290-291).

⁵⁸⁴ Danbara Naganori, "Nishijō higashi yashikizoe iseki no hakkutsu chōsa (1)."

⁵⁸⁵ Premodern Takai-*gun* was subdivided into "upper" (southern) and "lower" (northern) halves soon after the start of the Meiji period in 1879. These subdivisions survive today, and the name "Shikumi" survives in the form of the synonymous mountain and river, as well as Shikumi village (志久見村). See the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for Takai-*gun* (高井郡).

⁵⁸⁶ *Ichikawa-ke Monjo* #77 is a reconfirmation (*ando-jō*) of the property from Shinano *shugo* and military commander Ogasawara Nagahide. See Nishikawa Kōhei, "Yamanashi kenritsu hakubutsukan shozō 'Ichikawa ke Monjo' ni tsuite."

possibly a retired elder with horizontal kinship connections from one of the branch lines of the Nakano from before the adoption of Morifusa by Shakua, although the name Saburō is not Buddhist. Morifusa stated in his will that this was a lifetime bequest, after which the residence would revert to secondary son Kurō Tomofusa or his heirs.⁵⁸⁷

The last point in the lengthy bequest details several otherwise unknown figures whose lands Sukefusa (Rokurō) was to tax as needed to fulfill his service duties (*kuji* 庫事). The original lands meant to be taxed for *kuji*, presumably outlined in some earlier, lost document, were a *zaike* residence and three *chō* of paddy called “Mononobe” (物部).⁵⁸⁸ Those lands had since been passed down to Morifusa’s son Hachirō, and Sukefusa was to instead tax a different, similarly sized estate (presumably of a local resident) in Shinano Mitsukuri (信濃みつくり), where there was a *zaike* and three *chō*, three *tan* of paddy to tax for *kuji* service costs.⁵⁸⁹

In his *okibumi*, addressed to all his heirs, Morifusa laid out five additional points that served as further detailed provisions on the management of the costs of *kuji* duties and other communal issues.⁵⁹⁰ The first clause deals with the division of payment for service costs:

Item,

Under Nakano Umanyudo-dono’s (Yoshinari’s) legacy, whenever large and small service duties are applied, the head, Rokurō (Sukefusa) in his capacity as *sōryō* ought to apportion [the costs for] them. For example, when one *kanmon* [1000 *mon*] is to be collected, 400 *mon* should be collected from Rokurō Sukefusa, 150 *mon* from Hachirō, 250 *mon* from Kurō (Tomofusa), 200 *mon* from Jurō (Tsunesuke). Use these proportions in the further allocation of all *kuji* obligations. In this fashion, this must be upheld. As to the *kuji* owed by my daughter, they are written in her bequest document.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁷ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

⁵⁸⁸ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

⁵⁸⁹ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

⁵⁹⁰ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24). Note: while the *Kamakura ibun* labels this document as a *yuzurijō*, Morifusa labeled it differently from his other two bequest documents using the language of an *okibumi* or *kakiokijō* (yotte, *kojitsu no tame ni kaki-oki no tokoro kudan no gotoshi* 仍為後日書置処如件). For the convenience of the reader, I have left the *Kamakura ibun* label intact in the footnotes, but I will refer to this document as an *okibumi* in the body of this chapter when referencing it individually.

⁵⁹¹ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24).

This clause sheds light on the responsibilities and limits that could be assigned to main heirs. In assigning tax duties for services or levies, Morifusa stated that Sukefusa, as *sōryō*, should delegate these duties to the rest of the group. However, Morifusa went beyond a simple statement of principle and provided Sukefusa and his co-heirs with a concrete guideline of the balance of such costs (see Figure #13). In doing so, Morifusa provides us with clues as to the relative wealth and status of each of his heirs. Morifusa then went on to state that the costs of labor involved in delivering and storing tax goods should also follow this ratio. The bequest uses *kanmon* (貫文) currency units, based on copper coins, or *mon*, imported from China. Such coins were used as common currency with varying popularity throughout the Kamakura period.⁵⁹²

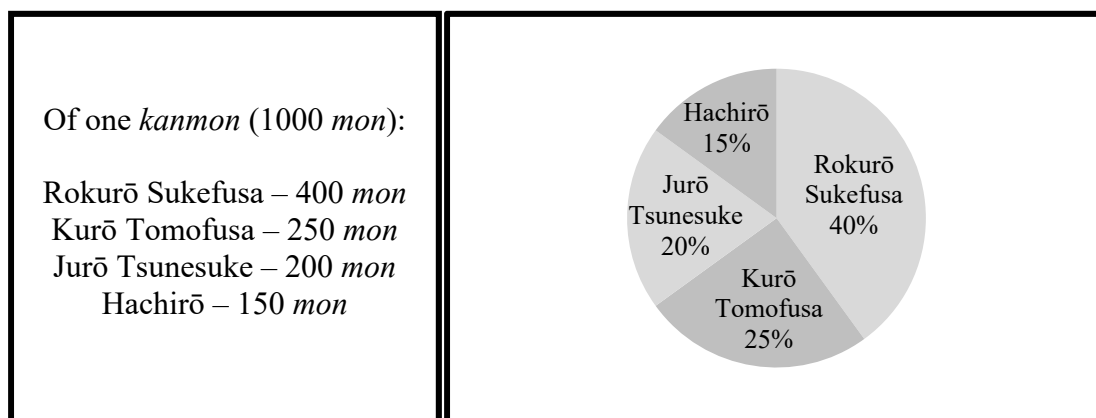


Figure 13: Ichikawa Morifusa's tax outline.⁵⁹³

Morifusa granted Sukefusa the right and responsibility to handle levying duties, but also set a rigid guideline for the balance between heirs in such matters. The amount due from a given party was a fixed proportion of the whole, restricting the capacity of the *sōryō* to encroach financially on his siblings by manipulating his authority as the tax collector in the area.

⁵⁹² As mentioned in Chapter I. For more on early Japanese coins in English, see Ethan Segal, *Coins, Trade, and the State*, and “Awash with Coins: The Spread of Money in Early Medieval Japan.”

⁵⁹³ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (*KI*, 36: 27885; *SNS*, 5, pp.23-24). Among the large set of discoveries from the Nagano Prefectural Museum of History, which I was unable to visit prior to the development of the first version of this section (a modified section of my Master's thesis), I am bemused to find a very similar chart to this one from a 1987 article in the *Takai* journal, see Gōdō Noriaki, “Ichikawa Monjo' no kenkyū: Shōgen yuzurijō oyobi Morifusa yuzurijō ni kakawaru ni san no mondai,” p. 10.

We have some data on taxation on the Ichikawa estate, which sheds light on the clear-cut denominations of currency Morifusa employed in his tax division. In 1300, the Kamakura-*dono* set a fixed tax rate (listed as *nengu* 年貢) of 200 *mon* in cash per *tan* (究済段別錢貨貳百文) on the *jitō* land in Shikumi, which fell under the category of *Sanpu Ina Haruchika ryō* 近府伊那春近領 (described in Chapter I), a land designation originally specific to Shinano province, which became a broad category of land that was held independently and taxed by the Hōjō after the establishment of the Kamakura polity.⁵⁹⁴

The second clause of Morifusa's *okibumi* provides instruction on *kuji* that was a clear response to this levy, and demonstrates that the Ichikawa siblings would hold communal responsibility for taxes (*nengu*) and various service costs (*kuji*) in Shikumi, and that the land was in fact being taxed on a yearly basis, based on surveys from 1300 and 1309:

Item, of the annual land tax [*nengu*] in Shikumi, Rokurō will pay 2 *kanmon*, Hachirō 600 *mon*, and Jurō 200 *mon*, which must be paid as outlined. In order to take this payment up, follow this [cost division], and apply it to the labor/storehouses needed [to transport it]. In dividing up the expenses for that, follow these ratios and pay this each year.⁵⁹⁵

Details on land tax and the costs of services are often unlisted in warrior documents; Morifusa's documents are valuable for their insight into the real economics of Kamakura tax structures, though they are specific only to the Ichikawa estate.

A third clause in Morifusa's *okibumi* states that although grants had been made to

⁵⁹⁴ Shōan 2 (1300).11.8 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 27:20628, SNS, 4, p. 498). This is one of only ten records from the *Kamakura ibun* that mentions *Haruchika-ryō*, demonstrating the rarity of this classification. Hanaoka Yasutaka describes *Haruchika-ryō* as a specialized type of *kokugaryō* that became widespread as a type of *shugo* land (守護領) in the Kamakura period held by the Hōjō family in Shinano, some of which the Ogasawara took over after their downfall, which would explain the close link between the Ogasawara and the Ichikawa after 1333. See Hanaoka Yasutaka, "Nanbokuchō-ki Shinano shugo Ogasawara-shi no kenryoku keisei katei," p. 22 as well as note 27, which provides a bounty of additional secondary works that further detail *Haruchika-ryō*.

⁵⁹⁵ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24). On the 1300 and 1309 surveys, see Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano Shikumi-gō kenta zaike mokuroku* (KI, 31:23677, SNS, 4, p. 538) and Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano kokushi chōsen* (KI, 31:23678, SNS, 4, pp. 537-538).

everyone individually (presumably in the *yuzurijō*, though further individual bequests may have not survived), that in any future disputes, if the “heart of the mother” was crossed, regardless of which child or grandchild it was, she would have the authority to make divisions in their holdings (母の心をたかへハ、いつれのこまこにも、母のはからひとして、わかちたふへし).⁵⁹⁶ The clause then shifts to the disposal of properties by children, stating that neither sons nor daughters could pass land to outsiders (*tanin* 他人), and that if they did, the other children should repossess the land and divide it back amongst themselves in accordance with the limits of the original division (男女に譲ところは、すゑすゑまでも他人にゆつるへからず、他人に譲ハ、子孫の中に申給て、わかち知行すへし、本分限にしたかいてわけへし).⁵⁹⁷

These statements are important for two reasons; first, they established a standard of inheritance that kept property consolidated within the lineage, and second, they reaffirm the authority of the mother to act in Morifusa’s stead, and emphasize a general level of communal oversight of the Ichikawa lands – these rules applied to the head of the household as well as his siblings, who had mutual capacity to prevent the dilution of the estate.

The fourth clause in Morifusa’s *okibumi* details the handling of moveable goods (*ibutsu* 遺物) and servants (*shojū* 所従).⁵⁹⁸ Morifusa did not provide details on numbers of servants or who would receive them, and the only moveable goods he listed in detail were sets of armor. All else was left in the hands of the mother of his children (Senkō):

“Regarding my personal property and servants, these will be handled by the mother. There is nothing to be said for my unsightly goods; except for the case of my *kisenaga*⁵⁹⁹ with small cherry blossom colored bindings, our ancestral suit of armor

⁵⁹⁶ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24).

⁵⁹⁷ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24).

⁵⁹⁸ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24).

⁵⁹⁹ *Kisenaga* (著長) indicates a high-quality piece of armor such as that of a ranking officer in battle, which we can infer to be the armor of the military leader of the *ichizoku*.

along with *hitatare*⁶⁰⁰ [clothing], which goes to Rokurō. The *haramaki* [waistguard]⁶⁰¹ and *yoroi*⁶⁰² [armor] with pine bark colored bindings goes to Hachirō. The *yoroi* with small cherry blossom colored bindings goes to Kurō. All other [less ornate] armors (*gusoku* 具足) must be divided up according to the mother's design. Although this *yuzurijō* is crude (*migurushiki* 見くるしき), this is all I will write about here.⁶⁰³

Morifusa left the bulk of the distribution of property and servants to the discretion of the mother of his children, once again highlighting their collaborative affinal bond. The only possessions Morifusa specifically granted to his sons were these heirloom armors. Armor was extremely expensive; according to Thomas Conlan, a single set could take between ten months and two years to craft, with the best sets made by skilled leatherworkers and smiths in Kyoto.⁶⁰⁴ This is the sort of gear Morifusa passed on directly, leaving simpler armors to the mother's discretion. Armor was the most visible symbol of membership in the warrior class, as well as a symbol of status and wealth. As Sukefusa was *sōryō* and his *kisenaga* is listed first, it is likely that this was the armor used by Morifusa, and the most treasured or valuable of the sets.

This detailed listing only granted armor to three of the four sons. The youngest, Jurō (Tsunesuke) was left out, and may not have been an adult yet (his adult name is known from later records). However, given that Jurō was expected to pay higher taxes than Hachirō, who received a chest guard and armor set, and that there are "other armors" listed that Morifusa did not feel the need to directly delineate in his bequest, his equipment may have been among them. Within a few short years, the Ichikawa brothers would have occasion to put their armor to its

⁶⁰⁰ *Hitatare* (ひたゝれ 直垂) was clothing specific to the warrior class consisting of separate upper and lower garments, worn both casually and under armor.

⁶⁰¹ The *haramaki* "was designed as a single piece that wrapped around the wearer's chest and back and overlapped under the right arm, eliminating the *waidate*." Karl Friday, *Samurai, Warfare, and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, pp. 94-95.

⁶⁰² *Yoroi* consisted of a "boxy cuirass wrapped around the left, front and back of the wearer's chest, while a separate piece, called the *waidate*, protected his right side." Karl Friday, *Samurai, Warfare, and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, pp. 91-92.

⁶⁰³ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24).

⁶⁰⁴ Thomas Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth Century Japan*, pp. 86-87.

intended use, and one can well imagine that their possession of these fine sets would mark them out as warriors of stature in the turbulent decades that were to follow. The purchase of good armor was an investment; not only in personal safety but in recognition for military service, as a well-equipped warrior would stand out ahead of his peers as worthy of reward for service.

The fifth point in Morifusa's *okibumi* dealt with the Hirabayashi (平林) section of Shikumi (平林のきう分ハ知行せさせられ候へし), which was to go to the son Kurō (Tomofusa) after three years, as it had apparently been temporarily loaned out (*nenki ni uri okite* ねんきにうりをきて).⁶⁰⁵ Thereafter, it was to become Kurō's permanent property (*chigyō*).⁶⁰⁶ This was the fourth offshoot holding Morifusa passed to secondary (non-*sōryō*) heirs, and Tomofusa's second permanent holding, both of which he would inherit after the current residents died or vacated the property, and both of which came with no stipulations for Tomofusa, meaning he could pass them on to his own heirs.⁶⁰⁷

The final point of Morifusa's *okibumi* returned to the issue of *kuji* service duties that went beyond the scope of his bequests. Here, Morifusa revealed the ongoing tie between the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Suwa shrine, which linked to the donation of falcons by the Nakano and Ichikawa (detailed in Chapter III). "*Ontō*" refers to a special service duty associated with a

⁶⁰⁵ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24). The sentence is somewhat garbled; it appears that Morifusa might be loaning it to himself for the next three years to use as a retirement estate, after which Kurō would receive it regardless of what happened to his father. As we have already learned, it appears that Morifusa was in fact merely retiring as family head, rather than passing on his lands in response to the expectation of proximate death. Morifusa's bequest is difficult to interpret here, as the exact nature of this clause, which would have been abundantly clear to the group at the time it was written, is not as clear from our perspective, 700 years removed from the dissemination. It is quite possible that, after nearly fifty years in his managerial position, Morifusa had simply grown tired of dealing with the stresses of this status, and sought relaxation in his old age. This was a common reason people chose to leave lay-life. It is difficult to determine whether this clause in his bequest is truly self-referential or not. However, the clause is explicit about the intention that Tomofusa should get the property; it directly excludes other siblings from trying to take over this estate.

⁶⁰⁶ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24).

⁶⁰⁷ See also Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22), detailed earlier, which transferred the Nakano *yashiki* to Tomofusa after the retired Nakano Saburō's lifetime.

ceremony called the Ontōsai (御頭祭), a festival-hunt held in the upper Suwa shrine (上社, south of Lake Suwa), which is now held on the fifteenth day of the fourth month each year, though the dates of the ceremony have shifted over time.⁶⁰⁸

Item,

Regarding the division of [costs for] service duties over and above those already written in this bequest. Do not go against what is written here, recommend useless ideas/actions, or give others difficulties. Siblings must not quarrel amongst each other, and for the *Ontō* at Suwa,⁶⁰⁹ all [heirs] must look after themselves, go up together, and deal with matters well. At times when headship is needed at the *Ontō*, Rokurō must act as such [as Rokurōtō 六郎頭].

This concluded the *okibumi*. Within his three detailed bequest documents, Morifusa made many clear provisions for his heirs to follow. He set limits on their ability to dispute lands, affirmed the authority of his main heir, and granted him the documents primary to his position as *sōryō*. He set standards for communal duties and the repayment of debts for the next generation. He also dealt with the specific allocation of lands, tax duties, heirlooms, and further matters of service and the repayment of debts. He paid meticulous attention to curbing potential disputes. Morifusa's utilization of a variety of succession techniques is impressive, and he had clearly studied earlier Nakano conflicts in detail during his lengthy term as head, recognizing common issues and searching for means of smoothing the transition from one generation to the next. Furthermore, his reliance on the mother of his children in resolving unseen issues and in handling routine matters outside of the scope of the will indicates a strong bond between Morifusa and Senkō that will become more apparent when we examine her bequest document.

Morifusa's motivations for working toward collateral stability were likely based on his understanding of the previous generations of the Nakano property lineage. During his period as

⁶⁰⁸ See the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for *Ontōsai* (御頭祭), as well as Miyasaka Mitsuaki, "Suwa jinja kamiyashiro no mikari to ontō (2)," which, while mostly focused on the Sengoku period, provides further detail on the festival hunt.

⁶⁰⁹ *Suwa ontō aran toki wa* 諏方御頭あらん時ハ – literally "when in Suwa for the Ontō."

sōryō, Morifusa had ample time to inspect the most destructive elements of internal property disputes as they appeared in the Nakano documents he inherited. Moreover, as detailed in the opening pages of this chapter, Morifusa personally experienced multiple disputes that put his inheritance at risk and caused extreme stress on the Nakano groups from which his property was drawn. His decision to employ concrete terms in his own bequests resulted from his understanding of such conflicts in his own experiences and in prior cases in the Ichikawa records. When determining his own legacy, Morifusa sought to avoid such disharmonious and destructive elements. In the years following Morifusa's bequest, there is no record of any disputes from within the immediate kin group.

Morifusa had not broken any new ground with his bequests, but had rather employed a particularly substantial number of the common tools of succession available to all benefactors in a rigorous and calculated manner. In grant and instruction records from throughout the Kamakura period, similar elements to those in Morifusa's bequests are commonly visible. Morifusa's taxation and service division outlines, which gave percentage guidelines for his heirs, while particularly detailed and not overly common, can also be found in other documents.⁶¹⁰ The practice of allowing the mother (or *goke* widow) to act in the stead of the father was common, and is featured as a common practice in article 24 of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* (discussed in Chapter II).⁶¹¹ It was the combination of these and other common tools of succession and the careful way they were devised by Morifusa that was unique, not the individual parts themselves.

A great deal of the responsibility for the internal cohesion of the successive generation

⁶¹⁰ For example, see Bun'ei 10(1273).10.5 *Sō Kakujitsu Suō Seita Kamaru yuzurijō-an* (KI, 15:11427). Here we find another example of *mikuji/onkuji* "service" cost division. Interestingly, in this case the benefactor held onto a document detailing service obligations for over 45 years before submitting it to the Kantō, and the document was confirmed and upheld regardless of the gap between drafting and implementation. It may have been in use as an informal internal code prior to certification.

⁶¹¹ Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, p. 22.

lies with the comprehensive nature of Morifusa's wills, but there are several other factors that seem to have played equally vital roles. First, mentioned above, is the possibility that Morifusa died significantly later than the drafting of his will and remained on-hand to mute conflict among his children. He wrote his bequests before he took a Buddhist name, and was alive (operating through a deputy to tie up loose ends with the Nakano) six years later.⁶¹²

A second factor, which we can determine more conclusively, was that the mother of Morifusa's children had significant maternal authority of her own. Known by the Buddhist name Ama Senkō, she drafted her bequest eight years after Morifusa, in 1329.⁶¹³ Her enduring presence as the matriarch of the kin group certainly helped maintain order among the Ichikawa children. Senkō retained significant authority over her children even after her son Sukefusa inherited the *sōryō* post. Although he did not designate her as his "widow" (*goke*) Senkō's position was bolstered by Morifusa's clauses on her capacity as an arbitrator between heirs when conflict arose among them, and of her other various capacities including the designation of Morifusa's personal property (aside from the armors he handed down specifically) and servants.

Morifusa and Senkō bridged to the next generation using a binary base of overlapping familial power. Sukefusa, as the new *sōryō*, held most the Ichikawa possessions and legitimizing documents, yet his mother Senkō had the ability to intervene if he and one of his siblings entered into a dispute thanks to the mandates in Morifusa's wills. Sukefusa's first eight years as *sōryō* came with significant maternal checks on his authority, and during that time he was incapable of bullying his brothers and sisters or encroaching on their possessions. That the Ichikawa matriarch

⁶¹² Karyaku 2 (1327).10.8 *Kamakura Bakufu hikitsuke tōnin hōsho* (SNS, 5, pp. 66-67).

⁶¹³ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88). The *Kamakura ibun* also lists a copy (*an*) of this document significantly earlier from Shōō 4 (1292).6.23, (KI, 23:17634), but this would seem to be an error in the dating of the document, possibly by its creators, as the month, day, and contents are the same. Furthermore, the facts of the document are incongruous with this earlier date. We can conclusively rule out the accuracy of the early date due to the confirmation of the passage of the *sōryō* post to Sukefusa it contains, which did not occur until 1321.

held such authority over Morifusa's heirs and his property represents a significantly different conception of affinal bonding by Morifusa and Senkō than was predominant a century earlier.

However, the potential authority of the mother Senkō in solving matters between her children should not be seen as conflicting with the theoretical headship of the *sōryō*. In matters of daily authority and group leadership, Sukefusa would have almost certainly acted independently without the oversight of his mother. Her capacity to intervene in matters otherwise routinely carried out by the *sōryō* in every case stems directly from conflict, and in the absence of such conflict the matters of administration had been explicitly passed to her son.

Demonstrated clearly in the Ichikawa example of the position of *sōryō* (in this case, as a *shiki* in its own right) is the flexibility with which it could be employed. The decision to employ a *sōryō* post, and more importantly what weight to assign to it, was a non-uniform practice. In some *ichizoku*, as is typically characterized, the *sōryō* was indisputably the predominant group head, exercising power over their siblings and members of branch lineages. In other cases, the *sōryō* might have been less powerful, following the orders of their benefactors and acting more like a familial intermediary than as a chieftain.

In my view, and contradicting the claim of Yumoto Gun'ichi (who sees a shift under Morifusa toward a domineering *sōryō*), Ichikawa Sukefusa's authority seems to have been somewhere between these two extremes, at least until the death of his mother.⁶¹⁴ The *sōryō-shiki*, as Jeffrey Mass explains, had "upward or downward" potential through successive generations, and was largely defined by "the particular mix of same-generation relatives acted upon by the degree of restrictiveness of senior-generation inheritance strategies."⁶¹⁵ Though Morifusa left the

⁶¹⁴ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Chūsei Ichikawa-shi no rekishi," pp. 7-8.

⁶¹⁵ Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*, p. 108.

bulk of his estate to one figure, three brothers and a sister also inherited lands of their own, and only the land in Koakazawa was slated to return to the *sōryō* in the following generation. The Ichikawa provide one possible permutation on a “system” of headship that was highly flexible. I will return to this topic in Chapter VII, and will use the Ichikawa as one of several examples in my deeper exploration of the concept of warrior headship.

Senkō’s 1329 bequest (a *yuzurijō*) is only a single document, but designates more heirs than Morifusa’s, including four sons, four daughters, and what appears to be an adopted son (or possibly a grandson).⁶¹⁶ Whereas Morifusa’s wills only addressed sons and one daughter, Senkō’s document also included several more of their daughters, who Morifusa left her to manage expressly, and what appears to be an adopted son. Her bequest also deals specifically with individual rights to the usage of lands held by the *sōryō*, expanding on the conditions expressed in Morifusa’s bequests.⁶¹⁷

Senkō and Morifusa’s designs are well-integrated with one another; in her *yuzurijō* she upheld what he transferred while adding several significant clauses and lands of her own. Her position as intermediary between two generations of male group heads demonstrates that while female access to the political and landed spheres was in decline in the late Kamakura period, social power, particularly generated through kin ties, was not always locked to those shifts.

Senkō bequeathed her own personal property and delegated land usage rights in harvesting from

⁶¹⁶ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88). Gōdō Noriaki theorizes that Matasaburō is likely a grandson, though there is no evidence supporting any specific background to the relationship. I consider an adoptive relationship more likely, as a grandson would likely be clearly labeled, as seen in the Ōita daughter’s records. See Gōdō Noriaki, “‘Ichikawa Monjo’ no kenkyū: Shōgen yuzurijō oyobi Morifusa yuzurijō ni kakawaru ni san no mondai.” Shōgen (昌源) is the Buddhist name of Morifusa’s son Sukefusa. See pages 5-6 for Gōdō’s voluminous chart of the locations of Nakano/Ichikawa landholdings from 1170 through 1402, based on the villages (*gō*) in which they were located.

⁶¹⁷ Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*. pp. 103-105. The tendency for women to pass property on to both male and female heirs, while men often excluded their daughters, is mentioned here.

lands that were formerly Morifusa's. This is an important feature of her will; through rights gained from Morifusa, Senkō designated how their children could use parts of his land. The comingling of their property is a distinct shift from previous generations, in which affinal links were too weak to constitute shared control of land.

Senkō's bequest lists each heir in a separate itemized entry, for a total of nine point-by-point grants. The maternal holdings Senkō passed on originated from her wet-nurse (*uba* or *menoto* 乳母) called Konakano-Uba-Gozen.⁶¹⁸ The bond between Senkō and her wet-nurse appears to have been a particularly close, essentially parental relationship, a common feature of milk kinship.⁶¹⁹ The wet-nurse left her a residence and several plots of land in Shikumi, as well as Kajikazawa-*mura* (かしかさわ, or 加志賀沢, which rested just below the peak of Shikumi-*yama* on the Shikumi river, next to the Ōita daughter's inherited property from Morifusa).⁶²⁰

The initial point in Senko's *yuzurijō* document restates Sukefusa's authority as heir of the *sōryō-shiki* (そうりやう志き) as well as the successive *tetsugi* documents and *on-kudashibumi*.⁶²¹ In this document, for the first time in the five generations of the Nakano and Ichikawa, the practice of the unified inheritance of the mother and father's lands was established, and it is significant that Sukefusa's mother was involved in the process of confirming the *sōryō*, a position she did not hold, and Morifusa's proof documents, which she did not own personally.

⁶¹⁸ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁶¹⁹ On wet-nurses (*uba* or *menoto*), see Wakita Haruko, Hayashi Reiko, and Nagahara Kazuko, eds., *Nihon josei-shi* pp. 72-76, which also highlights the generally high status of mothers in the early medieval period. Thomas Conlan has noted the strength of the wet-nurse relationship, a bond that "was equal to, and sometimes stronger than, kinship ties." See his article "Thicker than Blood: The Social and Political Significance of Wet Nurses in Japan, 950-1330." On wet-nurses and milk kinship, see the work of Peter Parkes, including the articles "Alternative Social Structures and Foster Relations in the Hindu Kush: Milk Kinship Allegiance in Former Mountain Kingdoms of Northern Pakistan," "Fostering Fealty: A Comparative Analysis of Tributary Allegiances of Adoptive Kinship," and "Fosterage, Kinship, and Legend: When Milk Was Thicker Than Blood?"

⁶²⁰ On Kajikazawa, see *Nagano-ken shi, tsūshi hen*, vol. 2, pp. 335-336, which includes an image map of the Ōita daughter's holdings.

⁶²¹ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

The product of an extended relationship, Morifusa and Senkō established a unified lineage as an extension of their affinal bond. None of the prior generations wherein a mother and father's lands were present successfully utilized this practice. Ren'a and Tadayoshi's lands, while granted to Shakua during the final seven years of her life, were separated once again soon after her death. Although Ren'a initially made Shakua main heir and unified the parental property lines, when the lands were passed to the Ichikawa, that unification was broken.

Here, a shift had occurred wherein the father and mother of Sukefusa selected him to be their joint successor, agreeing to make him the administrator of the kin group. Perhaps more significantly, Sukefusa held his lands and titles successfully, and passed them on without disputes from his relatives. Morifusa and Senkō each also elected to grant property, or at least property rights, to multiple secondary heirs. The transition to what we might term "combined inheritance" was essentially complete for the Ichikawa. Sukefusa's position as the heir of both Morifusa and Senkō was one of practically unparalleled influence in the history of the Nakano/Ichikawa. This was a major development in the dynamics of succession.

The second item in Senkō's bequest is addressed to Hachirō, and establishes a pattern of phraseology reused throughout the remainder of the document in granting land use rights to each heir. Hachirō gained rights to take 400 "cuts" (*kari* - 刈) of produce from Senkō's Kajikazawa-area paddy fields,⁶²² as well as the right to measure out six *tan* of upland *hatake* fields that he could take as a permanent holding.⁶²³ The specific location from which Hachirō was to take his *hatake* is listed as "in front of the large shrine" (*ōmiya* 大宮) while his upland fields were "north of the large shrine," which is mapped in the *Nagano ken shi* as a central location between the

⁶²² Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁶²³ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

Yukitsubo holdings of the Ōita daughter, the Kajikazawa holdings of Senkō, and the primary Ichikawa residence further up Shikumi mountain.⁶²⁴ This shrine site likely corresponds roughly to a present-day branch shrine of Suwa (諏方宮), which sits on the side of Shikumi-yama near the border of the modern Shikumi and Yukitsubo villages, demarcating a split between the southern fields of Shikumi and the northern fields of Yukitsubo.



Image 10: “Large shrine?” The modern Suwa shrine branch on Shikumi-yama.⁶²⁵

The use of “cuts” or *kari* to measure land was a practice used most predominantly in the Tohoku region of Northeastern Honshū, close to, but further north than the Ichikawa lands. *Kari* was a denomination used in the buying and selling of crop commodities, and can be found in documents of sale (*baibaimonjo*, 売買文書); *hyaku-kari* (100 cuts) was also a unit of length used

⁶²⁴ *Nagano-ken shi, tsūshi hen*, vol. 2, pp. 335.

⁶²⁵ Photo (left) by the author, 3/11/2013. Satellite image (right) Google Earth, ZENRIN. The Ichikawa residence is circled, and the wider range of Shikumi falls below the shrine location, labeled *miya* 宮 in the box on the right side. The *shikumi* river flows from south to north and meets the larger *Chikuma* river near the top of the image. Many of the developed areas in this image, including those in Shikumi, are the product of modern techniques.

in measuring paddies.⁶²⁶ Each unit of measure varied by locale and was not uniform. In the Ichikawa case, Hachirō's clause includes instructions that he should make use of a "100 cut rope" (*hyaku kari no nawa* 百かりのなわ), as a measuring tool for determining the size of his upland *hatake*.⁶²⁷ Because paddies are fundamentally more difficult to physically divide than dry fields, Senkō's solution was to divide the harvest from her land into produce shares measured as *kari* as opposed to diking them and subdividing the paddies physically, which would drastically reduce their harvestable area. Regarding the 100-cut rope, because "cuts" were non-uniform, it was prudent for the group to have a standard tool of measure in determining both their shares from wet-paddy and the size of subdivided chunks of upland property.

This proprietary measurement for land use was a creative way to ensure that secondary sons and daughters, under the *sōryō*, who presumably would have otherwise kept the remaining majority of the produce of these paddies, were adequately provided for and had reasonable economic means of their own. As we know from Morifusa's similar bequest to Senkō, which included 200 "cuts" (*ni hyaku kari* 貳百蒔) from paddies in Hirabayashi, this was a substantial sum requiring fifteen laborers to collect.⁶²⁸ Here the combined effort of Morifusa and Senkō in creating stable conditions for their heirs begins to fully take shape.

In the third point of Senkō's bequest, she gave Kurō (Tomofusa) a former Nakano residence, the name of which appears to be the "Utayufuka *zaike*" (うたふゆかさいけ), but which remains otherwise unidentified, and three *tan* of paddy fields presumably in the same

⁶²⁶ *Hyakukari* (百刈) was a rough unit of field measurement in common use in the premodern period, and was the ideal length of one side of a normally-sized paddy, an obviously nonuniform measure. See the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry for *hyakukari*. The Yamagata prefecture volume of the *Nihon hogen daijiten* (日本方言大辞典) lists 300 cuts, or *sanpyakugari* (三百刈) as the length of a (presumably square) one-*tan* field, though the date of this measurement is early modern or modern, and likely also regionally specific. The *Nihonshi daijiten* also has a lengthier definition of the origins of "*kari*" as a unit of measure including information on its use before and after Kamakura.

⁶²⁷ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁶²⁸ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

location in Nakano.⁶²⁹ This matched his other holdings from Morifusa in Nakano and Hirabayashi. He was also instructed to take the “100 cut rope” to the uplands fields in Kajikazawa, to measure out five *tan* of fields above those to be used by Hachirō. The bequest is specific about where they should each establish these fields, and makes sure that the brothers would not attempt to control overlapping areas of upland north of the “large shrine.”⁶³⁰ Senkō clearly maintained the attention to detail that we first encountered in Morifusa’s bequest, in a further effort toward creating a clear foundational outline for the next generation.

Apart from Hachirō and Kurō, none of the other heirs (one son, four daughters, and one presumably adopted son) received permanent portions of the *hatake*. However, most inherited “cuts” from the paddies in Kajikazawa, and all received some property or income rights. In the fourth clause, the youngest son, Jurō (Tsunesuke) gained 300 “cuts” from a specific paddy area constructed by someone named “Tonotaira” or “Tonodaira” in an area of Kajikazawa.⁶³¹ Thus, even the paddies from which the “cuts” of Hachirō and Jurō/Tsunesuke were drawn were clearly demarcated. As the youngest brother (according to their naming conventions) Tsunesuke received the smallest inheritance of the four sons in both his mother and father’s bequests, and his control of Koakazawa was a lifetime-only grant. At the end of each of Senkō’s bequest clauses for Hachirō, Kurō, and Jurō, their inheritances are listed as permanent, but Jurō’s permanent inheritance was only in the form of “cuts” rather than “cuts” and *hatake*.⁶³²

One of the key differences between the allocations to the sons and daughters was that while all the sons received their grants as permanent bequests, three of the four daughters gained

⁶²⁹ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁶³⁰ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁶³¹ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁶³² Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88). In Chapter V, I will argue that Tsunesuke’s smaller share of property motivated him as a warrior seeking compensation for service in an effort to expand his estate.

property only during their lifetimes, as did the presumably adopted son Shikano Matasaburō. The clauses dedicated to the four daughters and Matasaburō are quite similar to one other, so I will summarize clauses five through nine in Senkō's bequest together.

The "Tsunokawa" daughter was the only one given permanent property, in the form of 200 "cuts" from paddies in Kajikazawa that she could pass on to her own heirs as she saw fit.⁶³³ The "Inoue" daughter and "Ōita" daughter (who also received land and a residence from her father) received 200 "cuts" each from the paddies in Kajikazawa, with the Inoue's rights listed as harvested from in front of the large shrine. Senkō granted the final daughter listed, the "Hoshinano" daughter, two *tan* of paddies in Nakano as a lifetime-only bequest.⁶³⁴ Her inheritance is significant for several reasons. First, it is safe to assume that giving the actual ownership of two *tan* of paddies was more significant than harvesting rights, or "cuts" from such lands. The bequest states that after her lifetime, the Hoshinano daughter was to pass on her Nakano holdings to the secondary son Kurō (Tomofusa) or his children as she saw fit (一このゝちハ九郎かこともものなかに心さしあらんにゆつるへし).⁶³⁵ Thus, although her possession of these lands was temporary and limited, it was socially important. Gaining the authority to control which of Kurō's children gained these paddies after her life would have strengthened her bond with nephews and nieces under Kurō/Tomofusa, and their motivations in maintaining a filial relationship with their aunt would have been bolstered significantly.

Even at the minute level of a single passage within one clause in a much larger bequest, Senkō manipulated succession to establish and maintain group cohesion, complementing Morifusa's designs. Because Tomofusa and the Hoshinano Daughter both inherited land in the

⁶³³ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁶³⁴ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁶³⁵ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

south (he received property in both Hirabayashi and Nakano), the two were responsible for the maintenance of authority and the establishment of ongoing development on the southern end of the Ichikawa territory, and formed a third base of Ichikawa power in addition to the *sōryō*'s core property around Shikumi-*yama* and the lifetime estate of Jurō in Koakazawa (and as we learned earlier, in a similar brother-sister pairing, Jurō was responsible for handling the Ōita daughter's contributions to the costs of *kuji* services using land in Yukitsubo).⁶³⁶

The build-up was successful; ruins from a later fort in Hirabayashi have seen some excavation, and local historian Ueno Shō states that the Hirabayashi fort (*Hirabayashi tachijō* 平林館城) was constructed to guard the southern entrance to the Chikuma river valley on the border of Ichikawa territory.⁶³⁷ The Hoshinano daughter's inheritance highlights the potential of female heirs in furthering the structure of the *ichizoku* through lateral ties, even in a time when their access to land was often diminished to lifetime-only inheritances.

Senkō's last heir, "Shikano Matasaburō" (志かの又三郎), inherited 100 "cuts" in the Kashikazawa paddies that were to revert to the *sōryō* after his death. As I have already stated, based on his differentiated name and minimal, temporary income share, I assume that Matasaburō was either adopted or otherwise an outsider to the group (possibly the son of another daughter associated with Senkō through affinal ties), and his placement at the end of the document, with the smallest share of all the beneficiaries, supports this hypothesis. Figure #14 below tallies the material elements in nine clauses in Senkō's bequest. Note that the system of comparison here is not exact: this chart is meant merely as an approximation of the balance of

⁶³⁶ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88). For maps of Ichikawa interests in Shikumi, Koakazawa, and Hirabayashi, see Chapter III.

⁶³⁷ Ueno Shō, "Ichikawa Monjo to Nozawa Onsen," p. 50, which includes a top-down schema of the fort as well as a short description of its purpose.

wealth distributed by Senkō in her bequest document. The various permanent properties transferred in the bequest were more valuable than land usage rights or lifetime-only bequests.

Figure 14: Senkō's bequest outline for secondary heirs.

	Hachirō	Kurō Tomofusa	Jurō Tsunesuke	Inōe Daughter	Ōita ⁶³⁸ Daughter	Hoshinano Daughter	(a)Shikano Matasaburō
Residences		1					
<i>Tan</i> of land (lifetime)						2	
<i>Tan</i> of land (perm.)		3					
Paddy cuts (lifetime)				200	200		100
Paddy cuts (perm.)	400		300				
"100 cut rope" <i>hatake</i> (perm.)	x	x					

The decline in access to property by warrior women in the fourteenth century is well known.⁶³⁹ In this case, it was not the legal rights of daughters (and secondary sons) that had been reduced, as their judicially-mandated prerogatives over any property they held remained unchanged. Rather, their capacity to take advantage of such rights through the receipt of substantial inheritance diminished significantly as they were passed over in favor of a single, typically male heir (although even in the Nakano/Ichikawa lineage we can find exception to this in the case of the *sōryō* Shakua, when no viable, genetic male heir was available and the daughter was preferred to the adopted son). Secondary sons in the Ichikawa received significantly more property and land rights than their sisters, and held most of it permanently.

Hitomi Tonomura characterizes the phenomenon of reduced female inheritance as the "subjugation [of women] to the increasingly male-centered social structure" prevalent in the late Kamakura period and amplified after its destruction.⁶⁴⁰ This phenomenon was well underway in the Ichikawa by the time of Senkō's bequest in 1329, and Senkō was clearly more concerned

⁶³⁸ Note: this list does not include Morifusa's lands, which also went to the Ōita daughter, who gained by far the largest inheritance among the four daughters.

⁶³⁹ Hitomi Tonomura has elucidated the phenomenon, stating that in the Late Kamakura period, "Women's property rights, unquestioned at first, gradually diminished along with secondary son's rights." See Hitomi Tonomura, "Sexual Violence Against Women," p.138.

⁶⁴⁰ Hitomi Tonomura, "Women and Inheritance in Japan's Early Warrior Society," p. 593.

with the posterity of their female children than Morifusa had been. Yet the process also remained incomplete; although one son stood above all his siblings in terms of both official and familial authority, and probably held by far the largest share of land (which goes unlisted), all the Ichikawa descendants received something, and several inherited significant estates.

Some warrior matriarchs like Senkō sustained female access to property for longer than others, either through their own independent properties, or through the management men's estates as their *goke* widows. This was at least partly the case with Senkō, who had some of her own land to pass down along with a major managerial role, doling out specific levels of access to her land and managing the transfer of Morifusa's property after his death (even though Morifusa never used the term *goke* himself, and called her only "the mother" of his children).⁶⁴¹

After establishing the passage of lands and land usage rights, Senkō also provided expansion on Morifusa's effort to preclude future accusations of forgery or illegitimate documents.⁶⁴² Senkō included an explicit statement of documentary policies, including the reasoning behind the use of a single inheritance document rather than the more standard practice of giving separate bequests to each child. Senkō, too, clearly understood the more problematic elements in the history of the documents of the property line, and here established a strong precedent to prevent issues like that of the 1265 dispute between Shakua and Tameyasu, in

⁶⁴¹ The general proclivity towards male-based inheritance, which had been the trend in the late Kamakura period, was clearly being employed by the Ichikawa, including the matriarch Senkō. Along these lines, remember also, that not listed on the chart of Senkō's bequests is the largest share of wealth, that of Rokurō Sukefusa, who had gained headship and presumably held the rights over the lands from which these siblings took their "cuts." Thus, the inheritance of the group was held in the overwhelming majority by males, who would have the capacity to pass their possessions on, while most of the females, having received smaller bequests, typically of harvesting rights rather than actual property holdings, would only hold such prerogatives during their lifetimes as a sort of stipend. The corresponding dependence on males, either natal relatives or affines, was substantially magnified by the completion of the shift towards a male inheritance bias visible in the late Kamakura Ichikawa, and fits with established categorizations of shifting inheritance distribution.

⁶⁴² Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

which accusations of forgery were central to the argument of the disgruntled party.⁶⁴³

A final dispute in the *Ichikawa Monjo* from the Kamakura Period followed the death of Senkō, but was not between the Ichikawa siblings. Sukefusa's first act as *sōryō* was an attempt to resolve a final, long-standing issue with a secondary Nakano line and thereby consolidate finances for the kin group. The dispute stemmed back to 1300, under Morifusa's tenure, and involved delinquent tax payments from the lineage of Nakano Mitsunari.⁶⁴⁴ The main point of the case, settled by the Kantō judiciary in 1332, reached back to the monetary dispute between Ichikawa Morifusa and Nakano Yukishige, a fellow adoptee of Shakua.⁶⁴⁵ Yukishige and Morifusa disputed over income shares from a plot of land in 1285, with Morifusa winning victory in the suit in the form of a mandated yearly payment from Yukishige.⁶⁴⁶ This payment had not been maintained by Yukishige's grandson, Hideyuki, and Sukefusa filed suit for back-payments. Although Hideyuki admitted that he was Yukishige's heir, he stated that he had not received the lands from which the taxes were to be drawn; his mother, En'a, had kept those lands, and Hideyuki claimed that it was her responsibility to pay the Ichikawa their dues. Sukefusa won the case against En'a, and was awarded partial tax reparations.⁶⁴⁷

Kamakura was heavy-handed in the case, threatening to revoke one third of En'a's landholdings if she did not pay back the Ichikawa.⁶⁴⁸ The second of two *gechijō* decrees on the case from the Kamakura judiciary, dated 12.27.1332, was the last of its kind ever written.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴³ Both Senkō and Morifusa signed their bequests with statements that they had written them "in their own hand," a clear effort to avoid issues related to forgery claims from cropping up as they had in previous generations of the Nakano. See the final lines of Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88) and Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

⁶⁴⁴ Shōan 2 (1300).3.3 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 27:20385, SNS, 4, pp. 489-490).

⁶⁴⁵ Shōkyō 1 (1332).12.23 and 12.27 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41:31930 and 31940, SNS, 5, pp. 179-180).

⁶⁴⁶ Shōkyō 1 (1332).12.23 and 12.27 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41:31930 and 31940, SNS, 5, pp. 179-180).

⁶⁴⁷ Shōkyō 1 (1332).12.23 and 12.27 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41:31930 and 31940, SNS, 5, pp. 179-180).

⁶⁴⁸ Shōkyō 1 (1332).12.23 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41:31930, SNS, 5, pp. 179-180).

⁶⁴⁹ Shōkyō 1 (1332) 12.27 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 41:31940, SNS, 5, pp. 179-180).

Only a few days later, the regime would begin to fail in earnest, already buckling under its own weight, and facing an imperial rival whose aim was to eliminate the warrior polity once-and-for-all. As a result, petty conflicts over small chunks of cash or land like those between the Ichikawa and the Nakano were eclipsed by newer, much bigger problems.

The efforts of Morifusa and Senkō to create a stable legacy were meticulously detailed, and successful, at least in terms of a lack of documented disputes among their sons and daughters. Sukefusa, as the new *sōryō*, dealt with the final outstanding dispute with the Nakano, and had full support from Kamakura. To understand the impact of the parental efforts of Morifusa and Senkō, we will follow their sons into battle, as the tide of history turned and warriors returned to the field. But first, a return to Kyushu and Nejime-in, where violence became a fact of life much earlier than it did in Shinano.

The Nejime in Late Kamakura

The documentarily prolific Nejime Kiyotsuna had established several important precedents in his extensive set of wills, discussed earlier in this chapter. To briefly recap, although Kiyotsuna divided his land to three heirs, forming a main line and two sub-lines, he instructed his *chakushi* and the successive *gunji-shiki* and *jitō-shiki* officer Kiyochika to maintain his inheritance as a single set. Kiyotsuna's secondary heirs, who received only individual holdings and no *shiki*, were given the opportunity to found their own lineages provided they could maintain holdings that had been the most difficult and legally time consuming for the main line. By dividing off the areas that were the most problematic, the head of the Nejime insulated his successor from further legal complications that might stem from court cases over those plots.

Nejime Kiyochika's inheritance came with a clear and specific declaration from his father, Kiyotsuna, that his grandson Kiyoharu must take over as *gunji* and sole heir after

Kiyochika's retirement.⁶⁵⁰ As a result, Kiyochika's documentary output was minimal, involving two short and simplistic bequests.⁶⁵¹ His main *yuzurijō*, from 1301, followed the orders of his father Kiyotsuna, and named Kiyoharu (listed as Magojirō Kiyoharu 孫二郎清治) as his sole heir and the new *gunji*, going point-by-point through the various properties that Kiyoharu would inherit, and listing their borders.⁶⁵² Alongside numerous properties in Nejime, the final points in Kiyochika's short bequest to Kiyoharu list a set of new reward lands (listed as *kunkō-shō* 勲功賞) in Chikuzen and Chikugo provinces, gained through the defense of Hakata in 1281.⁶⁵³

We have few details of Kiyochika or his relatives' involvement in the Mongol invasion battles at Hakata, a pair of well-known defense efforts against invading Mongol-led forces, other than that some part of the Nejime kin group was present and participated in the fighting in the second invasion. A 1288 award document from the invasions (*Mōko gassen kunkō-shō haibunjō* 蒙古合戦勲功賞配分状) reveals the details of the new land; as a reward for the service of the Nejime, Kiyochika received a scattered set of wet fields totaling five *chō* in size, three *yashiki* residences, and one *chō* of upland fields in Chikuzen province, Sawara-gun, Hii-gō (早良郡比伊郷), adjacent to Hakata bay, and in Nagabuchi-shō (長渚庄), slightly further inland, a few miles from the bay in Chikugo province.⁶⁵⁴ The 1288 award list reveals that the Nejime were obligated

⁶⁵⁰ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #29).

⁶⁵¹ Shōan 3 (1301).2.21 *Takebe Kiyochika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #35) and Kengen 2 (1303).6.21 *Shami Gyōkei yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #483).

⁶⁵² Shōan 3 (1301).2.21 *Takebe Kiyochika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #35). It appears that Kiyochika mis-wrote the first character in *chakushi* (嫡子) as (甥), as noted by the editors of the *Kagoshima-ken shiryō*.

⁶⁵³ Shōan 3 (1301).2.21 *Takebe Kiyochika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #35).

⁶⁵⁴ Shōō 1 (1288).10.3 *Mōko gassen kunkō-shō haibunjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #33). The total award of 5 *chō* of land was divided into 12 plots of paddy, 3 residences, and 6 plots of dry fields, each listed by name, size, and sub region. Sawara-gun lay on the central-western portion of Hakata bay itself, and was likely selected for the Nejime as an excellent place to stage additional defenders and maintain provisions for future attacks. In Nejime records, Nagabuchi is sometimes listed as being in Chikuzen province, though this seems to be erroneous. For example, see Kiyoharu's bequest from Shōwa 3 (1314).9.10 *Takebe Kiyoharu yuzurijō I* (KKSI vol. 1, #39), which lists Nagabuchi as within the "same province" (同國) as Hii-gō. Nagabuchi seems to straddle the provincial boundary,

to maintain tax payments (*nengu*) on their new reward fields to temples and shrines (“to the buddhas and *kami*”) in accordance with the precedent of the property 佛神事本所年貢、守先例), though the exact details are unlisted.⁶⁵⁵



Map 8: The Nejime Mongol-invasion reward lands in Sawara-gun.⁶⁵⁶

Sawara-gun was one of the landing sites that the Mongols attacked directly in 1281, and was thereafter divided up and given to numerous battle-tested Kyushu warriors to stage future defense of the region.⁶⁵⁷ Awardees like the Nejime had to maintain permanent forces near the bay, and contributed materials and cash for the construction and maintenance of the twenty-

and as it is unclear what parts of Nagabuchi the Nejime controlled, it is possible that their holdings were in both provinces, or that the exact positions of these scattered lands may have been unclear even to the Nejime themselves.
⁶⁵⁵ Shōō 1 (1288).10.3 *Mōko gassen kunkō-shō haibunjō* (KKS vol. 1, #33). The precedent in question likely involves the local proprietorship of a shrine and/or temple, and further links to local religious institutions near Hakata are revealed in the fourteenth century.

⁶⁵⁶ Map created by the author using base data from D-Maps.com, used with permission.

⁶⁵⁷ For a chart of the known reward lands given out after the 1281 defense, see Seno Seiichirō, *Chinzei gokenin no kenkyū*, pp. 324-327. Nejime Kiyochika is included on p. 325, with further description on p. 356, where Seno argues that most rewards were made to alleviate debts incurred by defending groups.

kilometer long series of fortified walls (the *genkō bōrui* 元寇防塁) that protected Hakata in the second invasion, and stood as a permanent defensive site into the mid-fourteenth century.⁶⁵⁸

These new, distant lands, folded into the property holdings of the Nejime main heir, remained in the corporate group for generations, and were thereafter referred to as a separate *jitō-shiki*, beginning in the 1314 bequest of Kiyochika's main heir (*chakushi*) Kiyoharu.⁶⁵⁹ The early military activity and readiness of the Nejime became significant in the wars of the following Nanbokuchō period, but few details remain from the period of the Mongol invasions regarding either the scope or structure of the Nejime as a military unit.

Several years after passing on the bulk of his properties (new and old) to Kiyoharu as mandated by his father Kiyotsuna's clause in his own inheritance, Kiyochika adopted the Buddhist name Gyōkei (行恵) and retired. However, in 1303, he wrote one more bequest, transferring a key *sono* plot in Nishimoto (西本), a part of the southern Sata peninsula, to his youngest son, whom he calls Nishimoto Seizaburō Kiyomasa.⁶⁶⁰ Where did this land come from, and why did he refer to his own son as Nishimoto, the name of an already extant sub-lineage? Kiyochika stated that “Shichirō Saemon-no-jō” (七郎左衛門尉) gave up the land to him, abandoning his rights to the plot in a *sari-jō*, apparently on the specific condition that the land would then go to Kiyochika's son Kiyomasa.⁶⁶¹

If we closely examine the record, the person who sold the land, Shichirō Saemon-no-jō, must be Nishimoto sub-lineage founder Kiyomoto, Kiyomasa's uncle and Kiyochika's younger

⁶⁵⁸ See Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, pp. 122-128 on detailed defense logistics.

⁶⁵⁹ Shōwa 3 (1314).9.10 *Takebe Kiyoharu yuzurijō I* (KKSI vol. 1, #39).

⁶⁶⁰ Kengen 2 (1303).6.21 *Shami Gyōkei yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #483).

⁶⁶¹ Kengen 2 (1303).6.21 *Shami Gyōkei yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #483).

half-brother, who inherited the Nishimoto *sono* from their father in 1275.⁶⁶² Looking at Kiyomoto's records, it seems that he sold the land to his sibling (possibly a half-brother) Kiyochika in 1303, a year earlier. Kiyomoto wrote two *sari-jō* abandoning his property rights and one *kokyakujō* land sale record, passing the Nishimoto *sono* plot and two *tan* of dry fields to the "Nejime-dono" (the head of the main line, in this case still referencing Kiyochika).⁶⁶³ This is the first reference to the head of the Nejime as Nejime-dono (ねしめ殿), an unofficial designation that would increase in significance in the Nanbokuchō period.⁶⁶⁴ In the sale record, Kiyomoto referred to the land as his own "private land" (*shiryō* 私領, lands eligible for sale).⁶⁶⁵

Kiyochika paid a sizeable sum of thirty *kanmon* in cash to Kiyomoto to buy back the land of their father, and then immediately passed the Nishimoto *sono* and sales receipts on to his son Kiyomasa, who adopted the Nishimoto name. In effect, Kiyochika, rather than opportunistically buying out his brother for his direct benefit, paid thirty *kanmon* to keep the Nishimoto name alive and provide one of his secondary sons with property, a move that was to the mutual benefit of both Kiyomoto and his nephew Kiyomasa. Kiyomasa received the property of his uncle through his father, his uncle becoming an unofficial adoptive step-father to him.

No predefined notions were involved for Kiyochika in taking such an action, which sustained the Nishimoto despite the fact that Kiyomoto seems to have had no direct heir, or

⁶⁶² The name Shichirō Saemon-no-jō is attributed to Kiyomoto in the *Nejime Monjo* itself, in a later compiled genealogy. See *KKSI* vol. 1, p. 180. This genealogy is not wholly reliable, and should not be used for tracing the broader history of the Nejime lineages; for example, it fails even to show the proper succession following Kiyomoto himself. On the original inheritance of the Nishimoto *sono*, see Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #708).

⁶⁶³ Kengen 2 (1303).3.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto sari-jō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #758), and Kengen 2 (1303).3.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto kokyakujō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #759). These two records concern the sale of the larger plot of land. A year later, the 2-*tan* chunk of upland fields (part of a larger 5-*tan* plot) was given up to the Nejime-dono without an accompanying sales document, meaning it was either donated or the sales record has not survived. See Kagen 2 (1304).4.4 *Kiyomoto sari-jō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #484).

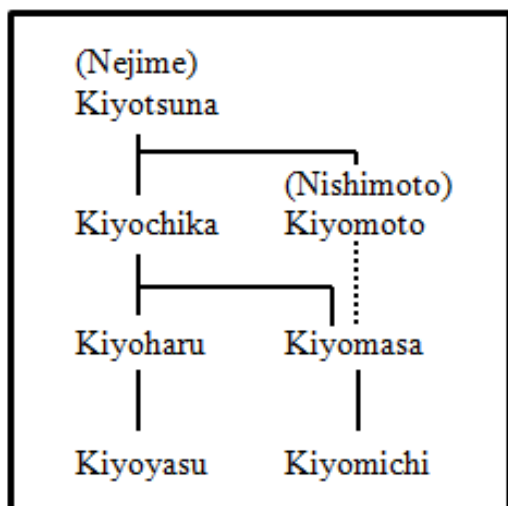
⁶⁶⁴ Kengen 2 (1303).3.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto sari-jō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #758).

⁶⁶⁵ Kengen 2 (1303).3.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto kokyakujō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #759).

possibly because Kiyochika, who paid to bail out his brother, wanted to insert his own son into the headship of the Nishimoto over any children Kiyomoto may have had.⁶⁶⁶ Kiyochika had been proscribed, in his father's bequest to him, from dividing up his own property, and thus although all of his land passed directly to his son Kiyoharu, he was able to provide for one of his other sons (he had at least five that we know of, several of whom would cause legal problems for Kiyoharu later because of their lack of lands).⁶⁶⁷

For Kiyochika, the opportunity to buy out his brother provided a loophole that let him grant land to an heir other than his first son despite his father Kiyotsuna's prohibition against doing so, especially because the division of property that Kiyochika maintained by sustaining the Nishimoto name originated with Kiyotsuna himself. The land was not a part of the package of property that was preordained as the inheritance of Kiyoyasu, and was also divided off by Kiyotsuna himself, and thus Kiyochika was merely emulating his father's decision to develop a divided estate in Nishimoto by passing the land down to his secondary son Kiyomasa.

Figure 15: The succession of the Nishimoto sub-lineage.



The maintenance of the Nishimoto sub-lineage also benefitted the Nejime main line as a corporate entity, which retained a separate, independent heir in the Nishimoto area on its southern border with the Sata. Kiyochika's second bequest document illustrates the complex layers of connections that began to form between the main line

⁶⁶⁶ Kiyomoto does make a brief, nonspecific mention of his "descendants" (小孫) in one of his grants to his niece Ren'a, though it is unclear whether he had any children, or if he is referencing Zen'a and Kiyomasa, his niece and nephew, who also gained inheritances from him without technically becoming his adoptees. See Genkō 2 (1322).7.7 *Takebe Kiyomoto yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #714).

⁶⁶⁷ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #29). I will return to these legal issues shortly.

and its sub-lineages, which were clearly still a part of the same network. Kiyomoto's land sale to his older sibling Kiyochika, followed by Kiyochika's grant of the property to a secondary son who adopted the Nishimoto name, created a triangle of inheritance that bound "Nishimoto" Kiyomasa to both his father and uncle. By passing the lands through Kiyomasa, Kiyochika deliberately maintained the nominal separation of the Nishimoto and Nejime main line.

By the late thirteenth century, it was common for secondary heirs to struggle to retain their landholdings. Kiyomoto had multiple problems paying his taxes, an issue his father Kiyotsuna was concerned with, having included multiple provisions about the taxes on the Nishimoto estate in his wills.⁶⁶⁸ Later on, Kiyomoto entered a tax dispute with his nephew Kiyoharu (the Nejime main heir and brother of his nominal Nishimoto successor), who was ultimately responsible for oversight of taxes within Nejime-in.⁶⁶⁹

Kozono Kimio cites Kiyomoto's tax problems as evidence of economic stress on secondary heirs after the Kōan era (1278-1288), and as part of a trend toward returning property to the "sōryō" via the process of *hanryō* (返領) that occurred in parallel with the mounting tax debts of secondary heirs.⁶⁷⁰ Further, Kozono argues that the strengthening of control by the sōryō over the *kuji* tax duties of his relatives helped germinate the trend toward primogeniture or *chakushi tandoku sōzoku* (嫡子単独相続), and that while the power of the "sōryō" may not have been fully evident on the surface, the control of secondary heirs through *kuji* tax management exercised by the "sōryō" led to the strengthening of the Nejime as a military force moving in to the Nanbokuchō period.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁸ In Kiyotsuna's multiple wills, which we examined earlier, the greatest details regarding taxes are listed in his grants to Kiyomoto, possibly indicating that his lands were either less productive or the tax burden on them particularly high.

⁶⁶⁹ Karyaku 1(1326).12.20 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSSI vol. 1, #289).

⁶⁷⁰ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 40.

⁶⁷¹ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 40.

However, even after paying his brother in cash for the property, Nejime head Kiyochika opted to maintain his younger brother's independent Nishimoto household through one of his own secondary sons rather than absorbing it completely and passing it on to his main heir. This contradicts Kozono's point, and demonstrates that the Nejime head was not purely focused on consolidating power for himself to the detriment of his broader group of kin. Kozono ignores the fact that beyond selling some land to his brother, Kiyomoto also passed multiple additional landed properties to Kiyomasa directly in his own will in 1306, several years later, which did not involve a monetary transaction.⁶⁷² Thus, it was through combined grants from Kiyochika and Kiyomoto that Kiyomasa became the successor to the Nishimoto, a lineage that was still independent. That Kiyomoto effectively adopted his nephew Kiyomasa into his secondary line makes the story more complicated than that of a simple forced takeover of land by the "*sōryō*" (a term the Nejime did not even commonly use).

On the contrary, Kiyomoto cooperated with Kiyochika to maintain the struggling Nishimoto lineage. Kiyomoto's pair of *yuzurijō* to his nephew Kiyomasa, from 1306, do not refer to him as an adoptee, but rather as *Kurō-dono* and *Kurō Kiyomasa*.⁶⁷³ The first grant is of agricultural *sono* plots in Nishimoto (にしもとのその内みんふあまかそのゝ事), to *Kurō-dono* (九郎殿) listed by name and borders.⁶⁷⁴ The second grant is damaged, but is addressed to *Kurō Kiyomasa* (九郎きよまさ) and included additional upland fields in the Nishimoto region (listed as *Nishimoto no kawara* にしもとのかわら), which had been newly cleared by a servant

⁶⁷² Kagen 4 (1306) *Takebe Kiyomoto yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #763).

⁶⁷³ Kiyomasa later adopted the Buddhist name *Nichinen* (日念), and is most often referred to by that name thereafter. See Genkō 3 (1333) 11.4 *Nichinen Kiyomasa yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #490).

⁶⁷⁴ Kagen 4 (1306).2.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #488). Kiyomasa is listed as "*Kurō-dono*" (九郎殿).

named Seizaburō.⁶⁷⁵ These are the three *tan* of leftover lands from Kiyomoto's earlier *sari-jō* which passed two *tan* of a five *tan* plot of *hataketa* up to Kiyochika (listed as Nejime-dono ねしめ殿), and thus were cleared by the same laborer.⁶⁷⁶ In the end, what Kiyomoto did not sell to his brother Kiyochika, he voluntarily donated to his nephew Kiyomasa in order to keep the Nishimoto name and property intact.

To sum up this process, Kiyomoto escaped some of his considerable tax debts by selling off part of his land to his brother and Nejime main heir Kiyochika, who selected a secondary son, Kiyomasa, to inherit them. Three years later, Kiyomoto gave the rest of his land in the Nishimoto region to Kiyomasa directly, selecting him as his heir. Though Kiyomoto did not refer to him as an adopted son, Kiyomasa inherited the Nishimoto property and namesake from both his uncle and father, and he chose to adopt the Nishimoto mantle for himself. By sustaining the sub-line created by their father Kiyotsuna, the brothers Kiyochika and Kiyomoto upheld both his original design for an independent proprietor in the Nishimoto area, and for unified inheritance of the core Nejime property, which passed undivided to Kiyochika's first son. This type of clear social networking between relatives should not be discounted into simplistic, top-down predominance by the main line, as the Nejime head Kiyochika was obviously not concerned with hoarding his brother's Nishimoto property for himself or his main heir, having spent cash to sustain the Nishimoto name and maintain property divisions.

Nejime head Kiyochika died between mid-1303 and 1305 (notably before Kiyomoto's final grants), prompting several neighboring claimants to come out of the woodwork against his son and main heir Kiyoharu. While they made no attempt to usurp his claim to the primary titles

⁶⁷⁵ Kagen 4 (1306) *Takebe Kiyomoto yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #763).

⁶⁷⁶ Kagen 2 (1304).4.4 *Kiyomoto sari-jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #484).

of the Nejime head, several suits disputing Kiyoharu's main-line inheritance would plague him for the bulk of his time as the head of the Nejime.⁶⁷⁷ At this point, the Nejime were in a much stronger position than they had been at the end of the Heian period or the early Kamakura period, when their administrative power in the Nejime region was not only challenged, but partly stripped for several decades. After several generations of stable control in the area, their expansion via reward land in Hakata following the Mongol invasions, and their success in building up a landed base in Nejime-in, none of the cases against Kiyoharu stuck, and his transition to headship of the region was successful.

Although they would not ultimately change the course of Nejime succession or regional authority, these cases nevertheless provide insight into the sociopolitical dynamics of the Nejime and their home region at the turn of the fourteenth century. The internal and external legal issues that plagued Kiyoharu demonstrate the extent to which the smaller-scale landholding residents of Nejime-in and the Nejime kin group were not under the control of the Nejime-dono in the closing decades of the Kamakura period. Kiyoharu conflicted with the southern Isashiki, a small, unrelated group that interfered with fishing and sea lanes,⁶⁷⁸ and with multiple parties within the Nejime, whose disputes were prompted by his grandfather's order to cease property divisions.

Another external legal quarrel that Kiyoharu faced concerned a *shoshō-shiki* post (書生織) granting the right to conduct land surveys and gain a share of the tax income from farmland in Tokutomi-myō (得富名).⁶⁷⁹ Traditionally, a local *shoshō-shiki* officer working in concert with

⁶⁷⁷ Kiyochika (or Gyōkei as he was known in his retirement), is listed as “now dead” in a document from Shugo Hōjō Tokinao resolving one of these disputes in the 12th month of 1335. See Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36).

⁶⁷⁸ Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36), detailed in Chapter III.

⁶⁷⁹ Enkyō 2 (1309).10.22 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #37). The claimant, Shōkū, argued that he was owed back-payments on the costs from multiple surveys and tax collections, which were carried out every four years, citing specifically that Kiyoharu had not paid up his share from the surveys from 1299 and 1304.

a high-ranking *mokudai* representative from the *kokushi* governor's office had a right to an income share following tax surveys, which the plaintiff, a local resident called Shōkū (性空) claimed was owed to him.⁶⁸⁰ The case is quite detailed, recalling decades of local disputes; Shōkū argued that the income and surveying rights were his, stemming back to his great grandfather, who received the post in 1232 as a reward for meritorious service to Kamakura, which established him as a local officer (or *zaichō kanjin*).⁶⁸¹

Kiyoharu responded to Shōkū's claims by citing that the lands he held in Tokutomi-*myō* were tax-exempt (*kokumen* 国免), and that no matter how many old *kokushi* governor's edicts (*kokusen* 国宣) Shōkū cited they could not be surveyed for taxation.⁶⁸² Shōkū may have filed his suit in response to an internal Nejime land survey from 1308, conducted as a new *shugo* governor was posted in the province.⁶⁸³ Ultimately the *Chinzei Tandai* determined that Kiyoharu was in the right regarding the nature of his ownership of Tokutomi, and Shōkū's demand for payment was rejected. The ruling stuck; Kiyoharu's holdings in Tokutomi are reiterated specifically in a 1312 record that lists a pair of *sono* in Ogawa-*in*, two *tan* and four and a half *tan*

⁶⁸⁰ The office of the *kokushi* handled such matters originally, but had been phased out since into a merely income-generating title with no managerial authority, compounding the confusion over who would function as local liaison for land surveying, a service that was rewarded with a share of the tax income (a *shoshō tokubun* 書生得分). Jeffrey Mass provides insight into early *zaichō* (resident officer) / *mokudai* (governor's deputy) connections. He notes that the *mokudai*, since the Heian period, were "Most commonly, the personal deputy of an absentee provincial governor. Often the most immediate link between central authority and the provincial office. The tension between *mokudai* and resident officers (*zaichō kanjin*) was a major impetus for the Gempei War." Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Kamakura Bakufu: A Study in Documents*, p. 203.

⁶⁸¹ Enkyō 2 (1309).10.22 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #37). Based on the date of the award and the claim of "meritorious service," we can guess that the award was probably based on service in the Jōkyū war from 1221. Awards stemming from the Jōkyū war appear commonly in this period, along with the 1332 promulgation of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* law code established by the Kamakura legal body under Hōjō Yasutoki, evaluated in Chapter II. In the document, the office is also referred to as a *zaichō-shiki* (在庁職).

⁶⁸² Enkyō 2 (1309).10.22 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #37).

⁶⁸³ Tokujō 3 (1308) *Nejime Minamimata suiden nayose-chō* (KKSI vol. 1, #384). These surveys by the *kokushi*'s officers would only have limited staying power in the Ichikawa case, but many local *shōen* residents in Shinano did continue to pay tax as *nengu* into the fourteenth century. On tax payments to Kyoto elites from the eastern provinces in the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods, see Ihara Kesao, "Tōgoku shōen nengu no kyōjō shisutemu to kokkateki hoshō taisei."

in size, listed as his independent (*shiryō* 私領) holdings and certified by the *shugo*.⁶⁸⁴ These lands remained in Nejime hands throughout the Kamakura and Nanbokuchō periods.

In another legal conflict, stemming back to at least 1286, Kiyoharu's father Kiyochika faced a series of lawsuits concerning his possession of Yamamoto and Mitsumatsu-*myō* in Nejime-*in*, properties that would become important in the origin of several Nejime sub-lineages near the end of the Kamakura period. The first trace of the suit begins in 1286, and was filed by a *gokenin* and deputy of the *shugo* called Chiba Tarō Munetane (千葉太郎宗胤). The *Chinzei bugyōnin* judges in Kyushu handed down an initial ruling in the form of a joint-signature document in favor of Nejime Kiyochika, which rejected Munetane's claim to the area.⁶⁸⁵

However, the case continued through multiple appeals, and thereafter Kiyoharu served as his father Kiyochika's deputy in the ongoing dispute. Not all records from the ongoing case survive, and a critical 1289 ruling from the Kantō court is not extant, though a pair of confirmation documents from the Rokuhara Tandai, the Kyoto branch officers of the Kamakura courts, and earlier decision record from Kamakura in favor of Kiyotsuna's bequest have survived.⁶⁸⁶ It seems that none of the earlier rulings or confirmations settled the matter, as Muneshige, Munetane's son, continued the suit for control of Yamamoto and Mitsumatsu-*myō*. In 1309, Hōjō Masaaki, the *Chinzei Tandai* (the formalized singular officer who served as the Kyushu extension of the Kamakura judiciary, established in the middle of this ongoing case),

⁶⁸⁴ Shōwa 1 (1312).8.22 *Sanekiyo, Seigen rensho hōsho-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #433).

⁶⁸⁵ Kōan 9 (1286).12.18 *Chinzei dangisho bugyōnin rensho hōsho* (KKSI vol. 1, #31).

⁶⁸⁶ Shōō 2 (1289)5.28 *Rokuhara shigyōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #276). This short record from the Rokuhara court cites a *Kantō on-gechijō* from the twelfth day of the third month of that year that appears to be missing. There is no such document in either the *Nejime Monjo* or the *Kamakura ibun*. I have searched the record in case the document is misdated, but have not found anything that matches it. A two-line document from the Rokuhara Tandai from the same day that confirmed Nejime Kiyochika's *jitō-shiki*. See Shōō 2 (1288).5.28 *Rokuhara shigyōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #34), and references a *Kantō ando onkudashibumi* from the 27th day of the 9th month of the previous year, which is extant, and supports the inheritance designs of Kiyotsuna laid out in his will. For that record, see Shōō 1 (1288).9.27 *Shogunke mandokoro kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #32).

rejected a final attempt by Muneshige to reassert his father's claim over the area, ruling in favor of Nejime Kiyoharu, who had by then inherited headship of the group as *gunji*.⁶⁸⁷

The above cases demonstrate that the villages and *sono* of Tokutomi, Mitsumatsu, Yamamoto, and Nishimoto/Isashiki caused major ongoing legal problems for Kiyoharu, most of which extended back to the time of his father Kiyochika (and possibly even earlier). As we have seen, such legal battles are symptomatic of the Kamakura period, as members of the warrior class struggled in courtrooms and through legal correspondence to retain their holdings and sue for rights to the lands of their neighbors and kin alike. In the case of the Nejime, understanding the difficult legal history of these lands is particularly useful, because as multiple successive Nejime heads continued to divide off parcels of property to found secondary lineages in the late Kamakura period (a process that was never fully suspended despite the order for unified inheritance left in Kiyotsuna's bequests), it was these most troublesome plots that were most frequently passed off to form new subdivisions in the Nejime kin group. Most, if not all sub-lineages were founded on property that the main line had legal or administrative difficulty maintaining, and these groups therefore served as local administrators and legal buffers insulating the main house from the legal inconvenience of small-scale land disputes, while also benefitting secondary heirs who otherwise received little to no land of their own.

In addition to these external issues, a major internal conflict between Kiyoharu and his siblings broke out soon after his inheritance, which would embroil the group of brothers in a series of internal legal struggles that lasted for roughly thirty years. Their claims were so persistent that the case outlived Kiyoharu himself, and Kiyoharu's second son Kiyotaka joined the contenders' suit after his father's death. At the turn of the fourteenth century, the Nejime

⁶⁸⁷ Enkyō 2 (1309).12.22 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #38).

were more internally litigious than any other Kyushu *gokenin* vassal group. Seno Seiichirō, in his study of Kyushu *gokenin*, lists all known cases handled by the successive *Chinzei Tandai* in which main heirs (which he terms *sōryō* 惣領) and secondary heirs (*shoshi* 庶子) engaged in property disputes.⁶⁸⁸ Out of a total of twenty-one court documents from the records of eight different kin groups, eight are from the Nejime. This period of contention was due to the backlash, several generations after the fact, against Kyotsuna's policy of unified inheritance.

Figure 16: Dispute records between main and secondary heirs under the *Chinzei Tandai* court.⁶⁸⁹

<i>Nejime Monjo</i> (禰寝文書): 8	<i>Takuma Monjo</i> (詫摩文書): 4
<i>Ōgawa Monjo</i> (大川文書): 2	<i>Shiga Monjo</i> (志賀文書): 2
<i>Nikaidō Monjo</i> (二階堂文書): 2	<i>Aokata Monjo</i> (青方文書): 1
<i>Jissō-in Monjo</i> (実相院文書): 1	<i>Hishijima Monjo</i> (比志島文書): 1

The eight court rulings and settlements concerning internal disputes in the *Nejime Monjo*, spanning from 1309 through 1332, centered on problems stemming from the consolidation of property that Kiyotsuna outlined in his wills beginning in 1259. As we learned earlier, therein, Kiyotsuna mandated that the core portfolio of Nejime property and titles pass down, undivided, from his son Kiyochika to his grandson Kiyoharu.⁶⁹⁰ Kiyochika followed this order, funneling all his land and titles to Kiyoharu, who did the same when he passed the property on to Kiyotsuna's great-grandson Kiyoyasu. This left the brothers of Kiyoharu and Kiyoyasu (aside from “Nishimoto” Kiyomasa) with no land of their own, and sparked the thirty-year dispute.

The specific claims of each of Kiyoharu's brothers and nephew are not individually laid out; they instead argued as a group that in light of their ancestor Kiyotsuna's own division of his property, most notably to Yoritsuna/Yorishige, founder of the Miyahara sub-lineage, that they

⁶⁸⁸ Seno Seiichirō, *Chinzei gokenin no kenkyū*, pp. 416 and 420-421. Seno lists only 21 records, though his count in the text is 22. In total, the dispute records from the Kyushu court span 1299-1332.

⁶⁸⁹ Seno Seiichirō, *Chinzei gokenin no kenkyū*, pp. 416 and 420-421.

⁶⁹⁰ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #29).

too should have shares of land.⁶⁹¹ The root of the lawsuits that followed was the discrepancy between Kiyotsuna's policy for his main heir and the one he used in dividing up other properties to form the Miyahara and Nishimoto sub-lineages. In response to this contradiction, Kiyochika's secondary sons formed a legal alliance against the successive main heirs Kiyoharu and Kiyoyasu in an attempt to circumvent Kiyotsuna's 1259 decree on unitary inheritance.

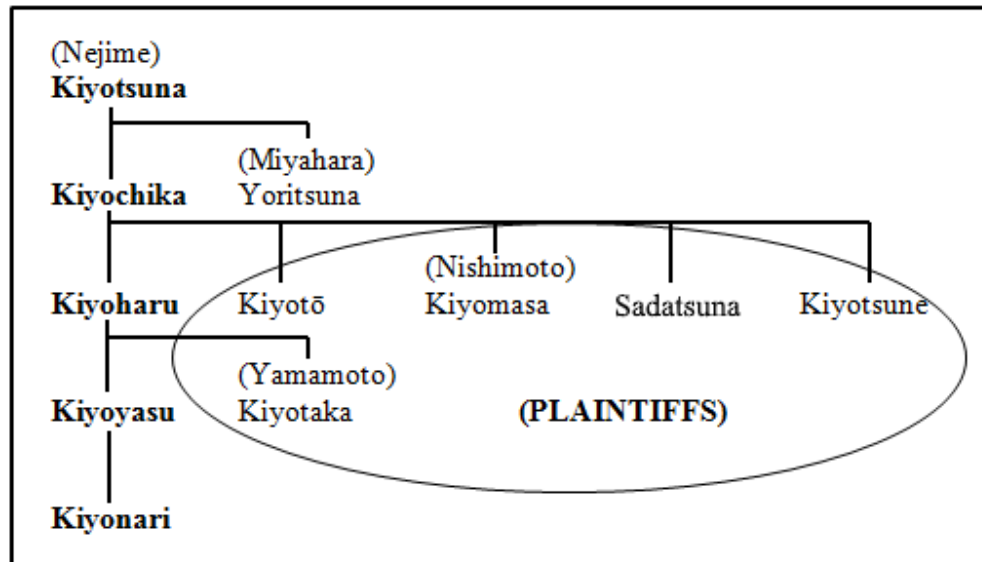


Figure 17: Secondary heirs united in property suits against Nejime Kiyoharu and Kiyoyasu.

In 1306, the *Chinzei Tandai* responded to documents filed by Kiyoharu's deputy (named Myōshō 明性), and commanded Kiyoharu's younger brothers Kiyomasa (清政), Sadatsuna (貞綱) and Kiyotsune (清経) to meet in the Kyushu court to settle the matter of several properties in the heart of the Nejime landholdings in Kōrimoto and Mitsumatsu-myō.⁶⁹² Few details of the early stages of this dispute or any initial resolutions remain, and whatever initial decision the court provided was insufficient to resolve the case. In Kiyoharu's generation, the economic and social distinction between main and secondary heirs was particularly pronounced; Kiyochika had many heirs who were proscribed from receiving any of his property. No records of inheritances

⁶⁹¹ Genkō 3 (1323).11.29 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #288).

⁶⁹² Kagen 4 (1306).12.16 *Chinzei migyōsho* (KKSI vol.1 #661).

by Kiyoharu's younger brothers except for (Nishimoto) Kiyomasa remain, so we have little to go on in terms of comparing their relative wealth. Kiyomasa joined the suit; despite having inherited his uncle's land, much of it through his father, he too sought a piece of the natal estate.

In 1314, Kiyoharu ended his thirteen-year tenure as Nejime head without resolving the case. He passed down his posts and properties, as mandated by his grandfather Kiyotsuna, his main heir (*chakushi* Jirōzaburō Kiyoyasu 嫡子次郎三郎清保). Kiyoyasu gained the most stable holdings (those which had not been passed off to sub-lineages by his grandfather or, in the case of Nishimoto, re-established by his father) in a single set. The set of properties included land and the position of *gunji* in Nejime-in, *kokugaryō* in Ogawa-in, and the Mongol-defense lands including fields and a *jitō-shiki* in Chikuzen, which had not come under legal threat and remained firmly in the grasp of the Nejime *gunji* and *jitō*.⁶⁹³ Kiyoharu listed no secondary heirs.

Following Kiyotsuna's unitary inheritance mandate for his son and grandson, the position of headship of the Nejime had been packaged in a normalized main inheritance with the *jitō* and *gunji* posts in Minamimata, the *jitō* post and land in Hakata, land in Ōgawa-in, and several other properties in the Nejime region, which would endure thereafter. Resulting from this streamlining of inheritance policy, Kiyoharu's sole grant to Kiyoyasu is only six lines in total.⁶⁹⁴ It appears that the document was written up on the day of Kiyoharu's death, which helps to explain its brevity and the apparent lack of any other documentary output toward the end of his life.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹³ Shōwa 3 (1314).9.10 *Takebe Kiyoharu yuzurijō I* (KKSI vol. 1, #39). Here, the Nejime holdings around Hakata are also expressed as a *jitō-shiki*.

⁶⁹⁴ Shōwa 3 (1314).9.10 *Takebe Kiyoharu yuzurijō I* (KKSI vol. 1, #39).

⁶⁹⁵ Bunpō 1 (1317).9.5 *Takebe Kiyotō ukebumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #40). This document is a testimony from Kiyoharu's brother Kiyotō (清任) regarding an ongoing property dispute between them that began over a decade earlier. It lists the date of Kiyoharu's death as the same day as his bequest (1314.9.10). The conflict with Kiyotō continued after Kiyoharu died, and was part of the broader legal battle between all of Kiyoharu's brothers and the successive heads of the Nejime. This record refers to multiple past successions and precedential tax guidelines from the time of Kiyoshige onward in an effort by Kiyotō to secure an inheritance of his own. Unlike Nakano/Ichikawa grants and those of some Nejime sub-lineage members, which regularly appear as *kana* or mixed-character grants when the

The dispute from Kiyoyasu's uncles continued into Kiyoyasu's time as head of the Nejime, as they continually filed joint suits against him in regards to their tax duties, his inheritance, and the scope of the main Nejime holdings and what was owed to them as sons of the Nejime main heir and direct descendants of Kiyotsuna.⁶⁹⁶ In 1323 and 1324 several further decisions on the matter appear in a longwinded set of rulings from the *Chinzei Tandai*, which illuminate the details of the ongoing quarrel over Kiyoharu's tenure and the place of the secondary heirs within the shrinking world of their meager or nonexistent inheritances.⁶⁹⁷ By that point, the dispute had dragged out for two decades, including the ten years from the time of Kiyoyasu's inheritance in 1314 to the final rulings of 1324. Despite the efforts of the secondary heirs, the parental prerogatives exercised by Kiyotsuna and his successors could not be challenged. Kiyoyasu's singular inheritance was reconfirmed by the *Chinzei* court, and his uncles were denied repeatedly in their ongoing appeals for a share of the Nejime property.⁶⁹⁸

In the second month of 1324, the *Chinzei Tandai* dispatched two powerful local officials, the Kajiki *gunji* (加治木郡司), a neighboring officer of the same official rank as the Nejime, and the head of the Saisho-no-suke (税所介, a heritable-title-driven kin group), to enforce its will.⁶⁹⁹ It is no coincidence that the head of the Saisho-no-suke was used to enforce the ruling, as they were also among those who initially confirmed the return of the Nejime/Minamimata *jitō-shiki* in 1203,⁷⁰⁰ and who sometimes used the same courtly Takebe name as the Nejime.⁷⁰¹ Such a

author was near death, Kiyoharu's document is in fully articulated *kanbun* style, typical of records from Nejime family heads, who may have used professional scribes to write their documents.

⁶⁹⁶ On the 1323 dispute, see Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 39.

⁶⁹⁷ Genkō 3 (1323).11.29 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #288).

⁶⁹⁸ Genkō 3 (1323).11.29 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #288).

⁶⁹⁹ The court sent two identical records to the two deputies. See Genkō 4 (1324).2.20 *Chinzei Tandai migyōsho* (KKSI vol. 1, #386) and Genkō 4 (1324).2.20 *Chinzei Tandai migyōsho* (KKSI vol. 1, #387).

⁷⁰⁰ Kennin 3 (1203).7.3 *Kantō kudashibumi-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #1)

⁷⁰¹ Genkō 4 (1324).2.20 *Chinzei Tandai migyōsho* (KKSI vol. 1, #386) and Genkō 4 (1324).2.20 *Chinzei Tandai migyōsho* (KKSI vol. 1, #387). Although the "Saisho-no-suke" was originally a temporary officer under the *kokuga* tax agency, by the Kamakura period the post became permanent, and successive officers grew into a private family

dispatch of pairs of powerful deputized officers (the practice of dispatching *ryōshi* 兩使) by the court, practiced by the Kyushu Chinzei *Tandai*, the Kyoto Rokuhara *Tandai*, and the Kamakura authority, was a common method of directly enforcing legal rulings in difficult cases.⁷⁰²

As the *Chinzei ryōshi* for this case, the Kajiki-*gunji* and Saisho-no-suke *dono* were instructed to apply the ruling (*sata* 沙汰) of the *Chinzei* court. Two months later the Saisho-no-suke *dono* reported back that they had ensured that the ruling, which reinforced Kiyoharu's claim as sole stakeholder in the main line, was carried out.⁷⁰³ The abundance of records from the dispute and the methods needed to ensure that Kiyoyasu could maintain his claim to southern Nejime-*in* are evidence of how heated the case had become after several decades of legal proceedings. The application of the *Chinzei* court's decision by its locally-powerful *ryōshi* representatives seems to have worked, and the case from Kiyoharu's brothers was abandoned.

However, Kiyoyasu's legal troubles were not over, and several more cases awaited him in his final years during the 1320s. Around the time the final ruling rejecting his uncles' claims came down in 1324, Kiyoyasu had a separate problem with his grand-uncle Kiyomoto, whom his father had bailed out of tax debt and whose Nishimoto line was now in the hands of Kiyoyasu's uncle Kiyomasa (one of the claimants in the previous suit).⁷⁰⁴ Kiyomoto continually failed to pay his taxes (listed as *honsho nengu* 本所年貢 and *ryōke nengu* 領家年貢) to the Shō-Hachimangū shrine and the Dazaifu (*Daifu goryōbutsu* 大府御領物), by now a recurring theme in his records.⁷⁰⁵ Kiyoyasu, who was responsible for assuring that his relatives and other residents of

of hereditary officeholders who adopted the name of the Saisho-no-suke post as their family name, visible throughout their occasional correspondence with the Nejime.

⁷⁰² On *ryōshi* (兩使) see the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*.

⁷⁰³ Genkō 4 (1324).4.23 Saisho-no-suke Atsutane ukebumi (KKSI vol. 1, #662).

⁷⁰⁴ Karyaku 1(1326).12.20 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSSI vol. 1, #289).

⁷⁰⁵ Karyaku 1(1326).12.20 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSSI vol. 1, #289).

Minamimata fulfilled their tax and service duties as both *gunji* and *jitō*, employed a deputy (listed only as Chōen 長円) to deal with the problem, receiving a 1326 ruling from the *Chinzei* court that Kiyomoto had to follow the tax ordinances laid out in his father (Kiyoyasu's great grandfather) Kiyotsuna's "clearly written will(s)," which he was violating by shirking payment (背亡父清綱讓狀明文).⁷⁰⁶

Kiyomoto was likely very young (referred to as the child Kyūbō, and subtitled as such in the 1326 case) when he inherited his lands and servants in 1275 and 1276, fifty years before this case.⁷⁰⁷ He struggled with taxes (or resisted them) throughout his adult life, and rather than establishing a direct successor to the Nishimoto sub-lineage who would inherit his tax debt, continuously supported the secondary heirs of his brothers, donating and selling land his nephew Kiyomasa and niece Zen'a (an important female heir from the Miyahara sub-lineage to whom we will return shortly). Kiyoyasu settled the matter of taxation with his grand-uncle Kiyomoto just before he wrote his first wills, as the *Chinzei* court affirmed the administrative supremacy of the line of main heirs over the sub-lineages and secondary heirs, even those from elder generations.

However, seemingly just after the long-running cases with his uncles and grand-uncle were finally concluded, Kiyoyasu's brother Kiyotaka filed his own separate claim for a property share, which is not extant, but is discussed in *Chinzei* court documents from 1332.⁷⁰⁸ It is not clear exactly when Kiyotaka began his claim, as the only surviving records are the follow-up rulings handed down by the court. It appears that sometime during the final stages of or just after the longstanding suit from his elders, Kiyotaka sued for essentially the same rights to a portion of

⁷⁰⁶ Karyaku 1(1326).12.20 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSSI vol. 1, #289). By this time, Kiyoyasu had taken the Buddhist name Gyōchi (行智), under which he wrote his wills.

⁷⁰⁷ Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shōjū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30).

⁷⁰⁸ Shōkyō 1 (1332).10.5 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #44), and Shōkyō 1 (1332).11.10 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #45).

the main-line Nejime property that his uncles had called for, in this case for a share of fields and residences in Mitsumatsu-*myō* (光松名田畠屋敷等事),⁷⁰⁹ and a named *sono* and other lands in Yamamoto-*myō* (山本名内大田中嶋藺以下事).⁷¹⁰

In the face of a sixth lawsuit after only thirteen years as Nejime head, Kiyoyasu elected to write up his wills and retire from headship of the Nejime before the issue was resolved. He spent his years as head of the kin group in a constant state of legal quagmire, fighting off the claims of his neighbors, uncles, grand uncle, and brother. In 1327, when he wrote his wills, only his brother Kiyotaka's claim remained outstanding. Although the bulk of the legal matters Kiyoyasu faced were settled entirely in his favor before he handed down his property, they also had a clear effect on his decisions regarding how to codify his bequests. Kiyoyasu and Kiyotaka never settled their dispute, leaving the case for Kiyoyasu's heir Kiyonari to deal with, just as Kiyoyasu had been left to fight off his uncles' claims in court after his father Kiyoharu died.

We will return to this case shortly, but first we must examine the inheritance decisions of Kiyoyasu, which played a role in the ongoing case from his brother and the decisions of his son in how to handle them. The comparatively simple and unified bequests of his father, Kiyoharu, and grandfather, Kiyochika, followed the direct mandate of Kiyoyasu's great grandfather Kiyotsuna by streamlining inheritance through single heirs. Aside from the Nishimoto-area lands purchased for Kiyomasa from Kiyomoto, which were outside the main line property portfolio, no other heirs had received documented main-line land shares in two full generations. However, the idealized conception of a shift to unified inheritance codified by Kiyotsuna left his successors vulnerable to multiple difficult lawsuits from his relatives that hounded them throughout their

⁷⁰⁹ Shōkyō 1 (1332).10.5 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #44).

⁷¹⁰ Shōkyō 1 (1332).11.10 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #45).

adult lives. Kiyoyasu's great grandfather Kiyotsuna wrote seven wills,⁷¹¹ his grandfather Kiyochika wrote two (the second sustaining the Nishimoto under his secondary son),⁷¹² and his father Kiyoharu wrote only one,⁷¹³ their dwindling documentary output corresponding directly with the simplification of the inheritance policies of the main line.

Yet in response to his extensive and difficult legal issues, Kiyoyasu penned a large set of bequests in the style of his great grandfather (who, despite creating a mandate for unified inheritance, had divided his property extensively). Kiyoyasu's resulting *yuzurijō*, written in 1327 and 1330, form a detailed set of eleven surviving wills including multiple revisions and clarifications to the details of individual holdings.⁷¹⁴ Having abandoned unified inheritance, Nejime Kiyoyasu, who was highly aware of the potential problems of border disputes and land claims among relatives, was particularly concerned with attention to detail regarding the borders of the particular plots he gave to his secondary heirs. Much like the case of Ichikawa Morifusa, it was Nejime Kiyoyasu's extensive legal experience that led him to take such care in designing the division of his estate, the succession of his lineage, and the development of yet more sub-lines.

Kiyoyasu designed his bequests with a focus on clarity in property divisions, and engaged

⁷¹¹ Kiyotsuna's bequests, in order from the initial pair from 1259 until his final *okibumi* instruction from 1280, are Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #29), Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #706), Undated (1274-1275?) *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #285), Bun'ei 4 (1267).12.24 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #707), Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708), Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shōjū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30), and Kōan 3 (1280).9.8 *Takebe Kiyotsuna okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #659).

⁷¹² Kiyochika took the priestly name after writing his first bequest. See Shōan 3 (1301).2.21 *Takebe Kiyochika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #35) and Kengen 2 (1303).6.21 *Shami Gyōkei yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #483).

⁷¹³ Shōwa 3 (1314).9.10 *Takebe Kiyoharu yuzurijō I* (KKSI vol. 1, #39).

⁷¹⁴ In sequence, Kiyoyasu's eleven wills, written in two sets under the priestly name Gyōchi (行智); Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #43), Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #565), Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi shōjū yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #566), Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #664), Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #665), Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #827), Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō utsushi* (KKSI vol. 1, #567), Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #666), Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #667), Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #668), and Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #669).

in a preventative effort to ward off any future suits from internal or external dissenters. Both the volume and the precision in Kiyoyasu's wills give us at least a limited sense of the close proximity of various heirs in terms of their landed possessions and likely living situations. Minamimata is not a large area, and the property of each of his heirs often shared multiple borders, forging a contiguous block of land held by a half-dozen allied households, all of which continued to identify as members of the Nejime *ichizoku*.

Late in his life, Kiyoyasu adopted the priestly name Shami Gyōchi (沙弥行智), under which he wrote both extensive sets of *yuzurijō*. He put forth the first set of six documents on the fourth day of the second month of 1327. Kiyonari (清成), who appears to be his eldest son, is named main heir (*chakushi*) in the first grant; his now-standardized titular inheritance included the ancestral documents, the *in-shi* and *jitō-shiki* appointments in Minamimata, the ancestral Nejime holdings in Ogawa-*in* and the *jitō-shiki* and Mongol-defense award lands in Chikuzen near Hakata bay.⁷¹⁵ The document contains no specific stipulations or instructions beyond the passage of land, titles, and documents to the new main heir Kiyonari. This bequest is roughly equivalent to those that had preceded it in the previous two generations of Nejime main heirs.

Yet in five additional grants, Kiyoyasu provided lands for two secondary sons (listed by the childhood names Kamejūmaru 亀壽丸 and Rikijūmaru 力壽丸) as well as his “wife” (*Nyōbō* 女房, or “lady”), each of whom received their own individualized grants of property.⁷¹⁶ In addition to the set of six grants from 1327, a set of five additional bequests from 1330 add to the inheritances of *Nyōbō* and the secondary sons, alongside a third son, Kiyotake, who joined the

⁷¹⁵ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #43), to main heir Kiyonari.

⁷¹⁶ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #565), to secondary son Kamejūmaru. Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #664), to “wife” *Nyōbō*. Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #665), to secondary son Rikijūmaru. Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #827), to secondary son Rikijūmaru.

list of his benefactors.⁷¹⁷ The second set of grants is largely made up of newly cleared lands, the development of which likely prompted Kiyoyasu to write them. Additionally, one of the 1330 documents serves as a basic summary of all the grants made to Nyōbō and the four sons.⁷¹⁸ The 1330 bequests are thus an update to the 1327 bequests, and it is best to examine the details of the two sets together as overlapping records that constitute Kiyoyasu's extensive inheritance design.

In her initial 1327 inheritance, Nyōbō gained a named *sono* plot with a storehouse (*dozō* 土蔵, probably part of a residential compound, which were often included in *sono*) and attached uplands in the Nejime home region of Kōrimoto (郡本), as well as two plots of wet-rice paddy (listed as *sakoda* 迫田 or mountain-valley paddies) of five *tan* each, all of which had locally-specific names.⁷¹⁹ Her inheritance is listed as permanent, but as was increasingly common in women's inheritances, a limitation is placed on her rights; she could only choose heirs from among their children in accordance with her heart's desire (命後者心仁相叶子共中仁可讓給也).⁷²⁰ A set of instructions on taxes follows, stating the limit of her tax and ceremonial outlay of rice in case of any succession by their children (但子共相傳之時者、御佃米試斗領[饋]物四疋可致弁於其外御公事等者随分限可致其沙汰).⁷²¹ In the final lines of the grant we learn that Kiyoyasu and Nyōbō had three unnamed daughters, who received lifetime inheritances (the records of which are not extant), that would revert to the head of the Nejime upon their deaths

⁷¹⁷ Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō utsushi* (KKSI vol. 1, #567), to secondary son Kamejūmaru. Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #666), to Nyōbō. Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #667), to secondary son Kiyotake. Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #668), to multiple heirs. Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #669), to secondary son Rikijūmaru.

⁷¹⁸ Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #668).

⁷¹⁹ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #664).

⁷²⁰ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #664).

⁷²¹ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #664). There are a few minor mistakes in several of these documents, which are copies (*an* 案) of originals that were likely kept by the new head Kiyonari, but are now the only surviving versions.

(次女子参人分雖可与各別讓状、爲一期讓之間、所書置大間帳也).⁷²² Kiyoyasu bundled this information on his daughters' inheritances within Nyōbō's inheritance, and it seems to have been her responsibility to manage their female heirs after his death.⁷²³ It was not uncommon in the late Kamakura period for women of the warrior class to manage the female heirs of a household, although documents that detail this practice are limited.⁷²⁴

In a second 1330 grant, Kiyoyasu gave Nyōbō an additional share of several newly-cleared named paddy fields (*shinkaida* 新開田) with the four borders listed for each.⁷²⁵ Additionally, he listed a set of three hunting grounds (*karikura* 狩倉) that he purchased from a cousin in the Miyahara sub-lineage. Though no explicit statement is given, it seems that these lands were meant for mutual use by the whole Nejime group, and thus by granting them to their mother Nyōbō, Kiyoyasu sought to avoid the hassle and potential quarreling involved in dividing up the otherwise borderless and nondescript hunting territory, or the monopolization of the lands by his main heir.⁷²⁶ Kiyoyasu stated that the sale of these lands (to him) by Miyahara Jōsai (淨西, his uncle, also known as Shigekiyo, the second son of Miyahara founder Yorishige),⁷²⁷ could be found in a separate document, along with a confirmation document from the *Chinzei Tandai* court certifying the sale, neither of which remains.⁷²⁸

⁷²² Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #664). *Ōmachō* 大間帳 is a reference to a grant to multiple heirs, though no such grant including daughters is extant.

⁷²³ For example, as we learned earlier in this chapter, Ichikawa Morifusa left the management of all but one of his daughters to their mother Senkō.

⁷²⁴ As noted earlier in this chapter, the Ichikawa employed the same practice, with Ichikawa Morifusa's widow Senkō largely left in charge of their female heirs after his death.

⁷²⁵ Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #666).

⁷²⁶ Another move that parallels the Ichikawa and Senkō, who Morifusa left in charge of maintaining mutual use of the Akiyama hinterlands.

⁷²⁷ His full listed name is Miyahara Gorōjirō Nyūdō Jōsai (宮原五郎次郎入道淨西).

⁷²⁸ Later sales records from Jōsai survive, but they do not reference these specific properties and are not addressed to members of the main Nejime lineage. As is thematic in the *Nejime Monjo* and other period records, Jōsai, the second Miyahara son of a second Nejime son, was likely selling off some of his lands to escape tax burdens or debts and consolidate the properties he could effectively manage, a common practice among the smaller landholders in the

In his summary grant for all of his heirs from 1330, which deals mostly with minute details and miscellaneous matters related to his secondary heirs, Kiyoyasu also mandated that Nyōbō should receive seed rice purchased from a specific village in the Sata area for her fields, as well a yearly stipend of two *koku* of wheat and three *koku* of hulled rice farmed from the same village.⁷²⁹ He also granted her at least six servants, most of whom are the relatives of named individuals who were probably more than basic laborers, but who did not themselves have full names.⁷³⁰ This concluded Kiyoyasu's grant to Nyōbō, which is one of the most substantial female inheritances in the *Nejime Monjo*, and indicates that she had a significant role to play as the manager of their daughters, the arbiter of use of newly acquired hunting grounds, and the manager of lands of her own that she could divide among their children as she saw fit (which may have also included her own independent properties from her natal lineage). Though records are scarce, Nyōbō retained an important position in the group, bonding their children to each other, and although she was bureaucratically subordinate to her first son, who would collect levies from her, she retained social status as a matriarchal figure and was immune from any additional tax impositions he might set.

Kiyoyasu's three secondary male heirs received significant plots of land and servants of

region. For his other surviving sales records, see Genkō 3(1333).1.11 *Jōsai shojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #489) and Genkō 3(1333).1.11 *Jōsai kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #765). Later in his life, Jōsai elected to cut his disobedient son Magoshirō (孫四郎, or Shigetane, his main heir) out of his will and instead adopted Gorōtarō Kiyotada (清忠), who inherited the remainder of his lands in Mochimatsu (revealing that Jōsai did not sell off all his land). Adoptee Kiyotada's other connections in the area are unclear. See Shōhei 8 (1353).3.2 *Jōsai shojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #472) for Jōsai's bequest to Kiyotada. Although a "Kiyotada" is listed in the rolls of the Yamamoto sub-lineage in later compiled records of the Nejime genealogy, the respective childhood names do not align, and Kiyotada is otherwise unknown.

⁷²⁹ Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #668). I will break down this document alongside the grants to specific heirs.

⁷³⁰ Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #668). The names of the relatives of these servants include Buddhist names and full names, including the daughter of a Nishimoto relative (西本袈裟熊こハシ女). Thus, while some may have been commoners, they also had some level of local status and probably came from the families of small-scale local landholders or former landholders. This may indicate that they were household servants and assistants rather than agricultural workers, though we cannot be sure.

their own. Kiyoyasu's second *yuzurijō* was a grant to his second son, Jinan Kamejūmaru (次男亀壽丸), the childhood name of Nejime Kiyoyoshi (清義).⁷³¹ Kiyoyoshi received three *sono* plots in Kōrimoto along with three sets of wet paddies totaling nine and a half *tan* as permanent grants, with specific instructions as to his special tax duties that mirrored those of his mother Nyōbō (in the same amounts and categories). The third grant, also addressed to Kiyoyoshi, provided him with a sizeable group of servants (*shojū* 所従), eight of whom are directly named (two brought kin with them as *ichirui*).⁷³² We can assume that the lion's share of the human property of the Nejime automatically passed to the main heir Kiyonari as the steward of the bulk of the Nejime ancestral lands and exclusive titleholder, though no express grant of servants to him survives. Later military records confirm that Kiyonari led a large force made up of roughly one-third to one-half commoners, but the total size of his servant corps including household and agricultural laborers (some of whom could have doubled as soldiers) is unknown.⁷³³

Kamejūmaru (Kiyoyoshi) was adopted by Fujiwara Tokiyoshi (藤原時義) in 1323, and gained control Tokiyoshi's ancestral lands and *benzai-shi-shiki* post in Nozato village (野里村), an area in Shimo-Ōsumi immediately north of Nejime-in.⁷³⁴ That this occurred several years before Nejime Kiyoharu's grant meant that Kamejūmaru's father bequeathed lands to him in order to form a link to the minor "Fujiwara," and combined natal lands and property from a neighboring group.⁷³⁵ Fujiwara Tokiyoshi stated that even though he had children of his own,

⁷³¹ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #565).

⁷³² Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi shojū yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #566). The grant is in the same style as his great grandfather Kiyotsuna. See Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shojū shōchō* (KKSI vol. 1, #30) as well as the later Jōwa 6 (1350) *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #440).

⁷³³ I will discuss the size of the Nejime retainer corps in Chapter V.

⁷³⁴ Genkō 3 (1323).4.21 *Fujiwara Tokiyoshi yuzurijō utsushi* (KKSI vol. 1, #564).

⁷³⁵ Genkō 3 (1323).4.21 *Fujiwara Tokiyoshi yuzurijō utsushi* (KKSI vol. 1, #564). This is similar to the development of a sub-lineage, but was not characterized as such; after taking the name Kiyoyoshi, Kamejūmaru identified as Fujiwara, not Nejime.

because they were all daughters, Kamejūmaru, son of the Nejime-*dono*, was to become his main heir (雖有時義寅子、依爲女子奉養祢寢殿子息龜壽殿、爲嫡子次第相傳文書等、限永代所譲与實也).⁷³⁶

Kiyoyoshi's adoption may be the result of an invisible affinal tie to one of Tokiyoshi's daughters; examples of "son-in-law adoption" (*muko yōshi* 婿養子) are exceedingly common in the fourteenth century. Kiyoyoshi took an adult name that reflects both his natal (*kiyo* 清) and his adoptive (*yoshi* 義) households, though "*kiyo*" is common to Kyushu names. His adoptive father Tokiyoshi's only stipulation was that he would retain control of his property until death, after which Kiyoyoshi (listed as Kamejū-*dono* 龜壽殿) would take full control, and was required to provide a stipend to Tokiyoshi's three daughters (*joshi san nin fuchi serare beki nari* 女子三人可被扶持也).⁷³⁷ Because he no longer resided in the core of Nejime-*in* after his adoption, Kiyoyoshi is not visible in the *Nejime Monjo* after his initial inheritance, aside from a single battle document from 1336, where he appears alongside another Nejime relative.⁷³⁸ Kiyoyasu's dual inheritances left him in control of another lineage and in possession of his own official title.

Kiyoyasu's third male heir, Jinan Rikijūmaru (次男力壽丸), received four *sono* plots in Nishimoto, a set of paddies in Ogawa, eighteen *tan* of named paddies, and a number of other named properties including newly-cleared fields, tax-free lands (*beppu-bun* 別府分), and property in Mitsumatsu (光松) that are listed only by their local names including some borders, which are largely difficult or impossible to locate today.⁷³⁹ His inheritance document also lists a

⁷³⁶ Genkō 3 (1323).4.21 *Fujiwara Tokiyoshi yuzurijō utsushi* (KKSI vol. 1, #564).

⁷³⁷ Genkō 3 (1323).4.21 *Fujiwara Tokiyoshi yuzurijō utsushi* (KKSI vol. 1, #564).

⁷³⁸ Kenmu 3 (1336).6.17 *Takebe Kiyoyoshi gunchūjō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #792)

⁷³⁹ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #665).

three-fifths share of Sata Nishikata (佐多西方五分三) and Takeyasu-*myō* (武安名五分三), an old division of the southern area bordering Nejime land made previously by the Sata, which the Sata head Nobuchika (孫九郎信親) had since “abandoned.”⁷⁴⁰ Like in the wills to his mother and brother, specific instructions on taxation for these properties were listed out for Rikijūmaru. A second 1327 bequest to Rikijūmaru provided him with at least ten servants (in this case listed as heritable *genin* 重代相傳下人), all commoners without proper names, some of whom are listed in kin units of unknown total size.⁷⁴¹

According to Sata records, in 1316, Rikijūmaru, also called Rikijū-*dono*, was “adopted” (this time using the standard vernacular of *yōshi* 養子) by the Sata under his adult name, Chikayoshi (親吉) into the main branch of the Sata.⁷⁴² Eleven years prior to the grant from his father Kiyoyasu, he inherited some of the core holdings of the Sata. His inheritance of the three-fifths portion of the Nishikata area of Sata village, which is also outlined in his birth-father’s will, was actually the inheritance he had already gained from his adoptive father Sata Nobuchika.⁷⁴³ Also included in the will were paddies, upland fields, and “rivers and seas” (*kakai* 河海, unmentioned thereafter).⁷⁴⁴ The adult appellation of “Chikayoshi” adopted by Rikijūmaru is an abandonment of Nejime naming patterns (the names of nearly all Nejime men during the Kamakura and Nanbokuchō periods contain the “*kiyo*” 清 character) in favor of succession under

⁷⁴⁰ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #665). A *sari-jō* document abandoning property rights from Sata Nobuchika is also listed in the grant. The land was adjacent to a set of four *tan* of fields granted to Kiyonari’s sister or sisters (likely handed down in the no longer extant will to Kiyoyasu’s daughters, mentioned above). For the *sari-jō* abandonment document, see Shōwa 4 (1315).10.10 *Takebe Nobuchika sari-jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #533).

⁷⁴¹ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #827).

⁷⁴² Shōwa 5 (1316).11.12 *Takebe Nobuchika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #548).

⁷⁴³ Shōwa 5 (1316).11.12 *Takebe Nobuchika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #548). The initial division, internal to the Sata, is listed in Kōan 4 (1281).7.3 *Rokuhara shigyōjō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #539), Kōan 6 (1283).5 *Shitsuin no dai daihōshi bō kudashibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #540), and Kōan 8 (1285).10 *Takebe Sadachika shoryō chūmon-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #542), which lists the division in the second point.

⁷⁴⁴ Shōwa 5 (1316).11.12 *Takebe Nobuchika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #548).

his adoptive Sata father's name, both sharing the character “*chika*” (親) in their names.

However, a year after his natal inheritance from the Nejime, the takeover of Sata territory by (Nejime) Rikijūmaru or (Sata) Chikayoshi ignited a legal feud between the two groups over the three-fifths portion of Nishikata.⁷⁴⁵ This was one of several incursions by the Nejime into what was previously exclusively Sata territory, as internal tensions in the Sata along with mounting tax debts led to the sale of land to their distantly related Nejime cousins.

Nishikata sits adjacent to the Isashiki territory, and was the closest Sata property to the Nejime core. The transfers of several properties from the Sata to branches of the Nejime were confirmed, as was the adoption, which apparently involved debt cancellations, and may have been carried out initially to sell land (and was thus likely not meant to be a lasting kinship bond).⁷⁴⁶ A 1328 ruling from the Chinzei court reveals some of the circumstances behind the adoption.⁷⁴⁷ The court stated that because Nobuchika had failed to pay his *nengu* dues to the *honsho* (本所, the Nejime and/or the Hachiman-shrine), had not fulfilled his service obligations to the Kantō (*mikuji* 御公事), and had given up every scrap of his land and sold it off, he was breaking his own sales records by attempting to reclaim it.⁷⁴⁸ Nobuchika denied that he had attempted reclaim the land in a testimony extracted by Chinzei deputies.⁷⁴⁹ The court then cited a now-lost sales document that stated that Nobuchika had sold some of his land to the Nejime-*dono* for twelve *kanmon*, and abandoned his three-fifths share in Sakewa-*mura*, and concluded by restating that Nobuchika's sales document and document of abandonment would stand.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁵ Karyaku 3 (1328).8.29 Chinzei gechijō (KKSI vol. 1, #535). In the suit, Nobuchika is referred to by the Chinzei *tandai* as a secondary child (*shoshi* 庶子) of the Nejime.

⁷⁴⁶ Karyaku 3 (1328).8.29 Chinzei gechijō (KKSI vol. 1, #535).

⁷⁴⁷ Karyaku 3 (1328).8.29 Chinzei gechijō (KKSI vol. 1, #535).

⁷⁴⁸ Karyaku 3 (1328).8.29 Chinzei gechijō (KKSI vol. 1, #535).

⁷⁴⁹ Karyaku 3 (1328).8.29 Chinzei gechijō (KKSI vol. 1, #535). The testimony document is quoted within the ruling.

⁷⁵⁰ Karyaku 3 (1328).8.29 Chinzei gechijō (KKSI vol. 1, #535).

Like his brother and fellow secondary Nejime heir Kiyoyoshi, Nejime or Sata Chikayoshi found external mobility in adoption into an outside line. We will see some evidence that following this transfer, the Sata, though diminished, were still an independent economic and social entity that did not normally fall under the direct purview of the Nejime lord, but were also at least occasionally united under the military authority of the Nejime head. In one of Nejime Kiyonari's later battle reports, his brother "Sata" Chikayoshi is listed as his kin (*shinrui* 親類) shot twice in the left and right thigh while serving in Kiyonari's fighting force.⁷⁵¹ A later battle from 1381 that apparently occurred in the Sata region (called the "battle of Sata" or 佐多合戦, likely mostly fought on the coastline around cape Sata and in the water around the region) was fought by the Nejime, but no Sata names appear on the battle report of those wounded.⁷⁵²

I suspect that the "adoption" of Chikayoshi by Sata Nobuchika was strictly economically motivated, and some evidence for this survives. Nejime head Kiyoyasu had final control over at least some of the Sata properties passed down by Nobuchika through sale, bequest, and abandonment documents.⁷⁵³ Though in his 1327 grant to Rikijūmaru/Chikayoshi, Kiyoyasu gave him control of the three-fifths share of Takeyasu-*myō* (武安名), in his grant to his later secondary heir Saburōjirō Kiyotake (三郎次郎清武) from 1330, the same property appears, apparently having been reassigned to a different heir.⁷⁵⁴

Kiyotake inherited paddies, mountain fields, and a residence in Mitsumatsu-*myō* in Minamimata, several freshly cleared fields in Kōrimoto, as well as the same plot in Sata in the

⁷⁵¹ Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #75).

⁷⁵² Eitoku 1 (1381).6.1 *Sata gassen chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #135).

⁷⁵³ This is also the argument of Kozono Kimio. See *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, pp. 76-78, in which he details this case alongside several other examples of land sales in Nejime-in (some of which I will discuss shortly).

⁷⁵⁴ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #665).

Nishikata region held previously by his other brother “Sata” Chikayoshi.⁷⁵⁵ In his summary bequest, Kiyoyasu also provided Kiyotake with a named earthen grain storehouse and two male servants.⁷⁵⁶ Kiyotake held land in the north and south of Nejime-*in*, bordering Kiyonari's more stable holdings in the core of the region. The lawsuit with Sata Nobuchika may have prompted the transfer to Kiyotake, or may have been prompted by it; it is ultimately impossible to tell the sequence of events, as the tight time-frame of these three records and lack of detail on the exact course of re-appropriation and dispute over the lands goes almost wholly undetailed.⁷⁵⁷ This case is nevertheless significant, because it demonstrates that adoptive ties might involve a full-scale reassignment of kinship identity, or merely an excuse to take control of a set of lands, here not even by the adoptee himself, but through the proxy of his biological parent.

In summation, all three of Kiyoyasu's secondary male heirs inherited individual lands, each a combination of fields in the Nejime home region and on its outskirts. He had at least three daughters, whose fate was left up to their mother, though a separate bequest to them may have also existed. While two secondary sons each married out into additional wealth, the last-named heir, Kiyotake, was established as the head of a new lineage, later called simply the “Kita” (北 - meaning north) presumably for an *shiki* and lands in the detached northern territory of Ogawa-*in*, gained from an uncle, which I will examine in Chapter VI. Kiyotake is sometimes referred to as Kita-*dono* in documents addressed to him, indicating an effort to establish a new offshoot lineage for or by Kiyoyasu's final heir.⁷⁵⁸ This set of relationships is outlined in Figure #18.

⁷⁵⁵ Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #667).

⁷⁵⁶ Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #668).

⁷⁵⁷ Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #665), Karyaku 3 (1328).8.29 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #535), and Gentoku 2(1330).11.19 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #668). It is possible that Kiyoharu made his intentions regarding the 1330 bequest to Kiyotake clear prior to writing out the document.

⁷⁵⁸ This includes records like the index of wet-rice paddies in Minamimata, see Tokuji 3 (1308) *Nejime Minamimata suiden nayose-chō* (KKSI vol. 1, #384). Here, he is listed as Kita-*dono* several times. Other references to Kiyotake as Kita-*dono* include documents of the subordinates of the Nejime, such as Kenmu 5 (1338).7.30 *Setoyama no yuia ukebumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #551), a testimony from a resident of Sata Nishikata where Kiyotake inherited land. Because

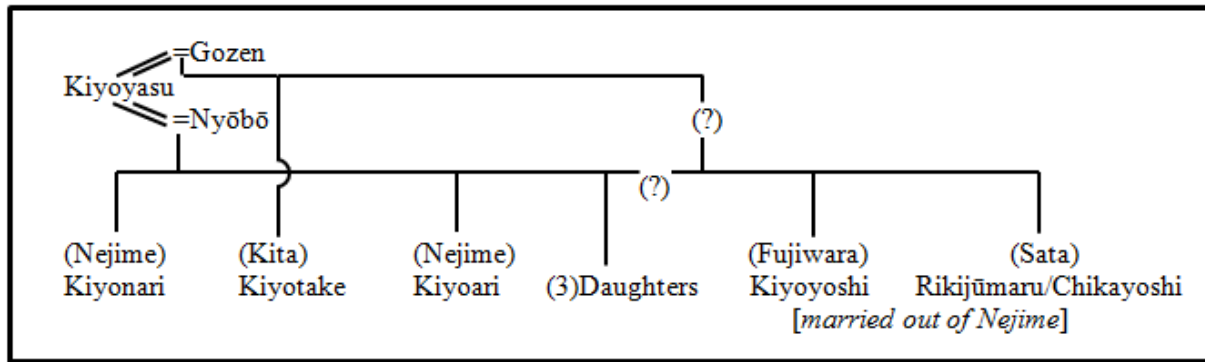


Figure 18: Nejime Kiyoyasu's heirs and affinal ties. "Gozen" and "Nyōbō" may or may not be the same woman.

Kiyoyasu's overlapping efforts to prevent another major internal struggle for property in the Nejime, represented by his eleven wills, were successful. Though a suit from his brother Kiyotaka remained outstanding (and went unresolved in his lifetime), Kiyoyasu's children had no documented conflicts over their inheritances. Just a few years after Kiyoyasu's death, the imperial revolutionary Emperor Go-Daigo and his military followers under Ashikaga Takauji overthrew the Kamakura regime, plunging Japan into several periods of civil war that would last for hundreds of years. It is unclear if the careful planning of Kiyoyasu was the reason for a lack of legal suits in the early 1330s between the Nejime brothers, or if the shift in focus to external military threats catalyzed a related shift toward positive kinship connections and group cohesion.

Yet Kiyoyasu's heirs and other collateral kin had roughly a half decade to begin any form of legal dispute over their lands, and did not. The mother of his children was left in charge of communal property, and individual holdings were clearly delineated to prevent conflict in the following generation. We can attribute the stability of the Nejime under the new head Kiyonari at least partially to the careful designs of succession and inheritance laid out by his father Kiyoyasu. Kiyoyasu was deeply concerned with forging stability in his kin group, which would

he was the only "Kita-dono" and the Kita lineage only existed for a few years, the relative number of references to Kiyotake as such are limited. These records are useful because they add to the limited set of references to the short-lived Kita sub-lineage. See also the *Nejime kyōdo-shi*, vol. 1, p. 175 for an analysis of the 1308 land register.

benefit the Nejime in the years to come, as the military exigencies of the 1330s eclipsed any records of property quarrels. Kiyoyasu's bequests represent the final major documentary output of the Nejime from the Kamakura period, and the last iteration of peacetime succession for the Nejime until the early modern period, almost three centuries later.

Much of the military success of the Nejime in the coming decades should be attributed to the creativity of Kiyoyasu in designating his heirs. The cooperation of the broader Nejime sub-lineage network was also of vital importance. The Nejime *ichizoku* network was built on overlapping marriage and inheritance ties that had grown since the time of Kiyotsuna and continued to expand in the early Nanbokuchō period. The generation of Kiyoyasu's heirs demonstrates that the Nejime social network was still an extremely flexible institution, and included a large body of kin that were several generations removed from the natal group. Blurred lines in ties to the Fujiwara and the Sata make the conception of "family" in the Nejime case even more tenuous, as terminology typically reserved for kin began to expand in its applicability.

The social borders delineating membership of the Nejime remained particularly malleable in the 1320s and 1330s, as organizational and military capacity shifted from an abstract priority focused on supporting the ongoing defense of Hakata and the power to retain local control to a concrete one formed through multiple existential threats to the Nejime. Beginning in the 1330s, military power grew to directly define the status of local warriors. In the case of the Nejime, that power grew out of a broad network of kin that the Nejime heads commanded in battle.

Having established his son Kiyonari as main heir, with brothers and cousins controlling territory to the south in Sata and in the north in Mochimatsu, Kiyoyasu retired. Kiyonari was left in a solid position; his father's documents were comprehensive but provided few limits on his authority. The only outstanding issue left for the new head was the ongoing suit with his uncle

Kiyotaka, who continued to argue through the *Chinzei* court for his rights to a chunk of the Nejime estate. It seems that Kiyonari was willing to part with some of his land to resolve the issue. A 1332 *Chinzei Tandai* record points to a 1329 *wayojō* (和与状) settlement between Kiyonari and his uncle Kiyotaka, who was by now known by the Buddhist name Dōe (道恵).⁷⁵⁹

Although no records from the settlement remain, based on the mention of the lost *wayojō*, we know that Kiyotaka managed to wrangle a chunk of property from his nephew Kiyonari soon after he became the head of the Nejime. Kiyotaka's later bequests as the founding member of the "Yamamoto" (山本) sub-lineage give us some idea of what he received from his nephew.⁷⁶⁰

Kiyotaka wrote three wills in the 1340s and 1350s,⁷⁶¹ which, although lacking in detail, include multiple sections of land in Minamimata. The core of the Yamamoto estate is listed as sitting between two mountains, Nikō-no-Akakari (or Akagari)-yama and Sumiya-no-takayama (*Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-in no uchi Nikō no akakari yama yori wa minami Sumiya no takayama made wa Matagorō chigyō su beshi* 大隅國祢寝院内二河のあかゝり山よりハ南すミヤの立山までハ又五郎可知行).⁷⁶² This valley estate was the main land-share of the Yamamoto sub-lineage.

Why was Kiyotaka's case stronger than that of his four uncles, whose suits did not lead to settlements? While Kiyotaka's uncles (Kiyotō, Kiyomasa, Sadatsuna, and Kiyotsuna) had no

⁷⁵⁹ Shōkyō 1 (1332).10.5 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #44). Kiyotaka may also sometimes have been mentioned by others under the name Takakiyo, though there are several figures with this name in the Nejime Monjo, and reference to Kiyotaka/Dōe as Takakiyo were erroneous. See KKSI vol. 1, p. 183, for a later Nejime genealogy where he is listed (incorrectly) as Takakiyo.

⁷⁶⁰ No bequests appear from any of the other original claimants aside from Kiyomasa's Nishimoto sub-lineage and Kiyotaka himself, indicating that Kiyotaka did succeed in suing for an inheritance.

⁷⁶¹ See Kōei 3 (1344).6.29 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #494), of an intestate female's land, Jōwa 6 (1350).11.17 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #495), transmitting 3 male child servants, and Bunna 4 (1355).8.25 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #496), transmitting his core lands between two mountains to his son.

⁷⁶² Bunna 4 (1355).8.25 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #496). This document, like the records of the Ichikawa, highlights the liminal nature of mountains as untamed land, as the property of the Yamamoto had to be couched in natural terminology to designate its borders, whereas in most cases at least some human development formed the border of other properties. River, mountains, and coasts regularly form the borders of properties in the Nejime record, though usually at least some other human developments (such as paddies, residences, or roads) makeup at least one side of a given property.

legal leg to stand on, and in the end gained nothing from their ongoing suits, Kiyotaka was probably on firmer ground in his request for an inheritance, especially after his brother Kiyoyasu divided his land among his sons, daughters, and affinal partner Nyōbō. Neither Kiyochika nor Kiyoharu specifically reiterated their predecessor Kiyotsuna's provision forbidding the division of the main property, effectively allowing Kiyotsuna's earlier single-heir mandate (prescribed for two generations) to lapse. When Kiyotaka's brother Kiyoyasu chose to ignore the short tradition of (not quite) unified inheritance, instead establishing his additional sons as separate landholders, he opened the door for the success of Kiyotaka's claim. Under Kiyonari, Kiyotaka coaxed a settlement of land in the Yamamoto region sufficient to develop a new sub-lineage.

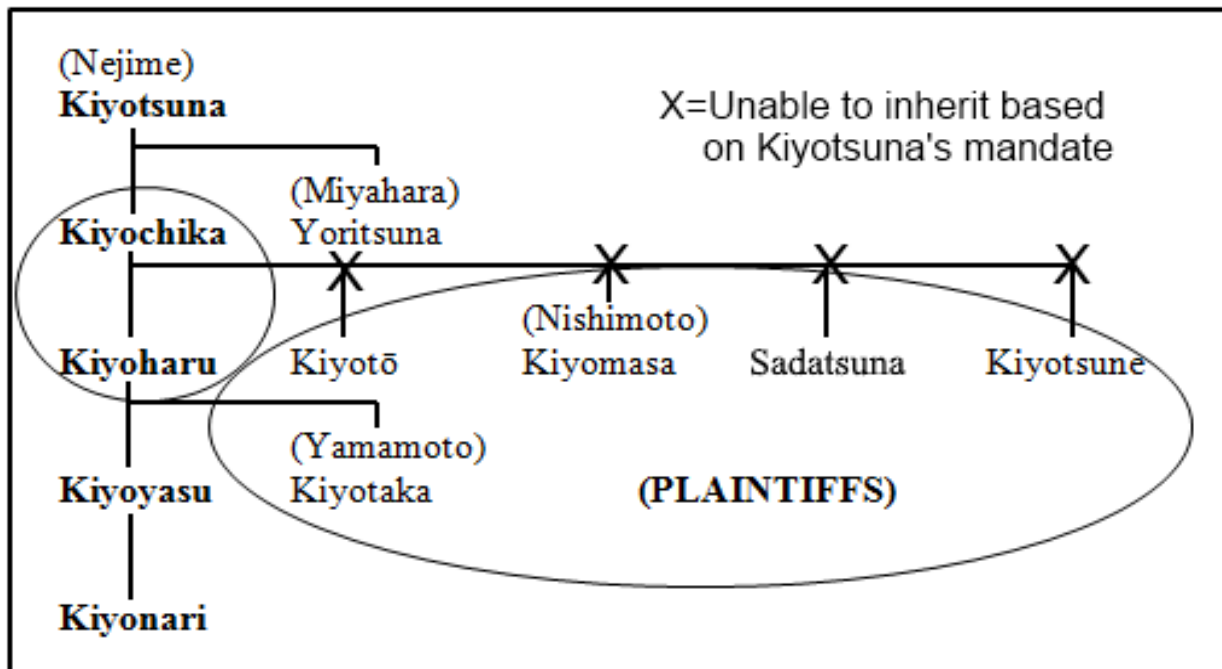


Figure 19: Yamamoto Kiyotaka's suit against Nejime head Kiyonari.

After two generations of legal filings against the main line, the rift between Kiyotaka and the new Nejime head Kiyonari was surprisingly small. Kiyonari allowed his uncle to establish his own holdings in Yamamoto-myō and adopt the Yamamoto name for his sub-lineage (a wholly undocumented process), while Kiyotaka pledged his loyalty to Kiyonari and the other sub-lineage heads only four years after the finalization of their settlement and the opening of

earnest warfare in Kyushu in 1336.⁷⁶³ There seems to have been no significant bad blood between Kiyonari and Kiyotaka or his successor, Kiyomasu (清増), whose military records are numerous and appear alongside those of Kiyonari as one of his most militarily active allies.⁷⁶⁴ I would argue that the unknown settlement that Kiyonari reached with his uncle, the land in Yamamoto serving as a proverbial olive branch between them, was designed to solidify ties between the two as rumblings of revolution stirred in Kyoto. By the time of their 1329 settlement, and certainly by the time of the 1332 certification of that settlement by the *Chinzei Tandai*, Kiyonari would have had some notion of the lack of stability in the Kantō and Kinai political centers.⁷⁶⁵ Settling the last major legal quarrel among his kin by giving up a chunk of land to his uncle may have seemed a small price to pay for the stability and unity it would bring to the various Nejime lineages that comprised the *ichizoku*. The conclusion of the suit ended decades of internal and external legal challenges for three generations of Nejime heads.

More important than the specific and often partly incomprehensible details of the land disputes that Kiyoharu and Kiyoyasu endured is the underlying reason for these conflicts. For the Nejime, a shift toward unitary inheritance, or at least the elevation of a main heir over the secondary heirs, was clearly underway after Kiyotsuna prohibited property divisions by his son or grandson. However, the problems that developed from fully unified inheritance under Kiyochika and Kiyoharu were more trouble than they were worth for their successors. As we will see in Chapters V and VI, rather than attempting to fully subordinate the Nejime sub-lineages, the new Nejime head Kiyonari supported expanded collateral claims in the north and south and

⁷⁶³ Kenmu 3 (1336).1.11 *Takebe Kiyonari no hoka go-mei ichizoku rensho keijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #738).

⁷⁶⁴ Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Takebe Kiyomasu gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #466), Bunna 3 (1354).3 *Nejime Kiyomasu gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #467), Enbun 2 (1357).5 *Takebe Kiyomasu gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #469).

⁷⁶⁵ Go-Daigo's initial plans to overthrow the Kamakura regime began in the early 1320s, until finally the 1331 outbreak of the Genkō Incident or Genkō War saw his banishment to the Oki islands. See Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*.

the successive rights of established sub-lineages in *Nejime-in*, including the Miyahara, Nishimoto, and Kita (under his sibling Kiyotake), and gave up land to his uncle to form the Yamamoto sub-lineage. The support of powerful, networked kin was clearly important to Kiyonari, who structured the *Nejime* as a military unit unified through his collaboration with a large group of relatives. These collateral sub-lineages were organized into a fighting force that he managed as head of the district and military leader, but did not control as head of the kin group.

Kiyoharu and Kiyoyasu's successive legal difficulties in securing their inheritances came from internal rivalries with brothers and from neighboring warriors attempting to encroach on the now sizeable but also scattered primary *Nejime* landholdings. Theirs was effectively an ongoing, multi-generational argument about what should be expected from and by the secondary heirs of the main *Nejime* house, who were increasingly cut out by the design of Kiyotsuna, maintained under Kiyochika and Kiyoharu. Not all property transfers to these secondary heirs are extant, and each had some small amount of land of their own, possibly bought with cash or inherited through otherwise unknown lines of property. As the economy, particularly in southern Kyushu, shifted toward the use of coinage, and debts and sales were expressed increasingly in cash values rather than earlier rice values, secondary heirs and members of the sub-lineages could and did sometimes buy land, and their exact wealth is impossible to estimate.

The creation and maintenance of numerous sub-lineages, each of which played important roles over the following decades (detailed in Chapter VI), was only possible because of ongoing inheritance division and the maintenance or establishment of secondary lineages, which the *Nejime* could employ as necessary to bolster the overall solidarity and security of their extended kinship network. As we will soon see, the organizational capacity of the *Nejime* was sufficient to unite the bulk of its offshoots, forming a powerful military network that stood atop its extant

social framework, both of which ultimately derived from horizontal networking strategies.

Just before war broke out in 1333, a fifth Nejime sub-lineage (following the Miyahara, the Nishimoto, the Kita, and the Yamamoto) began to form, this time almost entirely through land donations from various collaterals and an affinal tie to the main line. Well into his retirement, Nishimoto founder Kiyomoto wrote one final grant to a niece, who is known in his records only by the very common “Gozen” (less a “name” than a polite nominal signifier of an otherwise personally unnamed woman, similar to a female “you,” “her,” or *anata*) and as the “mother of Nejime Yajirō-dono” (*Nejime Yajirō-dono haha Gozen* 寢弥次郎殿母御前) in 1322.⁷⁶⁶ This was not property that came from the Nejime holdings; Kiyomoto purchased the land, three *tan* of paddy, for twelve *kanmon* in cash from the Sata in 1316, a move that would become important to those who inherited it later.⁷⁶⁷

Thirteen years after selling a large share of his own property to the Nejime head for thirty *kanmon* to pay off outstanding tax debts, Kiyomoto used some of his cash to give land back to a nephew (and again fell into more tax debt, as we learned from his 1326 settlement with Kiyoyasu).⁷⁶⁸ “Yajirō” is a common childhood name in the Nejime main line, but among Kiyomoto’s known grand-nephews, only one, Kiyonobu (清信) was called Yajirō, a childhood name Kiyonobu also passed on to his son Kiyotane.⁷⁶⁹ “Gozen” was Kiyonobu’s affine Zen’a (known also as “Mata,” a rare written example of an adult female’s non-Buddhist name in the Nejime records) and her child, thus Yajirō was the son of a secondary son of the main line and a

⁷⁶⁶ Genkō 2 (1322).7.7 *Takebe Kiyomoto yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #714).

⁷⁶⁷ Shōwa 5 (1316).10.5 *Takebe Nobuchika kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #534). Nobuchika was the main heir in one of several Sata sub-lineages.

⁷⁶⁸ Karyaku 1 (1326).12.20 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #289).

⁷⁶⁹ See KKSI vol. 1, p. 182, which shows that Nejime Kiyonobu’s childhood name was also Yajirō.

woman from the Miyahara, his maternal tie being stronger than his paternal one.⁷⁷⁰ A complex web of relationships becomes apparent through their documents, as Zen'a, a daughter of the Miyahara sub-lineage, had a child with a secondary son (with no known inheritance) from the main line, and inherited a set of properties from Kiyomoto and other tangential relatives from the Nejime sub-lineages, forming a property line driven entirely by links to Nejime collaterals.

Kiyomoto's donation to Zen'a (and her son Yajirō Kiyotane) served as one share of land that helped develop yet another group, later called the Ikehata, the most active and successful Nejime sub-lineage in terms of military activity. Kiyomoto chose to give the land to Kiyotane through his mother's line, rather than through his father Kiyonobu, possibly because of the enduring prohibition of divided inheritance in the main line, which was still in dispute when he made the grant in 1316. By passing the land through Kiyotane's mother (who was not from the main line) instead of his father, the matter of dividing property and main line inheritance could be avoided, and Kiyonobu and Zen'a, as a pair of secondary heirs, could form a legacy of their own. This was the second time Kiyomoto skirted the rule of inheritance division by his passing lands through collateral secondary relatives. Although he was a secondary heir and became financially insolvent several times, Kiyomoto's long life led him to form a variety of collateral ties, and he became a major architect of the Nejime sub-lineage network, having contributed to the formation of the Sumino (which grew from his Nishimoto line) and Ikehata.

Zen'a, a daughter of the Miyahara line, also had a significant natal inheritance of her own, including five *tan* of paddy, two and one-tenths *chō* of upland, and a *zaike* residence in Minamimata, listed as the property of her dead father Miyahara Gorō Yorishige (亡父宮原五郎

⁷⁷⁰ See also Genkō 4 (1324).7.5 *Chinzei shigyōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #681). Referred to as Takebe-*uji* and Mata (now dead) and as the mother of Yajirō Kiyotane. We know Kiyotane's mother's name is also Zen'a from multiple documents, including court records in which he represented her as a deputy. See Genkō 3 (1323).6.10 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #678).

頼重跡所) in a confirmation from the Kantō from 1323.⁷⁷¹ It is likely that her natal inheritance was facilitated by her affinal tie (which was not coded as "marriage") to a son of the main line, or perhaps more aptly by the birth of the male child they already had together when she inherited her lands. For example, in her inheritance from her uncle Kiyomoto, she is referred to as a mother of his grand-nephew, rather than a daughter of his brother.⁷⁷² This is an example of a thematic element of female landholding that often bound women most directly to their sons rather than their parents, affines, or other kin.

Zen'a died in late 1323 or early 1324, passing on her lands to her son and *chakushi* Kiyotane in a set of three *yuzurijō*.⁷⁷³ The first two bequests are divided into the three *tan* plot from Kiyomoto and the lands owned by Zen'a herself, now packaged together as "*Minami Nyūdō-sono*."⁷⁷⁴ Zen'a attributed her inheritance of the land to her dead father Yorishige (founder of the Miyahara), and warded against potential lawsuits by referring to a previous case she had won against several other relatives, and a confirmation she had received from the Kantō.⁷⁷⁵ Her final bequest conveys instructions to her second son, Saburō Kiyoe (三郎きよいゑ), an otherwise unknown heir who received a minor inheritance of two *tan* of land (of unknown type) in the same *Minami Nyūdō-sono* plot, most of which Kiyotane inherited.⁷⁷⁶

Regardless of how or why Zen'a came to be the chief proprietor and effective founder of

⁷⁷¹ Genkō 3 (1323).12.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #679). Zen'a is referred to here as Takebe-*uji* and Mata. In this record, her 2.1 *chō* of upland, five *tan* of paddy, and *zaike* residence were confirmed by the Kamakura authority. The original grant from Yorishige is not extant.

⁷⁷² Genkō 2 (1322).7.7 *Takebe Kiyomoto yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #714).

⁷⁷³ Genkō 2 (1322).12.16 *Ama Zen'a yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #715), and Genkō 3 (1323).8.25 *Ama Zen'a yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #716).

⁷⁷⁴ Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708). This is a useful example of what might be included in a *sono* in southern Kyushu, in this case including a residence, upland, and paddy.

⁷⁷⁵ The confirmation survives, though not all the documents from the lawsuit are extant. See Genkō 3 (1323).12.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #679). Zen'a's inheritance and the lawsuits that followed share much in common with Shakua of the Nakano, whose lands passed out to the Ichikawa just as Zen'a's went to form a new line.

⁷⁷⁶ Genkō 3 (1323).8.25 *Ama Zen'a yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #717).

the Ikehata sub-lineage, her case is unique in the Nejime, as she seems to have had more property than any other woman in the extended Nejime network during the medieval period (Kiyoyasu's affine Nyōbō is a close second). As in other cases of female inheritance in the Nejime, which were usually extremely limited and often undocumented, Zen'a's inheritance served primarily to bridge the gaps between multiple male property lines.

Zen'a's affinal link to the main line was probably not the only case of endogamy in the group, though it is the only one that can be concretely confirmed through the record. However, it should be clear that Kiyotane's relationship with his mother, Zen'a, was much more important to the development of his sub-lineage than his tie to his father, Kiyonobu, of whom we know very little. The Ikehata, a sub-lineage developed directly under female inheritance in the 1300s, is a unique and valuable example of how collateral ties could overlap to develop new relational structures even after male inheritance became generally predominant in the kin group. As such, it demonstrates the flexible nature of medieval Japanese warrior kinship.

Kiyotane went on to acquire additional lands through direct purchase from Sata Chikamasa, which, like those of the Nejime main line, took the shape of inheritances for legitimacy. Chikamasa was a secondary Sata heir, who inherited land from a female Sata property line originating from his grandmother.⁷⁷⁷ The property Chikamasa sold to Kiyotane was not clearly laid out, listed only as Chikamasa's ancestral "land in Sata village" in Chikamasa's personal records from the Rokuhara and Kantō authorities.⁷⁷⁸

Although Kiyotane never took the Sata name and purchased Chikamasa's property for thirty-five *kanmon* in cash (a substantial sum), in a later record detailing Kiyotane's holdings

⁷⁷⁷ The land went from "Takebe uji no me" to daughter "Taira Ujime," then on to grandson Sata Chikamasa. See Shōō 2 (1289).2.10 *Takebe Ujime yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #709) and Kagen 2 (1304).3.15 *Taira Ujime yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #710).

⁷⁷⁸ Bunpō 2 (1318).12.10 *Takebe Chikamasa kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #712).

from 1337, he also referred to Sata Chikamasa as his adoptive father (*yōfu* 養父) to legitimize the sale, just as had occurred in the Nejime main line a decade earlier.⁷⁷⁹ Kiyotane's fictive adoption by Chikamasa allowed him categorize his newly purchased Sata lands as “ancestral property” (*jūdai sōden chi* 重代相傳地) using standard terminology applied to land passed down through direct familial ties. Historians have categorized this type of transfer through the dual channels of bequests and sales documents as *uriyuzuri* (売譲), of which there are numerous examples.⁷⁸⁰ Chikamasa had children, but was on bad terms with his son Sata Chikatsune (親経). Their conflict reveals the size of the land, which included seven *tan* of paddy and one *sono* in Sata *mura*. Further, it seems that in addition to the land in Sata, Chikamasa also had a *myōshu-shiki* post of village headship in Miwa-*mura*, a village on Tanegashima Island, just south of the Sata peninsula, which was his ancestral property (and ended up in the possession of Kiyotane thereafter), and served to extend the Nejime network offshore.⁷⁸¹

Kiyotane won his suit against the disgruntled son Chikatsune in 1332, when the *Chinzei Tandai* confirmed the legality of his purchase (of independently-held and therefore saleable *shiryō* 私領 property) and commanded Chikatsune to cease his incursions into Kiyotane's new land in Sata village.⁷⁸² To legitimize his holding of the *myōshu-shiki* on Tanegashima Island, Kiyotane submitted his own report of his adoption by Chikamasa along with copies of Chikamasa's records, including a “family tree” or *keizu* (系圖).⁷⁸³ This record has not survived,

⁷⁷⁹ Bunpō 2 (1318).12.10 *Takebe Chikamasa yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #711) and Kenmu 4 (1337).6 *Nejime Kiyotane mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #743).

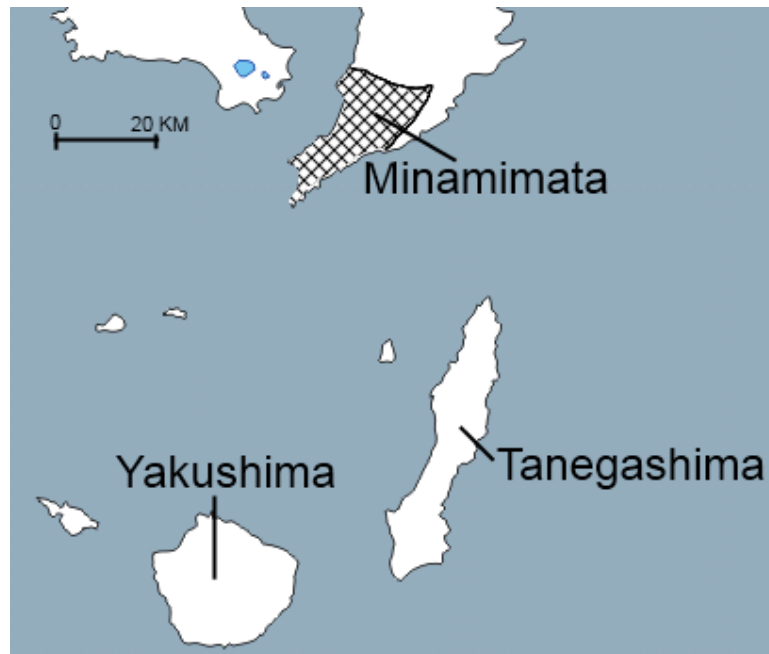
⁷⁸⁰ See Muraishi Masayuki, *Chūsei no keiyaku shakai to monjo*, pp. 11, 51-52, 99-103, and 123 note #9. See also the *Kokushi daijiten* entry for *uriyuzuri*.

⁷⁸¹ Kenmu 4 (1337).6 *Nejime Kiyotane mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #743). This holding soon thereafter converted to a broader *jitō-shiki* through reward for military service by Kiyotane. This award is detailed in Chapter IV.

⁷⁸² Shōkei 1 (1332).12.5 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #737), and Shōkei 1 (1332).12.5 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #686), and the also related Karyaku 3 (1328).8.29 *Chinzei gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #535).

⁷⁸³ Kenmu 4 (1337).6 *Nejime Kiyotane mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #743). The modern characters for *keizu* are 系図.

but assuming it was not a false genealogy showing an artificially close link between Chikamasa and Kiyotane (which it might well have been), it would have gone back at least nine generations, stemming back to the division of the Nejime and Sata under their mutual ancestor Takebe Yorikiyo (頼清), who died around 1145 after dividing up the peninsula.⁷⁸⁴



Map 9: The southern islands of Ōsumi Province at the northern end of the Ryukyu island chain.

After receiving extensive land from his mother and purchasing several more properties from his fictionalized adoptive "father" in the Sata, Kiyotane also received additional minor inheritances from laterally and tangentially related members of the Nejime network. These included grants from two uncles, one called Shigekiyo from the Miyahara sub-line, and another uncle "Takakiyo," which seems to be an alternate name of Kiyotaka, founder of the Yamamoto sub-line. In 1319, Shigekiyo, another of Yorishige's children and a brother of Zen'a, gave Kiyotane a three-*tan sono* in Minamimata, the exact location of which is unclear.⁷⁸⁵ In 1323 uncle "Takakiyo" gave Kiyotane a small plot of two *tan* in his home of Yamamoto village,

⁷⁸⁴ Ten'yō 2 (1145).3.12 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Yorikiyo shobun no jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #641).

⁷⁸⁵ Gennō 1 (1319).10.15 *Takebe Shigekiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol.1, #713).

referring to Kiyotane as a “nephew of the same surname” (*issei oi* 一姓甥), and the land as his “independent ancestral property” (*Takakiyo no jūdai sōden shiryō* 高重代相傳私領).⁷⁸⁶

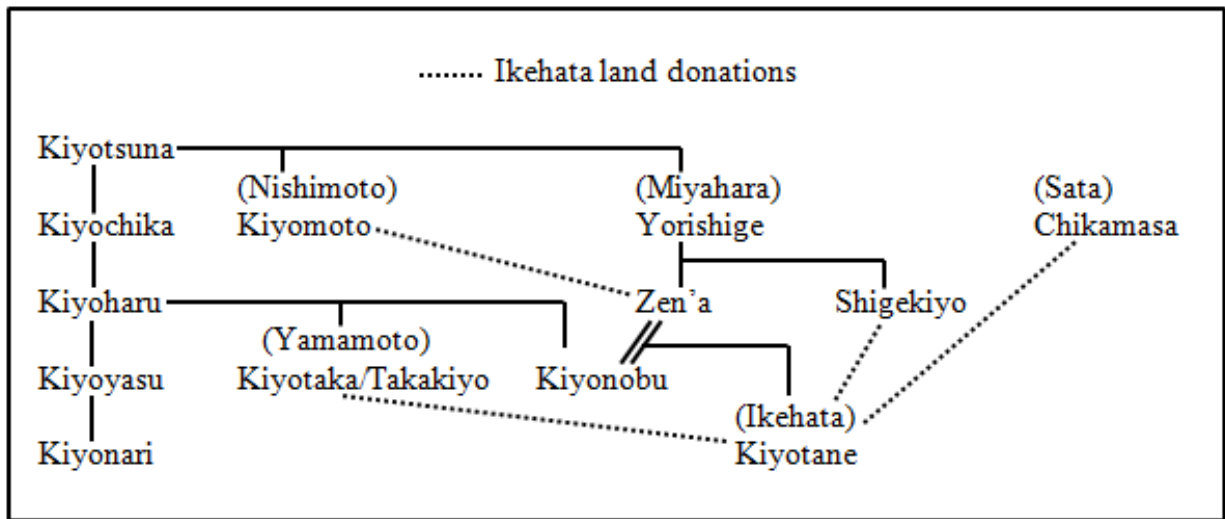


Figure 20: Land donations to Zen'a and Kiyotane, forming the Ikehata sub-lineage.

The tie between the Yamamoto and the Miyahara or Ikehata reaffirms the categorization of the Nejime as a networked relational entity with overlapping horizontal bonds. The multilayered set of ties between the new Ikehata sub-lineage, the Miyahara, the Nishimoto, the Yamamoto, the Nejime main line, and even elements of shared identity with the distant cousin line of the Sata demonstrates the complexity of the lineage ties involved in the ever-expanding Nejime network of the early 1300s. Further, it also demonstrates that despite their adoption of various separate names, and their independent landholdings, they still considered one another to be a part of the same larger social entity (the *ichizoku*) comprised of various kinship ties.⁷⁸⁷

The Ikehata, not known as such until the later years of Kiyotane's life, formed through Zen'a, the daughter of a sub-lineage head who held substantial land inherited through her

⁷⁸⁶ Genkō 3 (1323).10.12 *Takebe Takakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #718). As an aside, this document also provides a small amount of detail on Nejime material or monetary contributions to the ongoing defense of Hakata, as among the *kuji* that Takakiyo mentions in this document are contributions for the buildup of the defense wall in Hakata; *ishitsuiji* (石築地), short for *ishitsuiji-yaku* (石築地役) is mentioned among other service costs and taxes to be provided from Takakiyo's lands.

⁷⁸⁷ See also Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 81. Kozono includes a chart of the lands that went into the early Ikehata, not including the Sata land, which was gained through purchase.

father's Miyahara line. Additional lands were donated through the Miyahara, the Yamamoto, and the Nishimoto (through Zen'a) sub-lineages, as well as purchases of land from the Sata that took the shape of quasi-inheritances (for an exchange of cash). Under Kiyotane, the Ikehata became the most powerful of the Nejime sub-lineages by the mid-fourteenth century, drawing legitimacy from the main line connection of his father Kiyonobu, and land from matrilineal ties to the Miyahara and lateral connections to the broader Nejime network, and fictive kinship links (which may not have had lasting social weight) to one of the Sata secondary matrilineal lines.

We will continue to examine the succession and inheritance of the Nejime and its subordinate and collateral units in Chapter VI. To evaluate the later progression of the Nejime after the end of the Kamakura period, I will examine the evolving political and military situation in which the Nejime found themselves as increasingly important local fighters operating across southern Kyushu in the mid-to-late fourteenth century. The military life of the Nejime contextualizes and shapes their social evolution in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and provides many additional insights into their organization going forward. However, the context and type of documents that were generated after the 1330s shifted rapidly toward external issues. Kiyonari retained his position as the head of the Nejime until the 1350s, and under his tenure as unofficial military leader of the entirety of Minamimata, the Nejime grew quickly as a force to be reckoned with in Southern Kyushu.

Conclusion: Lawsuits and the Shape of Kinship

Internal lawsuits rest at the core of the mid-to-late thirteenth century story of both the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa, as shifts in headship pinched collaterals and cognates in both

groups, but in different ways.⁷⁸⁸ In the Nejime, the extensive and repeated trends of continued inheritance division led to a wide body of independent or semi-dependent collateral kin who operated outside the direct mandate of the core landed group or main line. This network was self-perpetuating, and most needed minimal additional support from the main line following their initial inheritances. Network members interacted with each other and the main line on equal terms, though political power dynamics obviously favored the main line, and sub-lineages were effectively subordinate to the Nejime main heir in administrative matters due to the combined position of *gunji* and *jitō* controlled exclusively by a line of singular male heirs. However, the overall outlook for Nejime secondary kin in the late Kamakura period was good; there were revived precedents for the division of property, ample collaterals to rely on for social and financial capital, neighbors to snatch up additional land from, and affinal opportunities that would maintain property within the Nejime network, and in some instances, expand its scope.

Contrastingly, in the Nakano/Ichikawa, Shakua, the Nakano daughter and main heir who handed off her lands and titles to an adopted son (Ichikawa Morifusa), prompted legal challenges from her mother, adoptive brother, and other relatives (both blood-related and otherwise) who challenged the decisions she made in her bequest. The importance of good will-writing was not lost on Shakua, whose short but solid *yuzurijō* left no doubt as to the status of her adopted heir, who was to become the new head and local official. Her tie to Ichikawa Shigefusa (Morifusa's father) goes largely unmentioned, and he appears to have had no direct hand in managing the group moving forward (he also had a "new wife" of unknown origin). Shakua's connection to the Ichikawa was through both father Shigefusa and son Morifusa, but her adoptive maternal

⁷⁸⁸ As noted in Chapter II, this is a common feature of Kamakura warrior families. For a recent study of lawsuits and confirmation records in the Kamakura period, see Matsuzono Junichirō, "Kamakura bakufu no chigyō hogohōsei," which analyzes a number of rulings from the Rokuhara and Chinzei courts and outlines legal proceedings.

connection was of greater primacy, at least in documents.

Witnessing the legal plight of the Nakano (and inheriting much of it along with their properties) Ichikawa Morifusa and Senkō, a highly visible and instrumental matriarch with land of her own adjacent to Morifusa's, endeavored to develop a consolidated, singular corporate identity that was more internally resilient and unified, by both maintaining and clearly delineating the rights and limits of the *sōryō* position of headship. The Ichikawa *sōryō* was designed, through careful documentation, as a mediator, a tax collector, a leader, and a manager of farms (wet and dry) and mountain hinterlands. He was a protector of ritual and agent of the Suwa shrine, whose position in Shikumi had religious as well as practical political roots. Many of these functions may have existed in the Nakano as well, but because they were not clearly articulated, they were always legally contested. The Ichikawa *sōryō* was also instructed not to overstep their authority, and as a "widow" (though not technically a *goke*) Senkō shared power over her children that limited her *sōryō* son's ability to leverage his position, which carried obligations alongside prerogatives. Of note is that there is no evidence of internal disunity in the Ichikawa at any point following Morifusa's death, which represented the first uncontested transfer of land and office in the *Ichikawa Monjo* dating back to the 1170s, over a hundred years and a half-dozen leading figures earlier. The comprehensive nature of Morifusa's wills, the evident strength of his affinal tie to and direct collaboration with Senkō in lineage designation, and the delineation of small but significant grants to the secondary children who remained in the region assured the legally and socially stable transfer of power. The geographical layout of the group was meant to alleviate potential disputes (as there were mountains between each sub-estate), and strategically placed to defend their territory from outside incursion.

In the Nejime, after Kiyotsuna attempted to curtail the rights of future secondary heirs,

his disgruntled descendants proved legally resilient and problematic enough that they successfully overturned the abortive trend toward their exclusion from inheritance. The Nejime returned to divided inheritance about thirty years after Kiyotsuna's death, employing the loophole that his will technically only stipulated that two generations of cognates were to be cut-off. In reality, the Nejime never wholly unified in inheritance, as Kiyotsuna's son creatively sustained the Nishimoto subline by placing his child at the head of the group, an action that both defied his father and proved that unification of property possession was not as high a priority as the maintenance of a broad base of local control. Though one generation of brothers lost their suit claiming property, their nephew won his case, and divisions continued thereafter.

Unlike the Ichikawa record, which is full of key female actors, most Nejime women are extremely hard to track, although a few appear as land sellers or donors who we cannot follow on any direct relational basis. Instead, women were regularly poorly-documented independent landholders who appear only in cases where they gave up their land to sub-lineages, likely to forge bonds with future generations in their retirements.⁷⁸⁹ Kurushima Noriko has theorized that women who appear in documents with otherwise unexplained properties in the early fourteenth century (in her case, with a focus on donations to religious institutions) likely earned their land independently through various market activities and economic pursuits that are wholly invisible in most warrior records, which always focus on the official political and military spheres that were increasingly dominated by men.⁷⁹⁰

Male cognates from the Nejime sub-lineages probably engaged in similar practices, and it

⁷⁸⁹ These women are difficult to track, and may not be related to the Nejime in many cases (it is equally possible that they are Sata relatives). I will discuss several of them in Chapter VI. For one example, see Kenmu 2 (1335).2.10 *Renfuku yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #720, and Ryakuō 5 (1342).9.2 *Ama nenbō sarijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #721).

⁷⁹⁰ Kurushima Noriko "Marriage and Female Inheritance in Medieval Japan," p. 40. She states: "Quite a few female names appeared in medieval lists of donors to religious institutions. This is proof that these women had the right to dispose of their own property. How did they acquire such property? It is very likely they earned it themselves."

is likely that the occasionally-visible women whose relational status is otherwise unclear may have been their sisters, wives, or mothers, who may have been returning lifetime-only inheritances to the lines from which they originated. The most visible Nejime female was Zen'a, who inherited significant natal properties multiple small patches of land, all late in life, after having married into the main house from her roots in the Miyahara (and given birth to a male child, perhaps making her a safe bet for large-scale inheritance). Yet although Zen'a effectively founded the Ikehata sub-lineage, the official naming of the group is attributed to her son and paternal lineage founder Kiyotane.

After the Nejime lawsuits limiting inheritance division were settled, multiple additional property divisions followed in the early fourteenth century, which led to the further proliferation of collateral sub-lineages (the Yamamoto, Kita, and Ikehata all appear during or after these suits, while the Miyahara and Nishimoto/Sumino have roots that predate the prohibition). In their documents, these separate but related groups interacted with each other as much or more than with the main house. Nejime sub-lineage interactions also included extended financial interaction with their southern Sata neighbors (who were not considered collateral kin despite shared roots with the Nejime, having divided off in the Heian period) that resulted in a takeover of much of the northerly portions of the Sata and Isashiki estates. The Nejime sub-lineages formed a buffer between the main line and its non-relative neighbors, while simultaneously developing economic interests of their own. Their expansion was of mutual benefit to the entire Nejime network. Cash was readily available for these purchases, but we don't know where it came from; Nejime sub-lineages didn't sell their property and had limited access to income generating lands, and the cash of the sub-lineages was likely the product of undocumented market activity.

Unlike the clear delineations of rights and duties visible in the Ichikawa, the Nejime

heads instituted few rules and regulations, mostly limited to occasional or unexpected costs and tributes, particularly for land surveyors, who could have a major effect on the welfare of all landholders in the area. These regulations were built into the original inheritances of collateral group heads, and were not amended over time. It is unclear whether the original impositions of inheritance carried on past the first generation. It is my opinion that they probably did, but we can only speculate due to the limits of the record. The point concerning land surveys was largely moot in the fourteenth century anyway, as central efforts to control the provinces grew increasingly sporadic and piecemeal, and earlier relationships of taxation and income sharing by local and central elites dissolved into rule and profit by direct control of contested territory.

In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, lawsuits and legally certified inheritances shaped these two groups to a greater degree than military prerogatives, which did not exist in the Ichikawa and were limited in the Nejime to the defense of Hakata in the wake of (and during) the Mongol invasions. Yet for future generations the military prerogatives of the fourteenth century, following the collapse and overthrow of the Kamakura government, came to predominate corporate identity, the design of inheritance, and the rights of group heads and their kin. The next chapter examines the same basic topics as this one, under the reforged political, economic, and documentary contexts of the divided period of northern and southern courts, an era of open civil war that saw both the Nejime and Ichikawa take to the field as local warrior elites, politically adroit military subordinates, and *ichizoku* at war.

CHAPTER V: WARRIOR KINSHIP AS MILITARY STRUCTURE

During the violent Kenmu (1333-1336) and Nanbokuchō (1336-1392) periods, warriors experienced avenues of social and economic growth that had been largely closed to them since 1185. Rewards for merit-worthy military service reemerged as a primary means of upward socioeconomic mobility in latter two-thirds of the fourteenth century, a trend well-known to the field of premodern Japanese studies.⁷⁹¹ This was the same powerful phenomenon that motivated members of the warrior class in the twelfth century under imperial and aristocratic rule, and then in rebellion against it. In the early fourteenth century, a keen awareness of the potential benefits of military service permeated the warrior class well before any fighting began or rewards were rendered. Karl Friday has aptly characterized the similarities between the Genpei War (1180-1185) and the Nanbokuchō wars (1333-1392) as “new wine in old bottles.”⁷⁹²

Contrary to the bold, vast conflicts retold in later-written literary sources such as the *Taiheiki*, fourteenth century warfare was most frequently a “small-scale, disorganized, individualistic affair.”⁷⁹³ Small skirmishes provided opportunities for the recognition of individual skill and bravery, which equated to a heightened potential for rewards from military sponsors, provided one fought for the winning side.

⁷⁹¹ The subject of social mobility in wartime is a central concept in Thomas Conlan’s *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth Century Japan*.

⁷⁹² Karl Friday, *Samurai, Warfare, and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, pp. 128-134.

⁷⁹³ Helen Craig McCullough, *The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan*, p. xxxiii.

This chapter seeks to find what kinship data is hidden in military documents, and what elements of familial history can be told through records of fighting, reports for duty, and reward.⁷⁹⁴ For both the Nejime and the Ichikawa, military organization was built on internal collateral structural foundations, drew on environmental prerogatives and constraints, and grew from the social kernel of kinship-driven roles and subdivisions formed in the Kamakura period. As members of the warrior class, warfare and military capability were a distinct and key feature of these kin groups, and were considerations in the descent priorities of both the Ichikawa and the Nejime. To define warrior kinship as it existed in the fourteenth century and beyond, one must also define military structure, because the two went hand in hand.

As outlined in Chapter II, the nature of warrior documents produced after 1333 shifts quickly toward a new and unprecedented military focus. The previous chapter explored the judicially contentious but largely peaceful world of warrior inheritance in the Kamakura period. That era of mostly nonviolent control of the provinces was shattered by an imperial upstart who redefined the political landscape and caused a cascade failure in the systems of dual government, that would never be fully restored (despite the best efforts of the Ashikaga shoguns). As Kamakura collapsed, new rivalries emerged at the political centers, which plunged the country

⁷⁹⁴ From the 1330s onward, several different types of documents are available that were uncommon in previous generations. These documents are military in nature more often than they are based in inheritance records, a sign of the times that permeates the record from all periods of military significance. Thus, in addition to a few disputes from the final days of the Kamakura regime, occasional bequests and internal records of property movements, in this chapter I will draw from documents that primarily refer to military service and explanations of matters pertaining to these topics. These are mostly in the form of *gunchūjō*, comprehensive military reports that were often compiled from the battle reports of various individuals as a form of petition for reward for military service, and *chakutōjō*, or reports to duty. These types of military documents range from extensive summarizations of battles or skirmishes, their participants, and individual acts of bravery, to simple and straightforward reports of where a when warriors responded to calls for their service. As we will see in the following examples, reports of wounds are particularly prominent, as they were tangible evidence of service. For brief explanations of various categories of military records including *gunchūjō* and *chakutōjō*, see 'Kamakura ibun' ni miru chūsei no kotoba jiten, pp. 41-42. For commentary and examples of *gunchūjō*, see Sato Shin'ichi, *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, pp. 218-221, and 221-223 on the evolution of weaponry and armor in the fourteenth century. For more on these new forms of military documents in English, see Karl Friday, *Samurai, Warfare, and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, p. 16

into a long period of civil wars and fragmentation in the provinces.

To continue to trace elements of kinship past the fall of Kamakura, we must rely on a combination of abundant military records and more limited inheritance data. By the mid-fourteenth century, the weakened position of the judiciary resulted in a reduction in the impetus to produce inheritance documents, which was more pronounced in some cases than in others. The Ichikawa produced only a handful non-military records after the 1330s. The Nejime, a more structurally complex kin group with more total constituents, retained some significant elements of inheritance documentation until the fifteenth century. I will return to their later bequests and the evolving structure of their network in Chapter VI. As for the few surviving Ichikawa inheritance documents, I integrate them into the military history addressed in this chapter.⁷⁹⁵

After the mid-fourteenth century, most of the documents in both the Nejime and Ichikawa collections are reports of military activity including individual battles and longer campaigns, petitions for recognition, communiqués with commanding figures, and confirmations or prizes awarded for military service. Wounds are particularly well-documented, as they served as a form of direct proof of not only attendance, but active participation in conflicts; injuries sustained in combat waged on behalf of a military superior provided lasting physical proof of service.⁷⁹⁶

Battle records are of central interest to those who study the military sphere, but also contain important information about the basic structural integration of warrior kin groups, particularly the relationship between heads and collateral kin as they took to the field. My goal in this chapter is to broadly trace our two shifting *ichizoku* at war, and to excavate any social data buried in their voluminous military records. Military documents are particularly useful for

⁷⁹⁵ The reader may notice that not every Nejime sub-lineage embraced the military profession. The groups that were not militarily active are not highlighted in this chapter, but are instead discussed in detail in Chapter V.

⁷⁹⁶ See Andrew Goble, “War and Injury: The Emergence of Wound Medicine in Medieval Japan,” pp. 297-298.

understanding the flexibility of kinship terminology, which was regularly used to denote alliance and quasi-kin relationships with supporters and allies who were not related by blood. Fourteenth century records also reveal that military activity led to a focus on horizontal ties (both cognatic and affinal) and a de-prioritization of lineal descent in favor of the development of wide, functional social-military structures. The intensifying focus on horizontal linkage counterbalanced the trend toward unification around single figures visible in both the Nejime and the Ichikawa from the late thirteenth century on.

***Ichizoku* at War: A (Re)introduction**

Ichizoku heads eventually came to control the flow of military reports and reward petitions, though I will argue that in both the Nejime and Ichikawa they did so on behalf of rather than in exploitation of their kin. Collateral kin gained a great deal from military activity, and even from the consolidation of military authority, which created new professional avenues for opportunistic secondary sons and other relatives who were fit and willing to fight.⁷⁹⁷ Though military records may not, at first glance, seem to tell us much about kinship, I will demonstrate that for these militarized *ichizoku*, horizontal bonds of relatedness resulted in an ever-growing body of kin, many of whom were military allies rather than blood relatives. A detailed analysis of the Nejime and Ichikawa at war is beyond the scope of this project, though a broad overview will highlight social patterns derived from militarism and military organization, which I will call “military kinship.”

⁷⁹⁷ Particularly capable or militarily enthusiastic cognates often served more often and saw at least as much recognition as their politically well-established, head relatives. Cognates in both the Ichikawa and Nejime families gained independent lands and offices from military participation. Japanese scholars regularly refer to the mobility of cognates in wartime as a driving force behind the rise of the *kokujin* (国人), or *kokujin ryōshu* (国人領主) a new set of provincial landed military elites that often banded together (a phenomenon we will encounter in the second half of this chapter). For localized studies centered on southern Kyushu and northern Shinano, see Suzuki Katsuya, “Nanbokuchō dōran-ki ni okeru kokujin ryōshu no seijiteki dōkō,” and Yamagishi Keiichiro, “Kita Shinano ni okeru kokujin no dōkō: Ichikawa-shi no shoryō o chūshin ni shite.” For a general treatment of *kokujin*, see Murai Shōsuke, ed., *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, pp. 166-168.

As the size of *ichizoku*-driven warbands expanded into dozens of surnamed elites with dozens (and sometimes hundreds) more subordinate soldiers beneath them, the brief tradition of sending documents of recognition and commendation to every single warrior (visible in records from the 1330s and usually for several decades thereafter) became impossible to maintain. As it grew clear that the internal familial schisms of military conflicts from a half-dozen generations earlier were largely a bygone phenomenon, the demand for more efficient documentary procedures led to the consolidation of recordkeeping channels through one central figure.⁷⁹⁸ The drive to streamline recordkeeping should not be taken as a signal that headship had evolved into a position of total control at the local level, or that cognates necessarily lost out in this transition.⁷⁹⁹ By the late fourteenth century, military commanders increasingly relied on entrenched subordinates who were compelled to fight for them through their official positions (such as the Nejime *gunji* or the Ichikawa *jitō*, whose offices and lands would be jeopardized by refusal to serve) to funnel in scattered accounts of service and streamline recordkeeping.⁸⁰⁰

In both of our case studies, new military opportunities led to a new dimension in the mutually beneficial relationship between collateral and primary lineal kin. Brothers, nephews, cousins, and uncles of *ichizoku* heads took to the battlefield in their own names and on their own

⁷⁹⁸ The basic social characteristics of fighting in the fourteenth century were different from earlier conflicts, in that brothers and other collaterals were generally allied with one another.

⁷⁹⁹ This is a particularly important distinction when we consider those group members who are not visible in the military record, particularly females, whose social roles were not as drastically diminished as some conceptions of the *sōryō-sei* propose. I will return to this topic in Chapter VI, and would also direct the reader to the most recent works of Wakita Haruko and Kurushima Noriko, who have emphasized the complexity of developments in terms of women's positions within kin group.

⁸⁰⁰ As Thomas Conlan, Karl Friday, Jeffrey Mass, Andrew Goble, and others have noted, fighting in the fourteenth century was a voluntary affair for many provincial elites, who attended battle for the promise of reward, rather than out of any sense of duty or loyalty to a particular leader or government. However, for entrenched officeholders who wished to maintain their status, after the initial selection of a new patron, it was regularly the case that the most elite local warriors were compelled to contribute to a war effort or risk the loss of their livelihoods. See Kurushima Noriko, "Chūsei kōki no buke to kon'in, yōshi kankei: saigoku o sozai ni," pp. 97 on this phenomenon, which had a major impact on social organization and the drive toward the expansion of kin groups in the fourteenth century, and the maintenance of the corporate entity through creative adoptive practices, endogamy to preserve key vertical lineages, and exogamy to expand horizontal structures of kinship.

terms, fighting alongside their relatives on an ad-hoc, voluntary basis.⁸⁰¹ If the terms of engagement were not favorable, or the rewards they saw from central patrons or through the mediation of kin group heads were insufficient, they stayed home.⁸⁰² Previously, warrior groups fragmented in (or were already fragmented before) times of war, as opportunistic rivals; often natal brothers, joined different sides to continue their small-scale social conflicts in a larger-scale military sphere. Instead, related warriors of the late Kamakura period were regularly bound together in the mutual interests of self-defense and cooperative benefit. Group heads needed to maintain these bonds as part of the internal burden of their social position extending into the open wars of the northern and southern courts.

In the following subsections, I will provide examples of the link between military activity and social change in the Ichikawa and the Nejime, with a focus on the shifts in kinship that resulted from a heightened emphasis on military activity in each group.

Examples of Military Kinship in the Ichikawa

The Ichikawa brothers joined Go-Daigo's cause by the mid-1333, although precisely when they abandoned the Kamakura regime under the Hōjō is unclear. Ichikawa Tsunesuke and his nephew Sukeyasu (both cognates of the main line) reported for military duty on 1333.6.7, under the command of Nitta Yoshisada, although no records survive during the period of Kamakura's collapse beyond these initial reports.⁸⁰³ The Nakano under Iehira (likely Ienaka's heir) also appear to have abandoned Kamakura early on, having joined Takauji and fighting under his command in Kyoto in the fifth month of 1333.⁸⁰⁴ On 1333.7.25, Emperor Go-Daigo

⁸⁰¹ For both groups, the act of warfare was an exclusively male activity.

⁸⁰² I will discuss this phenomenon in Chapter VI, through the lens of the Nejime sub-lineages.

⁸⁰³ Genkō 3 (1333).6.7 *Shinano Ichikawa Tsunetsuke chakutōjō* (KI, 41: 32247), *Shinano Ichikawa Sukeyasu chakutōjō* (KI, 41: 32248).

⁸⁰⁴ Genkō 3 (1333).5.8 *Nakano Iehira chakutōjō* (KI, 46: 52157, SNS, 5, pp. 191-192) and Genkō 3 (1333).5.14 *Nakano Iehira chakutōjō* (KI, 46: 52160, SNS, 5, p. 192). The *Kamakura ibun* documents are found in the *hoi* volume #4. Ashikaga Takauji signed each document.

dispatched an initial edict concerning the reconfirmation of warrior landholdings, offering to certify those of former Kamakura retainers who joined his cause.⁸⁰⁵ The Ichikawa, under *sōryō* Sukefusa, were reconfirmed in the tenth month of that year.⁸⁰⁶ Surviving copies of Go-Daigo's edict are uncommon, and it is a valuable record of the relationship the Ichikawa developed with Go-Daigo's new imperial power base.⁸⁰⁷

In 1335, military reports from Ichikawa became frequent. Although in Kyoto Emperor Go-Daigo had established himself as the unequivocal head of a new imperial regime and made inroads to asserting local control in parts of the Kinai and Kantō regions, the countryside saw continuing military violence.⁸⁰⁸ As forces fleeing from Kamakura and surrounding areas used Shinano as a northern escape route from Go-Daigo's forces under Ashikaga Takauji, the Ichikawa found themselves on the front line of a massive series of conflicts.

On 1335.2.5, Ichikawa *sōryō* Sukefusa received an order to pacify northern Shinano and eliminate “enemies of the court” that had been straggling there.⁸⁰⁹ This order, a *saisokujō* (催促状), was effectively a license to kill for the Ichikawa, and placed them at odds with prominent Hōjō remnants and their former central estate sponsors.⁸¹⁰ Following Go-Daigo's order, the Ichikawa brothers engaged “enemies of the court” (*chō teki* 朝敵) on numerous occasions. Beginning on 1335.3.29, Ichikawa warriors began to depart in hopes of engaging the surviving

⁸⁰⁵ Genkō 3 (1333).7.25 *Kansenshi-jō* (KI, 41:32392; SNS, 5, pp. 214-215).

⁸⁰⁶ Genkō 3 (1333).10 *Ichikawa Sukefusa mōshijō* (KI, 42: 32650, SNS, 5, pp. 218-219).

⁸⁰⁷ Like most former Kamakura vassals, the Ichikawa readily moved to seek land confirmations from Kenmu. While many such confirmations exist, what is of note is their possession of a copy of the land policy edict, of which few were distributed. The 7.5 edict was one of the most important in the era, and its possession alone in the Ichikawa portfolio attests to their status at the opening of the Kenmu period and their active involvement in the era.

⁸⁰⁸ Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*, p. 244.

⁸⁰⁹ Kenmu 2 (1335).2.5 *Taira Nagatane gunzei saisokujō* (NBI-Ka, 1:199; SNS, 5, pp. 252-253).

⁸¹⁰ See the *Kokushi daijiten* on *saisokujō*, which defines it as a document type used by political and military superiors to issue calls to military action on a wide scale, enabling vassals to engage their enemies at will. *Saisokujō* were previously used in legal disputes to command defendants to issue rebuttals, and in commanding vassals to perform service duties in times of peace.

Hōjō members and their retainers. The first to leave was Tomofusa's son, Sukeyasu, followed five days later by his uncles, Sukefusa and Tsunesuke, and his father.⁸¹¹ The four Ichikawa cognates reconnoitered soon after, riding south to Zenkōji (善光寺) temple in north central Shinano, a key site of regional power adjacent to the office of the *shugo* and near their Nakano holdings. Four days later, on 1335.3.8, they engaged in battle further south in Minochi district, helping to assault the fort of a Hōjō branch (the *Tokiwa Hōjō* 常岩北条).⁸¹² On the sixteenth day they rode on to another conflict, reporting for duty in Tsukama-gun (筑摩郡) in central Shinano.⁸¹³ This represents the first proactive performance of military service by the Ichikawa under the united authority of Emperor Go-Daigo and Ashikaga Takauji.

In the seventh month of 1335, as the campaign against the Hōjō continued and the Ashikaga were left reeling after the loss of Kamakura, Ogasawara Sadamune wrote up several records after personally witnessing the participation of the Ichikawa in a series of battles. On the fifteenth day, *sōryō* Sukefusa engaged in close combat with a court enemy, and was wounded by a blade and fell. His younger brother, Tomofusa, after his *sōryō* brother was cut, shot the enemy with an arrow, bringing him down as well.⁸¹⁴ This battle took place in a dry river bed in Hachiman village (八幡村), a hotbed for military activity involving the Ichikawa from 1335 to 1337.⁸¹⁵ Sukefusa survived his injuries, the extent of which are not specified in the battle

⁸¹¹ Kenmu 2 (1335).3 *Ichikawa Sukefusa-nado chakutōjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:221; SNS, 5, p. 260). Sukeyasu is listed as the “nephew” (*oi* 甥) Ichikawa Saburō Sukeyasu (甥市河三郎助保). He is confirmed to be Tomofusa's son (*shisoku* 子息) in several other military records, found in SNS, 5, pp. 277, 293, and 298, in which father and son reported to battle together.

⁸¹² Kenmu 2 (1335).3 *Ichikawa Sukefusa-nado chakutōjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:221; SNS, 5, p. 260).

⁸¹³ Kenmu 2 (1335).3 *Ichikawa Sukefusa-nado chakutōjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:221; SNS, 5, p. 260).

⁸¹⁴ Kenmu 2 (1335).7 *Ichikawa Sukefusa-nado chakutōjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:261; SNS, 5, pp. 264-266).

⁸¹⁵ Kenmu 2 (1335).7 *Ichikawa Chikamune gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:279; SNS, 5, p. 266). I have been unable to concretely locate this “Hachiman” area within Shinano (as there are many places that share the name), but it almost certainly links to the central Hachiman river, and maybe a vague reference to the river plain. A Hachiman-*yama* and Hachiman-*mura* are mentioned, and these are likely in the same area as several modern Hachiman sites along the Chikuma and Hachiman rivers near Nakano and Nagano cities, in the heart of the most active fighting in the region.

document. Following the battles in the seventh month, the sons and grandson of Morifusa had quite literally become brothers in arms, fighting together in close quarters on the battlefield.

In the first month of 1336, Ichikawa *sōryō* Sukefusa, Tsunesuke, and Tomofusa's son Sukeyasu each reported for duty and fought on the thirteenth and seventeenth days.⁸¹⁶ This set of documents contains the first reference to a military subordinate by Sukefusa. In what would become a growing trend, the Ichikawa began to take on (or at least document) retainers, expanding the group's military influence through the addition of military followers. Sukefusa's deputy may have taken on a personal name to signify his allegiance to the Ichikawa, and is known to us as Nanba Tarō Saemon Sukemoto (難波太郎左衛門助元).⁸¹⁷ Based on the addition of this deputy and several others (who appear a year later), it is evident that the Ichikawa quickly became an organized military unit constructed around the core of the kin group.

On 1336.6.29, a substantial set of records from Tsunesuke refers back to fighting beginning three months earlier. A total of five reports survive, comprising a detailed record of Tsunesuke's military service during the third month of 1336.⁸¹⁸ He reported for duty on 3.21, and the battle documents are dated 3.23. During that time Tsunesuke, separate from the rest of his brothers, was apparently a leading figure in an assault, along with Murakami Nobusada (村上信貞), on the "Maki fortress" (牧城 - *makishiro*) in Shinano's Sarashina district (更級郡) where

On the Hachiman river as a key area of lowland and irrigation in the Zenkojidaira basin, which served as a pipeline and main canal through fields in the area of modern Nagano City, see Ihara Kesao, "Takai chihō no chūsei-shi (2)," pp. 2-3. According to Ihara, Naganuma-yōsui (長沼用水) was a common alternate name for Hachiman-gawa in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries.

⁸¹⁶ Kenmu 3 (1336).1.17 *Ichikawa Tsunesuke gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:379; SNS, 5, p. 317), Kenmu 3 (1336).1.17 *Ichikawa Sukefusa no dai Nanba Sukemoto gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:380; SNS, 5, pp. 317-318), *Ichikawa Tsunesuke dō Sukeyasu gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:381; SNS, 5, pp. 318-319). Document 380 is that of Sukefusa's deputy.

⁸¹⁷ Kenmu 3 (1336).1.17 *Ichikawa Sukefusa no dai Nanba Sukemoto gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:380; SNS, 5, pp. 317-318).

⁸¹⁸ The full set of *gunchūjō* appears in the following: (NBI-Ka, 1:406-409 and 480-481; SNS, 5, pp. 322-326).

Kōsaka Shotarō and his forces had barricaded themselves.⁸¹⁹ The Kōsaka, following the split between Go-Daigo and Ashikaga Takauji, sided with the imperial forces, putting them at odds with the Ichikawa. The siege was apparently unsuccessful, with the attack called off after a failed final assault on the twenty-sixth day of the sixth month.

During the siege, multiple soldiers on Tsunesuke's side sustained injuries, and they are listed in the initial document of the set. Sukefusa's deputy Sukemoto, listed as a warrior of lesser status (*wakatō* 若党),⁸²⁰ was shot by an arrow in the finger(s) on his left hand.⁸²¹ Komi Hikoroku, presumably also a *wakatō*, was shot in the right eye.⁸²² A commoner footman or *chūgen* (中間) known as Magogorō was shot, and his ankle pierced.⁸²³ Kojirō, presumably also a *chūgen*, was shot in the left thigh or groin.⁸²⁴ Four more subordinates are also listed who did not sustain injuries, but who fought in the siege. The designation of *chūgen*, although not expressly stated, likely applies to all these men. Ichikawa Tsunesuke, the only Ichikawa member involved in this separate campaign, attested to the loyalty of his followers in the document.⁸²⁵ He described

⁸¹⁹ Kenmu 3 (1336).6.29 *Ichikawa Tsunesuke onajiku Sukeyasu gunchūjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1: 481) and Kenmu 3 (1336).6.29 *Ichikawa Tsunesuke gunchūjō* (*SNS*, 5, pp. 322-323). The first of these battle reports is jointly signed by Tsunesuke and his nephew Sukeyasu, a fellow cognate and son of Tomofusa. The Kōsaka appear to have held the castle in their lineage throughout the Kamakura period.

⁸²⁰ *Wakatō* were warriors with surnames, sometimes erroneously called foot soldiers, who often rode horses. Thomas Conlan defines them as "Retainers possessing surname, but not autonomy. They were capable of riding horses, but not submitting their own petitions. The highest rank of miuchi retainers." See *State of War*, p. 408.

⁸²¹ Sukemoto is listed as Nanba-Tarō-Saemon, the name Sukemoto appears in parenthesis. Although minor, the injury would have carried significance for Sukefusa, as Sukemoto was his military proxy on the battlefield. The listing of Sukemoto as a *wakatō* makes it doubtful that he was Sukefusa's son or biological relative.

⁸²² Warriors with surnames were generally above the level of footmen, who were commoners, and the order of names in warrior records universally, at least in the cases I have witnessed, start with surnamed warriors before listing commoner footmen.

⁸²³ The status of a *chūgen* was that of a military servant not of warrior rank, and lacking a surname. See Thomas Conlan, *State of War*, p. 250.

⁸²⁴ Thomas Conlan, *State of War*, pp. 76-77. As was characteristic of the period, the bulk of the fighting appears to have been ranged. Likely amplified by the nature of siege warfare, arrows were the primary cause of wounds rather than swords, pikes, or other weaponry. As Thomas Conlan has noted, the battles of the fourteenth century often took the form of ranged skirmish fighting, with 73% of the recorded injuries from the period caused by arrows. The name Kojirō is a childhood name, which commoners used throughout life but warriors replaced at puberty, thus those with childhood "-rō" suffix names are usually commoners on foot rather than mounted, surnamed warriors.

⁸²⁵ Kenmu 3 (1336).6.29 *Ichikawa Tsunesuke onajiku Sukeyasu gunchūjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1: 481).

the fight as a harsh or terrible one between the villainous surviving relatives of former leader Hōjō Takatoki (who died in 1333), and the rightful *shugo* of the Murakami (Ogasawara) line.⁸²⁶ The extended listing of participants and their injuries in the battle record indicates that Tsunesuke was, if not a direct superior officer, at least a leading figure on the battlefield to this set of subordinates, and someone capable of rallying Ichikawa followers without the support or command of the *sōryō*, whose deputy fought in his stead but seems to have been following the lead of Tsunesuke (who submitted the service record in both of their names). This was the first of several extended independent military campaigns by Tsunesuke, who appears to have been the most militarily active of the three Ichikawa brothers or their children in the following years.

As discussed in the opening of this chapter, the opportunity of upward socioeconomic mobility provided by warfare was a significant motivator for provincial warriors like the Ichikawa, particularly those who did not already have significant holdings. In Morifusa and Senkō's bequests from the 1320s, Sukefusa gained the *sōryō*'s main share of property. Tomofusa received some lands and a residence from his mother on the southern end of their territory, and his children would receive further property from their aunt as she saw fit. Tsunesuke gained land use rights as well as lifetime control of Koakazawa; but no land was explicitly granted to him in permanence from either of his parents. His share of tax duties was the lowest of the surviving brothers, indicating that his landed income was the least significant.⁸²⁷ Tsunesuke may have had additional motivations for fighting, but the capacity to "make a name" for himself, and in doing so increase his social and financial status, must have been an attractive incentive towards adopting the perilous but potentially lucrative military lifestyle of a fourteenth century warrior.

⁸²⁶ Kenmu 3 (1336).6.29 *Ichikawa Tsunesuke onajiku Sukeyasu gunchūjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1: 481).

⁸²⁷ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (*KI*, 36: 27885; *SNS*, 5, pp.23-24). A fourth brother, Hachirō, is not mentioned again following Senkō's 1329 bequest.

The combination of inheritance and military records reveals this trait, and explains the military predilection of the youngest Ichikawa brother.

The Ichikawa began using the emperor dates of the Northern (Ashikaga) Court in their documents for the first time on record several years later, beginning in the eighth month of 1340.⁸²⁸ Following Go-Daigo's failure to hold Kyoto, he relocated south to Yoshino (near the old capital of Nara) to establish a second court, thus lending the name to the period of Northern and Southern Courts, or *Nanbokuchō jidai* (南北朝時代), in which Japan had two emperors and two reign names. The delineation of allegiance to one court or another can be determined through the year-names used in the dating of documents during this split, which lasted from 1336 until 1392. By using the emperor dates of the northern Ashikaga court, the Ichikawa indicated their allegiance to that regime rather than to Go-Daigo's southern one. They likely never saw themselves in the position to actively choose sides; although they had received land confirmations from Go-Daigo and followed his orders to hunt down straggling Hōjō and those loyal to them, the fighting they had done was mostly under the direct military command structure of the Ogasawara *shugo*, whose loyalty to Takauji was reaffirmed in the Nakasendai rebellion.

From late 1336 through 1337, the Ichikawa documents reveal details of the siege of Kanegasaki, a famous set-piece battle between Nitta Yoshisada and Ashikaga Takauji, which sealed the fate of Go-Daigo's remaining major military supporters in the east. Kanegasaki,

⁸²⁸ Ryakuō 3 (1340).8 *Ichikawa Tomofusa gunchūjō* (SNS, 5, pp. 433-434). Matsumoto Kazuo has analyzed this and several other early Nanbokuchō records from the *Ichikawa Monjo* in a treatment of the characteristics of military recordkeeping in eastern Japan in the years before the Kannō disturbance (before 1351). See Matsumoto Kazuo, "Nanbokuchō shoki bakufu gunji taisei no ichi yōtai," pp. 877-878 and 883. Matsumoto is particularly concerned with the logistics of military recordkeeping, related to the proliferation of military documents from multiple figures before 1351, and the streamlining of the record thereafter through one individual, and theorizes that this was a formative period for ties to military leaders such as the Ogasawara, during which documentary channels and procedures were not yet solidified. While Matsumoto is largely concerned with the significance of this process from the top-down perspective of the Ashikaga and the Shinano *shugo*, his analysis also tracks with my understanding of recordkeeping based on the bottom-up Ichikawa perspective, though no direct documentation of the reasoning behind shifting recordkeeping procedures survives.

located on the western side of Echizen province (two provinces to the west of Shinano), was, on record, the farthest any of the Ichikawa forces travelled for military service. Ichikawa Tsunesuke, who proved to be the most ambitious military actor among the three brothers, is listed as a Shinano vassal (*gokenin*) in a *chakutōjō* report of arrival for duty in the twelfth month of 1336; he took part in the battle or siege of Kanegasaki (known later as *Kanegasaki no tataikai* 金ヶ崎の戦い) for the first time on (the lunar) New Year's Day.⁸²⁹ Tsunesuke's son, Chikamune, also reported for duty at Kanegasaki in late 1336.⁸³⁰ They remained active there into the first months of 1337, reiterating continued Ichikawa loyalty to their *shugo* Ogasawara Sadamune under the divided Ashikaga command authority. Ichikawa Chikamune refers to himself as holding a share of the *jitō* in Mikuriya in his report for duty.⁸³¹ These holdings are not a part of the original portfolio of the Nakano or the Ichikawa, and this shared office (which would have functioned as an income share) was likely a reward gained from the military services rendered either by himself or his father, though no record survives. As secondary heirs of the Ichikawa, Tsunesuke and his son apparently reaped direct reward for their service to the Northern Court.

At Kanegasaki, Ichikawa *sōryō* Sukefusa was represented in battle again by a second deputy called Komi Hikoroku Kyōin (小見彦六経胤) who fought for him in multiple skirmishes.⁸³² This was a different deputy than the one listed a year earlier, demonstrating that Sukefusa had multiple retainers capable of fighting on his behalf. A third deputy, called Shimada

⁸²⁹ Kenmu 3(1336).12 *Ichikawa Tsunesuke chakutōjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1:625; *SNS*, 5, p. 353). On writing patterns in Ichikawa battle documents, including *chakutōjō* and *gunchūjō*, see Okamoto Takaaki, "Komonjo no hisseki hikaku ni kansuru hitotsu shiron," which, while focused on a comparison of brush patterns and writing styles, also includes a useful and concise list of Ichikawa battle records on p. 153.

⁸³⁰ Kenmu 3(1336).12 *Ichikawa Chikamune chakutōjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1:626; *SNS*, 5, pp. 353-354).

⁸³¹ Kenmu 3(1336).12 *Ichikawa Chikamune chakutōjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1:626; *SNS*, 5, pp. 353-354).

⁸³² Kenmu 4 (1337).2 *Ichikawa Chikamune gunchūjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1:674-675; *SNS*, 5, pp. 355-356), *Ichikawa Tsunesuke gunchūjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1:676-677; *SNS*, 5, pp. 356-357), and the pair of identically titled documents Kenmu 4 (1337).3 *Ichikawa Sukefusa no dai Komi Kyōin gunchūjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 1:678-679; *SNS*, 5, pp. 358-359). The deputy is mentioned in both Tsunesuke's document and that of the deputy Komi Kyōin (小見経胤).

Suketomo Kiyosaburō (島田助朝清三郎), fought alongside the Takanashi against enemies in Echigo simultaneously, demonstrating that Ichikawa Sukefusa employed agents to fight for him on multiple fronts.⁸³³ Like his first deputy Sukemoto, Suketomo seems to have taken a name symbolizing allegiance to Sukefusa through the shared adoption of the “suke” (助) character in their names, possibly indicating militarily-driven kinship ties between Sukefusa and at least two of his three deputies. Credit for the service of such deputies, acting under Sukefusa’s name, would have gone to him, as was customary throughout the early medieval period. The presence of multiple deputies indicates a growing reputation for the Ichikawa as a local leadership authority that attracted new subordinates over time. It is fair to say that the Ichikawa were well-represented at Kanegasaki; Sukefusa had accumulated the status and following necessary to stay home while his representatives fought for him.

Father and son Tsunesuke and Chikamune went into battle together, along with Sukefusa’s deputy, fighting on six different occasions from 1337.1.1 to 1337.3.6 at Kanegasaki, which grew into a protracted siege. Records for these battles appear in their divided, individual sets of battle reports, and all three figures sent in their own *gunchūjō*, maintaining direct ties to the *shugo*.⁸³⁴ The relatives likely fought together as a groups, and the dates of Tsunesuke, Chikamune, and Sukefusa’s deputies’ reports are all the same, as are their renditions of the events, with the exception that Chikamune called attention to arrow injuries, sustained on 2.12.1337, to the base of his knee.⁸³⁵ The fort at Kanegasaki fell to the Ashikaga forces in the third month of 1337, although Nitta Yoshisada had already escaped by then, surviving another

⁸³³ Kenmu 4 (1337).3 *Ichikawa Sukefusa no dai Shimada Suketomo gunchūjō* (SNS, 5, pp. 363-364).

⁸³⁴ Kenmu 4 (1337).2 *Ichikawa Chikamune gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:674-675; SNS, 5, pp. 355-356), *Ichikawa Tsunesuke gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:676-677; SNS, 5, pp. 356-357), and Kenmu 4 (1337).3 *Ichikawa Sukefusa no dai Komi Kyōin gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:678-679; SNS, 5, pp. 358-359).

⁸³⁵ Kenmu 4 (1337).2 *Ichikawa Chikamune gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:674-675; SNS, 5, pp. 355-356).

year before finally falling to Takauji's forces.⁸³⁶ While father and son Tomofusa and Chikamune fought for months on the distant shores of Echizen, other members of the Ichikawa were also fighting closer to home.

Although the middle Ichikawa brother, Tomofusa, had not been at Kanegasaki, a set of military documents from the eighth month of 1340 marks his return to battle after an otherwise unexplained absence of several years in the record. In this document, the middle brother Tomofusa asserts that, while his brothers, nephew, and their followers had been fighting throughout Shinano and at Kanegasaki, he had been the sole leader of defense efforts at home, guarding the entryway through the Shinano/Echigo border post in Shikumi (*Shinshū to Esshū no sakai Shikumi-guchi sekisho* 信州与越州堺志久見口關所), since 1335.⁸³⁷ Thus far in this chapter, I have devoted little attention to the geographical and tactical significance of the lands held by the Ichikawa themselves, but from Tomofusa's records, we can gain a direct sense of their strategic value. As outlined in Chapter III, northern Shinano is a particularly rugged part of Japan, with steep, snowy mountains and deep valleys, through which warriors and commoners alike travelled between main centers of power and the northern periphery. Shikumi guarded a key northern route, and sat on a particularly contested border zone. On 1337.8.20-21, a fierce battle took place along the Shinano/Echigo provincial border where the Ichikawa lived, during which Tomofusa and his sons (who are not listed individually) defended the entrance to Takai-gun (and Shinano) at the base of Shikumi mountain.

During the decade after the death of their mother Senkō around 1329, her sons and grandsons proved their military worth in numerous battles, large and small, and enhanced the size and reputation of their retinue through the addition of multiple retainers. From the sixth

⁸³⁶ John W. Hall, et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Japan* vol. 3, pp. 186-187.

⁸³⁷ Ryakuō 3 (1340).8 *Ichikawa Tomofusa gunchūjō* (NBI-Ka, 2:1184; SNS, 5, pp. 433-434).

month of 1334 through the ninth month of 1337, the Ichikawa record consists of seventeen *chakutōjō* (arrival for duty) documents and twenty-one *gunchūjō* (battle report) documents, some of which are summarized above.⁸³⁸

This is a substantial amount of military service for such a short period of history, and indicates the high level of military activity of the Ichikawa during the mid-1330s, as well as the highly contested nature of their region. In the years following the establishment of Ashikaga Takauji's Northern Court in Kyoto, the record settles significantly. Tomofusa and his son Tsunekane (and other sons who go unnamed in this record, possibly Nagafusa and Sukeyasu) continued to guard the entrance to Shikumi until at least the sixth month of 1341, when a battle there erupted in which Ichikawa *sōryō* Sukefusa (apparently fully recovered from his injuries), Tomofusa, Tsunekane, and their sons and deputies formed a unified front to defend their homeland.⁸³⁹ The brothers fought again under Ogasawara Sadamune, this time to fend off outlaws (凶徒, *kyōto*) from Echigo province, who were almost certainly remnant Nitta forces. The presence of all the military active members of the group at this fight indicates that it was on or very near their holdings, and that all three of the Ichikawa brothers had returned home by that time and remained in mutual alliance following their participation in a set of often divided campaigns for the Ashikaga cause. Although their interests were aligned, and the Ichikawa brothers and their sons often fought in the same battles, separate interests led each figure to pursue highly individualistic avenues of military recognition that were not mandated or controlled by the *sōryō*. Military alliance did not equate to total control by the head.

The Ichikawa Sōryō as Military Figurehead

In 1343, less than two years after the brothers and their sons all mustered together (for the

⁸³⁸ These documents, in total, appear between pages 261 and 368 of the *Shinano shiryō*, volume 5.

⁸³⁹ Ryakuō 4 (1341).6 *Ichikawa Tomofusa gunchūjō* (*NBI-Ka*, 2:1237; *SNS*, 5, pp. 452-453).

first time since the initial outbreak of war ten years earlier) to defend the primary holding of Shikumi from northern “rebels,” *sōryō* Sukefusa drafted his bequests. These records are less detailed than earlier wills, but still provide a useful means of tracing the traits of the *ichizoku* that endured from their Nakano predecessors, Ichikawa Morifusa, and his widow Senkō. Sukefusa inherited the Ichikawa lands and offices only two decades earlier, yet the previous transfers of property occurred worlds apart from the violent setting of the mid-fourteenth century.

Sukefusa divided his holdings into two portions, and the division is detailed in a pair of bequests, each addressed to both of his sons together, dated 1343.2.22 and 1343.5.26.⁸⁴⁰ The second document reiterates the contents of the first, and provides additional detail on borders and the history of Sukefusa’s estate. Sukefusa’s documents are shorter than those of his parents (Morifusa and Senkō) and less complex, stemming at least partially from the inclusion of only two heirs. The first bequest allotted the larger portion of Sukefusa’s estate to his younger son Yorifusa (頼房), who received the *sōryō-shiki* post (written そう領識) and the Nakano and Shikumi-area holdings group head, as well as property in Bizen province (ゆつりわたすしな乃ゝ国高井郡中乃の西条・志久見郷そう領識・ひせんの国重根名之内月成の条).⁸⁴¹

Sukefusa’s older son, Tsunetaka (経高), received control of an exception of land in Hirabayashi-*mura*, in the same region occupied by his uncle and Tomofusa and aunt the Hoshinano Daughter (*tadashi Shikumi-gō no uchi Hirabayashi mura Yaroku Tsunetaka ni yuzuru*

⁸⁴⁰ Kōei 2 (1343).3.22 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (NBI-Ka, 2:1397; SNS, 5, pp. 475-476), and Kōei 2 (1343).5.26 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (SNS, 5, pp. 475-476). Only the first of two documents appear in the *Nanbokuchō ibun*. The *Shinano shiryō* record is complete. The two documents are largely identical, and the second was a copy generated after-the-fact for the second heir with only minor additions.

⁸⁴¹ Kōei 2 (1343).3.22 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (NBI-Ka, 2:1397; SNS, 5, pp. 475-476). Curiously, Sukefusa lists these land as the ancestral holdings of his grandfather Shigefusa, though they were never his property. This may be an attempt at claiming deeper roots in the region by the second-generation Ichikawa heir of the Nakano family lands and titles. In the second document, Kōei 2 (1343).5.26 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (SNS, 5, pp. 475-476), Sukefusa lists the property as that of Morifusa and his ancestor Nakano-Yoshinari.

但志久見郷内平林村弥六経高にゆつる).⁸⁴² The second grant lists the specific chunk of Hirabayashi that Tsunetaka would inherit as the elder brother (*ani* あに), categorized as the land “to the east of the Hirabayashi paddies and up to the peak of Atatame” (又あ口（に）弥六二ハ、ひら林てんしより東、あたゝめのみねまでゆつる).⁸⁴³ Tsunetaka also received control of the land between Oku-yama and Aki-yama (*Okuyama, Akiyama ni itaru made chigyō subeshi* おく山・あき山にいたるまでちきやうすへし) in the northern hinterlands, though no details on the nature of this land appear, and both brothers likely retained access to the undeveloped areas of Akiyama that had been shared by all of the previous generation under Senkō.⁸⁴⁴

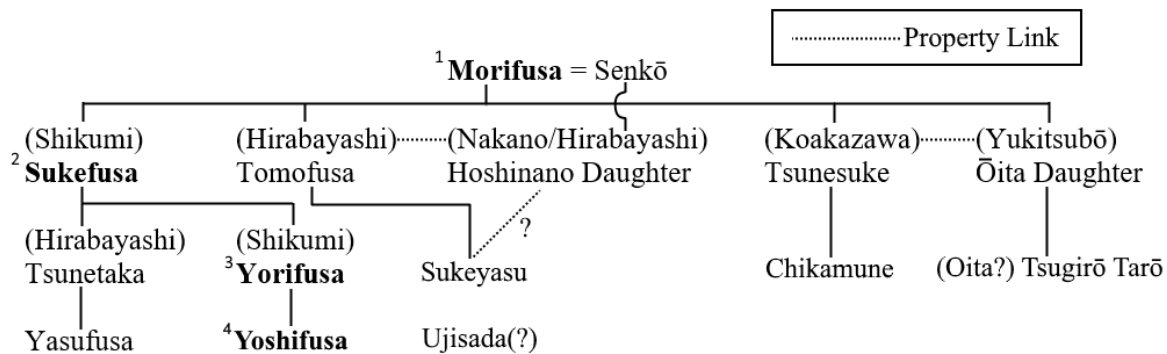


Figure 21: The Ichikawa in late fourteenth century records. Known residences are listed in parenthesis.

In Ichikawa Morifusa's original inheritance from Shakua, Hirabayashi is listed as a *jitō-shiki*, and control of the area was not a minor inheritance for the secondary son Tsunetaka, although it is not clear if the *jitō* office was his or his uncle's, or if the *jito-shiki* for the area had been consolidated with the one in Shikumi.⁸⁴⁵ As his parents Morifusa and Senkō had done by granting the secondary villages and farmlands of Hirabayashi and Koakazawa to secondary sons and daughters, Sukefusa's secondary (elder) son, the most viable potential competitor who might

⁸⁴² Kōei 2 (1343).3.22 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (*NBI-Ka*, 2:1397; *SNS*, 5, pp. 475-476).

⁸⁴³ Kōei 2 (1343).5.22 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (*SNS*, 5, pp. 475–476). The exact size and shape of this section of land is impossible to estimate due to the vague nature of the places involved. The document is slightly damaged but is fully readable.

⁸⁴⁴ Kōei 2 (1343).5.26 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (SNS, 5, pp. 475–476).

⁸⁴⁵ Bun'ei 11 (1274).2.20 Shōgun-ke mandokoro kudashibumi (KI, 15:11547; SNS, 4, pp. 290-291).

have opposed the new *sōryō*, was given a significant role to play through an independent posting on the far end of the group's main territory. By this point, Hirabayashi was likely well-developed, retained significant potential for agricultural revenue, and continued to serve as the southerly border post for the Ichikawa administrative region.⁸⁴⁶

Sukefusa also included a clause stating that if his secondary son Tsunetaka had no children, the lands he was granted were to revert to the *sōryō* Yorifusa. A mirrored clause applied to Yorifusa (apparently also known as Matsuō), whose lands would go to Tsunetaka if he had no heirs (若子なくハ、そう領松王方へかゑすへし、又松王子なくハ、弥六方へゆつるへし).⁸⁴⁷ A clause that lands could not be passed to outsiders (*tanin* 他人), like the one in Morifusa's bequests, was also restated in Sukefusa's second bequest (た人ニゆつるへからす).⁸⁴⁸ In effect, Morifusa's "no-outsiders" clause was now a part of the familial common sense, having been reaffirmed by both his widow and his son in their respective bequests.⁸⁴⁹ The lands that had been set aside for Tsunetaka were to be given to him without dispute, as they were restated in his separate bequest document, with specific boundaries included to delineate his exact holdings.⁸⁵⁰

With respect to taxation and service (*kuji* 公事) costs, Sukefusa followed Morifusa's example by setting out a specific ratio for the sons to follow in his second grant, the specific application of which is certainly inherited from Morifusa's bequest. The new *sōryō*, Yorifusa, was to pay three-fifths of *kuji* costs, while Tsunetaka was to pay the remaining two-fifths (諸御

⁸⁴⁶ No mention of the Hirabayashi *jitō-shiki* appears, and it is equally possible that it was in Tsunetaka or his uncle Tomofusa's possession. Tomofusa had at least four male children, and it is possible that Hirabayashi was by then capable of supporting both Tomofusa's heirs and Sukefusa's secondary son.

⁸⁴⁷ Kōei 2 (1343).3.22 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (NBI-Ka, 2:1397; SNS, 5, pp. 475-476).

⁸⁴⁸ Kōei 2 (1343).5.26 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (SNS, 5, pp. 475-476).

⁸⁴⁹ I will return to the conception of *tanin* "outsiders" in Chapter VII.

⁸⁵⁰ Kōei 2 (1343).3.22 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (NBI-Ka, 2:1397; SNS, 5, pp. 475-476).

公事者、五二弥六、五分三松王さたすへし).⁸⁵¹ Both of their holdings were given over permanently (meaning that they could pass them on to their own heirs in the future).⁸⁵² In the second bequest Sukefusa cites his father Morifusa, who referred to the original benefactor of the Ichikawa lands from five generations earlier, Nakano Yoshinari, in laying out the duties of heirs with respect to service levies (*Yōnin no kaki okase tamau gotoku, Uma-Nyūdō dono no go-ato ni, mikūji no ataran toki wa, shoshi e haibun subeshi* やうにんのかきをかせ給ことく、右馬入道殿の御あとに、御くう事のあたらん時ハ、そしゑはいふんすへし).⁸⁵³ By invoking both Ichikawa Morifusa and Nakano Yoshinari in this passage, Sukefusa, the adoptive great-great grandson of Yoshinari's lineage, solidified their legitimate status as holders of the hereditary properties in Shinano.

The relatively even tax burden between these two sons suggests that by this time, Hirabayashi had developed into an economically productive region, where Sukefusa's one known secondary son was provided for with substantial lands of his own. Although the *sōryō* received the larger share of the property, as was the case for Sukefusa and his brothers, tax levies were to be paid by both heirs on their clearly demarcated holdings based on a predetermined ratio that left little room for the overstepping of financial or administrative bounds by the head.

A stark difference from the records of Morifusa and Senkō is the total absence of females or any other secondary heirs in Sukefusa's bequests. Sukefusa makes no reference to an affīne, the mother of his children, a widow, or any daughters or other sons in either of his inheritance documents. This may be the result of specific circumstance. Perhaps Sukefusa had no surviving

⁸⁵¹ Kōei 2 (1343).3.22 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (NBI-Ka, 2:1397; SNS, 5, pp. 475-476). This tax outline is reiterated in the second bequest, though only the three-fifths portion is mentioned there, and that part of the document is damaged. See Kōei 2 (1343).5.26 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (SNS, 5, pp. 475-476).

⁸⁵² Kōei 2 (1343).3.22 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (NBI-Ka, 2:1397; SNS, 5, pp. 475-476).

⁸⁵³ Kōei 2 (1343).5.26 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (SNS, 5, pp. 475-476).

female relatives including closely linked affines or daughters; but the complete absence of women and other kin from the bequest is worthy of mention and is characteristic of the period. This was a common feature of male bequests dating back to the late Kamakura period, which intensified in the fourteenth century.

After 1350, the records of the Ichikawa become almost entirely military in nature, covering participation in battles, reward for military activity, and the local defense of Shikumi. These documents are too numerous to include here in detail, and the clarity of social structure conveyed in some earlier military records is often missing in later ones. The bequest documents of Sukefusa's brothers are not extant, but their legacies, while more fragmented than that of their older *sōryō* sibling, can be traced to a lesser degree by looking briefly into the next generation. Following the death of Sukefusa, Tsunesuke, the youngest brother and most active militarily, took an active role as a military leader within the kin group. The balance of power between the young *sōryō* Yorifusa and his uncle Tsunesuke is unclear, but both were influential figures; just as Sukefusa had not eclipsed his mother as the house head (nor ever truly stood above his brothers despite his title and lands), Yorifusa did not, and indeed could not presume to stand above his elder. The Ichikawa *sōryō* position always involved a balance of power, rather than total control. The diversity of the military interests and activities of each Ichikawa brother across two generations highlights their independence as military actors. The *ichizoku* was coordinated, allied, and often fought together, but no early fourteenth-century records indicate any form of direct control over siblings by the *sōryō* in terms of where, when, or how much they fought.

Instead of actively joining in military campaigns across and outside the province as they had in the 1330s, later Ichikawa battle documents uniformly refer to defensive activity in and around their core landholdings. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, fighting was not only

much more sporadic, it was typically reactive (or defensive) rather than proactive in nature. The need to leave home to fight for reward and recognition was reduced due to the strategic value of their territory. Equally, the ability to join in distant battles was curtailed due to repeated incursions by neighboring enemies that kept the Ichikawa on guard at home. As I discussed in Chapter III, the need for active defense of the passes at Shikumi and Hirabayashi was largely environmentally delineated, and illustrates the impact of local geographical features on political and military activity, especially after the fall of the Kamakura regime.

In 1360, Shinano's new provincial *shugo* governor Ogasawara Nagamoto granted confiscated lands in Shikumi (presumably from enemies in the area) to the secondary son Ichikawa Tsunesuke for use in maintaining his post at Shikumi.⁸⁵⁴ This was the first in a series of small parcels of confiscated property that the Ichikawa accumulated from the area surrounding Shikumi-*yama*, which continued until records dry up just after the turn of the fifteenth century. The award of new lands in both 1360 and thereafter was specifically linked in the documents to their conveyance to the service, or *chū* (忠) of guarding the area above the river(s) around the Ichikawa holdings (*Kawa no ue keigo no chū* 河上警固忠), reiterating their strategic value to the Ashikaga.⁸⁵⁵ The reward lands, called *kessho* (闕所), were commonly confiscated from enemies of the Ashikaga and their *shugo* representatives and then redistributed to loyal retainers as a new evolution in their prerogatives circa the mid-to-late fourteenth century.⁸⁵⁶

The receipt of reward lands independent of the head of the kin group reinforces the idea that secondary heirs, such as Tsunesuke, could enhance their individual status and wealth through military service. The continued passage of new lands to both the Ichikawa head and his

⁸⁵⁴ Enbun 5 (1360).6.27 *Ogasawara Nagamoto ate gyōjyō* (SNS, 6, p. 356).

⁸⁵⁵ Enbun 5 (1360).6.27 *Ogasawara Nagamoto ate gyōjyō* (SNS, 6, p. 356).

⁸⁵⁶ Thomas Conlan, *State of War*, pp. 154-155.

collaterals indicates ongoing success in the military defense of their territory. *Hyōrōmai* (兵糧米), or military provisions (mentioned in Tsunesuke's award document as *hyōrōryō* 兵糧料),⁸⁵⁷ could be drawn from such lands and assigned to specific "loyal" Ashikaga vassals, such as Tsunesuke, to provide for their military needs.⁸⁵⁸ The receipt of such an award from the *shugo* connotes status as a well-compensated and well-connected quasi-retainer (for all of the Ichikawa at this point had uniformly served the Ogasawara for three decades across two new regimes without exception), and the continued re-issuance and growth of Ichikawa territory indicates that the late fourteenth century was a period of expansion for the group.

We are on safe ground in assuming that the defense of the Ichikawa lands, carried out by Tomofusa in the 1330s and Tsunesuke in the 1350s, was considered a valuable service by successive Ogasawara regional commanders. That the main providers of this service were not the group heads, but rather his cognates in each generation, speaks to the continuing independence and autonomy, but also group solidarity of these brothers through decades of violence. The fact that much of the fighting of the 1340s and 1350s (and that which followed thereafter) took place on the doorstep of Shikumi should also be considered a major factor that drove group cohesion and allegiance, as well as the prioritization of maintaining multiple power bases within the Ichikawa lands at strategically vital sites. Military prioritization, in the Ichikawa case, served to maintain, not diminish, the power of the brothers of the *sōryō*.

From the 1360s through the turn of the fifteenth century, the Ichikawa were involved mostly in a regional struggle against Ashikaga antecedents from neighboring districts, which formed into several permutations of anti-bakufu "leagues" or *ikki*. These successive *ikki* were

⁸⁵⁷ Enbun 5 (1360).6.27 *Ogasawara Nagamoto ate gyōjyō* (SNS, 6, p. 356).

⁸⁵⁸ See Thomas Conlan, *State of War*, p. 254, on *hyōrōmai*.

comprised of several prominent Ichikawa rivals, most notably the Takanashi from the southern half of Takai-gun. At the end of the fourteenth century, the Ichikawa were firmly entrenched as one of a handful of surviving Ashikaga shogunal and Shinano *shugo* loyalists; they continued to serve their provincial *shugo* commanders, the Uesugi in the Kantō, and the Ashikaga shoguns in Kyoto as several overlapping anti-*shugo* and/or anti Kantō *kubo* leagues formed and re-formed at the turn of the fifteenth century. For extensive details on this series of conflicts, I would again direct the reader to the work of Ihara Kesao, especially his articles and books concerning the Takanashi, Ichikawa neighbors and ardent anti-*shugo* organizers who grew to become one of the most significant members of the Shinano or Daimonji *ikki*.⁸⁵⁹ The *ikki* remained a thorn in the side of provincial and central authorities, growing into a formalized and powerful political unit in the early fifteenth century.⁸⁶⁰

Although Ichikawa military records persist into the sixteenth century, by the turn of the fifteenth century there is so little information on the inner functioning, social structure, or inheritance workings of the group that we have no way to confirm how individuals were related, and the total number of visible kin group members shrinks beyond the point of viable analysis. I would once again stress that while documentary processes were constrained by the fervent pace of conflicts, rebellions, attempts to reconsolidate, and emergent threats to power in the Kantō, it is evident that the Ichikawa *sōryō*, even two hundred years after the foundation of the post, was still not an all-powerful chieftain. The Ichikawa collaborated and cooperated at war to the mutual benefit of the entire kin group; cognates were not compelled or commanded to fight or reduced to servile status. The streamlining of documents to the entire *ichizoku* in the final decades of the

⁸⁵⁹ On the Daimonji league, see Ihara Kesao, *Takai chihō no chūsei-shi*, and Nagano-ken, eds. *Nagano ken-shi, tsūshi-hen 3 / chūsei 2*, 409-420. I will discuss the phenomena of *ikki* “leagues” in detail in Chapter VII.

⁸⁶⁰ See *SNS*, 7, pp. 506-509 for some formative records from the league.

fourteenth century is evidence of political and military unity within the group.

We know that the Ichikawa were able to maintain possession of their lands, which were still under their control in the late sixteenth century, but there is little information on the intervening 130 years, and our knowledge of the Ichikawa as an early medieval social and military entity trickles to a stop in 1415 and 1423 with a pair of documents that confirm the new Ichikawa *sōryō* Yoshifusa's ongoing commitment to the failing Ashikaga cause in the east.⁸⁶¹ Though little detail remains to bridge the gap between the last early-medieval Ichikawa records and their Sengoku counterparts, Nishikawa Kōhei describes the Ichikawa as a key vanguard at the frontline (*saizensen* 最前線) of the famous rivalry of the Takeda and Uesugi, which peaked in the 1550s and 1560s.⁸⁶²

Despite being surrounded by enemies through nearly 100 years of ongoing following the outbreak of war in 1333, the Ichikawa held and expanded their control of territory on the Shinano/Echigo border. Even after the near total loss of effective authority by the Ashikaga and their representatives in Shinano after 1400 (when *shugo* fled to Kyoto), the Ichikawa were not overwhelmed by their neighboring rivals, and reemerge at the end of the Sengoku period as powerful border guards who served both the Takeda and the Uesugi until the end of the Sengoku period, and were relocated thereafter along with the rest of the provincial warrior elite.⁸⁶³

For the Ichikawa, military activity was a family profession shared by brothers, fathers,

⁸⁶¹ Ōei 22 (1415).7.19 *Ashikaga Yoshmichi migyōsho* (SNS, 7, p. 504-505) and Ōei 30 (1423).7.10 *Ashikaga Yoshikazu migyōsho* (SNS, 7, p. 551).

⁸⁶² Nishikawa Kōhei, "Sengoku daimyō Takeda-ke to Ichikawa-ke," p. 771. As described in Chapters I and III, the Ichikawa served both the Takeda and the Uesugi thereafter as powerful retainers positioned in a key point of conflict between the two daimyo houses.

⁸⁶³ On the Ichikawa in the late sixteenth century, see Nishikawa Kōhei, "Sengoku daimyō Takeda-ke to Ichikawa-ke," which begins with the Ichikawa as Takeda housemen at the third battle of Kawanakajima (1557). The relocation of the Ichikawa is often described in accounts of the history of the *Ichikawa Monjo*. For example, see Ushiyama Yoshiyuki, "'Ichikawa Monjo' chūshakukō (1)," p. 170. See also Kanai Kikuichirō, "Sengoku-ki ni okeru Ichikawa-shi no dōkō," especially p. 21 on the Ichikawa at Kawanakajima and p. 26 on the shift of allegiance to the Uesugi after the fall of the Takeda.

sons, uncles, and nephews (and undoubtedly supported by sisters, mothers, daughters, aunts, and nieces, though the strictly military records of the period tell us nothing in this regard). Their kin group was constituted, from the 1330s onward, around the overlapping imperatives of the defense of their land and the maintenance of ties with elites in the center of the province, in the Kantō, and in Kyoto. We know nothing of those who did not engage in warfare from the mid fourteenth century onward, as the chaos of the region consumed the group. However, it is apparent that despite the presence of an office-holding head, cognates retained their own significant positions within the *ichizoku* through a century of warfare, and the last early medieval records of the Ichikawa continue in two streams of military recordkeeping, by cousins whose relationship we cannot track precisely, but who protected the northern and southern fronts of Takai as allies and kin, not master and servant.

Examples of Military Kinship in the Nejime

Following their participation in the defense against the second Mongol invasion, the Nejime, like many in Kyushu (and much of western Japan), remained in a heightened state of military readiness that would endure into the fourteenth century, in anticipation of future attacks from the mainland that never came. Kiyochika's newly acquired property near Hakata included an obligation to maintain a military force in the area, although the specific details of the continuing Nejime presence in Chikuzen are undocumented. The Kenmu regime reconfirmed Nejime holdings in Chikuzen in 1334 after the overthrow of the Kamakura polity.⁸⁶⁴ However, by 1340, as the area between Ōsumi and Hakata became a hotbed of military activity, maintaining properties on both ends of Kyushu became untenable, and Nejime head Kiyonari lent the lands to someone called Koyamada Hikoshichi (小山田彦七) in exchange for a yearly

⁸⁶⁴ Kenmu 1 (1334).6.16, *Zasso ketsudansho-chō* (KKSI vol. 1, #47).

payment of four *koku* of rice, avoiding the prohibition on selling award lands outright while still escaping the administrative and logistical burden of managing the detached area directly.⁸⁶⁵ In 1345, Kiyonari opted to commit the lands to a temple (Sōfukuji 崇福寺), establishing a semi-permanent structure of detached local management.⁸⁶⁶

Prior to the outbreak of civil war in the 1330s, Kiyonari facilitated the construction of (and possibly a move to) a new high hilltop fortress of Kunimi-jō (国見城), founded in 1321, at least according to a local placard on the ruins of the castle.⁸⁶⁷ The placard, written in 1996, also states that the Nejime moved to Kunimi-jō from their previous ancestral residence of Tomita-jō (富田城), an adjacent lowland fort in the heart of the Nejime holdings in Kōrimoto, said to have been constructed between 1303 and 1306.⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶⁵ Ryakuō 3(1340).3.25 *Nejime Kiyonari azukejō* (KKSI vol. 1, #61). Though the local manager is unknown within the Nejime genealogy, it is likely he was a relative of Kiyonari. As Kozono Kimio points out, in the case of far-flung landholdings, it was common for the “*sōryō*” (the term was not actually used by the Nejime main line, as I have pointed out) to assign a secondary (*shoshi*) relative to take direct control of the land as *shoshi-ryō* (庶子領). See Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 48. The loan of the land stipulated that whenever Kiyonari was present in the region he could take direct managerial control of the area, indicating that he lost none of his basic prerogatives of landholding in the agreement.

⁸⁶⁶ See Jōwa 1 (1345).9.3 *Takebe Kiyonari kishinjō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #65). The Nejime dedication of their Hakata lands to the temple (recorded through correspondence with a monk) lasted for multiple decades, and was meant to support the construction of additional buildings on the temple grounds. A monk commented on the holding in 1325; see Kannō 3 (1352).1 *Sō Kōyū mōshijō dodai* (KKSI vol. 1, #291). Though it may be unrelated, in 1344, Kiyotake (Kiyonari’s brother) also committed a small set of three *tan* of paddy to pay for monk’s meals as they prayed for their father. See Kōei 3 (1344).8.10 *Takebe Kiyotake kishinjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #616). The lands remained in the lists of lands possessed by the Nejime in later reconfirmations by Imagawa Ryōshun, and while their management is unclear and was likely handled locally by the temple and its officers, the Nejime continued to hold nominal rights in the area and gained an unspecified income from it. See Eitoku 2 (1382).9.22 *Imagawa Ryōshun kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #138), which lists the property again as five *chō* of paddy and two residences. Suzuki Katsuya breaks the history of the Nejime as local lords (or *kokujin ryōshu* 国人領主) into three rough periods: first, the period of scattered military activity through the Kannō disturbance (*Kannō no jōran* 観応の擾乱) of 1350-1351, second, the period in which Imagawa Ryōshun was Kyushu Tandai, but before he traveled to the island to administer it directly, and third, the period after Imagawa Ryōshun arrived in Kyushu. See Suzuki Katsuya, “Nanbokuchō dōran-ki ni okeru kokujin ryōshu no seijiteki dōkō,” p. 16. Kiyonari and his descendants maintained some rights over their Hakata properties until the early modern period, claiming them in their lists of holdings thereafter despite not always directly managing the area.

⁸⁶⁷ I have found no documentation of the initial construction of Kunimi-jō in the medieval record.

⁸⁶⁸ The ruins of Tomita are now buried under a vegetable garden, though some foundation stones remain. See the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikēi, kenbetsu etsuran, Kagoshima-ken* volume entries for *Tomita-jō ato* (富田城跡) and *Nejime-in Minamimata* (禰寝院南俣). Information on specific fortifications inside Minamimata is not present in the *Nejime Monjo*. Though no mention is made in the record, the buildup of these forts undoubtedly signifies that the

We know little about the defensive makeup of the Nejime region in the early Nanbokuchō period, as the fighting that the Nejime joined in took place outside their lands, and they seem to have engaged entirely in offensive actions, mostly in areas just to the north.⁸⁶⁹ The natural mountain barrier that divided Nejime-*in* into its northern and southern halves prevented major invasions, as did the mostly rocky coastlines to the south, east, and west. Driving into the Nejime region on the coastal highway today, one can imagine that the area would have been difficult to invade by land prior to the invention of the bulldozer or tunnel-boring machinery. A small fort sat on a hillside at Nejime harbor, and several others dotted the Kunimi coastal area, making for a prickly landing site.⁸⁷⁰ Yet after fifty years of preparation and guard duty for a third Mongol invasion, the Nejime were in a continuous state of military readiness.⁸⁷¹

Nejime, having experienced the invasion of Hakata bay firsthand, were concerned that their position on the inlet of Kagoshima bay could serve as an easy alternate avenue of attack for the Mongols, and that secure fortification in the high hills around their home could ward off invaders. The form and significance of Tomita-jō and other specific Nejime military complexes prior to the construction of Kunimi-jō is questionable, as is the exact nature of Kunimi-jō itself, which may have gone by another name in the medieval period. Kunimi is an appellation derived from the late Edo period *Sangoku meishō zue* (三国名勝図会), based on the position of the fortification on a high mountain plateau that afforded a clear view of the nearby provinces or “*kuni*” in all directions (particularly across Kagoshima Bay to Satsuma). See the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei, kenbetsu etsuran, Kagoshima-ken* volume entry for *Kawakitamura* (川北村), which includes specific details on the fortification. See also the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei, kenbetsu etsuran, Kagoshima-ken* volume entry for *Tomita-jō ato* (富田城跡), which states that while “it is said” that the Nejime moved out of Tomita to Kunimi and then back again, the construction of Tomita by Kiyoharu cannot be confirmed.

⁸⁶⁹ A single battle in the Sata territory was the closest warfare came to the Nejime home, although some of the northerly areas the Nejime took over in the mid fourteenth century were regularly contended and changed hands multiple times. The Nejime spent most of their time fighting the Kimotsuki, northern neighbors, on their land or other nearby northern regions under contention between multiple local families.

⁸⁷⁰ See Map #10 in the following section for the location of these two forts, as well as the *Nejime kyōdo-shi*, vol. 1, pp. 152-153, which includes a more detailed map that includes major fortifications on the peninsula circa the Kamakura period, and p. 217 for a wider view of forts across southeastern Kyushu. The Nejime harbor-side fort is listed as Sewaki-jō (瀬脇城), which is still marked and involves a short hike from the southwest end of the harbor to a set of earthen ruins on a tall hill overlooking Kagoshima bay. While rarely containing verifiable historical data, several local interest groups maintain websites with maps and photographs of local forts designed for historical hobbyists, which are instrumental for local investigation when used in combination with secondary sources. See <http://www.hb.pei.jp/shiro/ohsumi/sewaki-jyo/>.

⁸⁷¹ On the link between the Mongol invasions and the Nanbokuchō wars, including both the failure of Kamakura and the heightened state of military readiness across the archipelago (which was certainly elevated for warriors who maintained active posts in Hakata), see Satō Kazuhiko, *Chūsei no ikki to minshū sekai*, pp. 232-257.

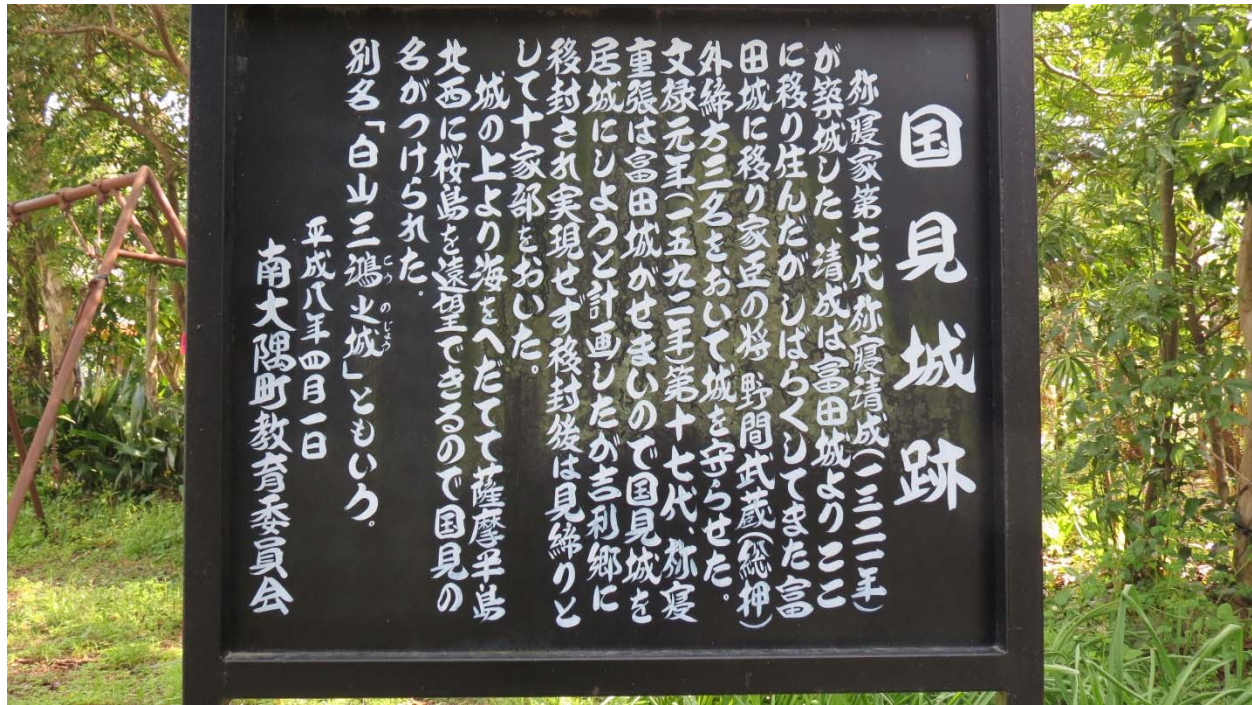


Image 11: Placard commemorating the ruins of Kunimi-jō, written in 1996.
(Photo by the author, 4/1/2105).

Like most former Kamakura *gokenin*, the Nejime were more confident in the Ashikaga than Emperor Go-Daigo. As relations between Go-Daigo and Takauji soured, the Nejime under Kiyonari found themselves fighting against (and briefly in the 1350s, alongside) several groups of imperial loyalists in Kyushu on a continuous basis, often struggling back and forth to hold key local territories, most often in the form of minor forts (*shiro* 城) that dotted southern Kyushu.⁸⁷² The Nejime already had military ties to several Kyushu commanders (*taishō* 大将) that sided with the Ashikaga, bonds deepened by their fifty-year history of guard duty in Hakata. Thus, for Nejime head Kiyonari and his brothers, cousins, and nephews, the fighting of the early Nanbokuchō period was ultimately a reinforcement of the bonds of military service they had already forged in their ongoing local defense efforts.

⁸⁷² Early *shiro* are best categorized as “forts” rather than “castles.” They were small, mostly wood-and-earth constructs that share little in common with the massive stone-and-plaster castles of the Sengoku and Tokugawa periods. See the *Kokushi daijiten* entries for *shiro* (城), *yamashiro* (山城), and *jōkaku* (城郭).

The battles that the Nejime engaged in were part of the broader conflict between several prominent Ashikaga representatives and the Kimotsuki, a powerful neighboring clan of *higokenin* (非御家人) political outsiders who, owing nothing to the Kamakura or Ashikaga regimes, were quick to declare loyalty to the imperial forces of Emperor Go-Daigo. The rivalry between the Shimazu *shugo* and the Kimotsuki is well known and endured for centuries through 1580, when the Kimotsuki finally capitulated to the Shimazu and became their subordinates.⁸⁷³

Beginning in 1336, the Nejime began to establish themselves as capable military figures serving directly under Hatakeyama Tadaaki, the leader of the Ashikaga loyalists on the island in the opening years of the Nanbokuchō period. As with the Ichikawa, the documents involved are mostly *gunchūjō* - reports of military service written by Nejime members, *chakutōjō* - reports of arrival for military duty, as well as various petitions for service and confirmations from military leaders - most often Hatakeyama Tadaaki and Shimazu Sadahisa, prominent supporters of the Ashikaga in Kyushu, as well as Ashikaga Takauji himself.⁸⁷⁴

At the outset of the Nanbokuchō conflict, the Nejime drafted an agreement between five Nejime sub-lineage heads and Kiyonari (the main line heir), pledging loyalty to one another.⁸⁷⁵

The oath is as follows:⁸⁷⁶

We sign together that in this chaotic world, our *ichimon* is of one body and mind. In all matters, we are united. There will be no disagreements, and we must consult with each other if there are any issues. Should any of us violate this agreement, may the gods of Japan large and small cast them into hell and commit them to darkness as punishment. Our document is as stated.

⁸⁷³ See the *Takayama kyōdoshi*, pp. 211, 220, 257, 271 on the Kimotsuki. See also Seno Seiichiro's *Chinzei gokenin no kenkyū*, pp. 416 and 419 on the status of the Kimotsuki as *higokenin* in the Kamakura period.

⁸⁷⁴ On Sadahisa, father and predecessor of Shimazu Ujihisa, particularly his extensive landholdings including property in Kitamata just north of the Nejime territory of Minamimata, see Gomi Yoshio, *Kamakura bakufu no gokeninsei to minami Kyūshū*, pp. 283-285, as well as pp. 368 on Hatakeyama Tadaaki's later schism with Ujihisa.

⁸⁷⁵ Kenmu 3 (1336).1.11 *Takebe Kiyonari no hoka go-mei ichizoku rensho keijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #738). The *keijō* (契状), is a pact of loyalty and promise of cooperation between the leaders of the Nejime and its sub-lineages.

⁸⁷⁶ Kenmu 3 (1336).1.11 *Takebe Kiyonari no hoka go-mei ichizoku rensho keijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #738).

Kenmu 3 [1336], 1st month, 11th day.

Kiyotaka (清能)	[Shimahama (島浜) lineage, unknown link] ⁸⁷⁷
Kiyotane (清種)	[Ikehata sub-lineage, Kiyonari's cousin]
Kiyotake (清武)	[Kita sub-lineage, Kiyonari's brother]
Yorizumi (頼純)	[Miyahara sub-lineage, Kiyonari's cousin]
Dōe (道恵)	[Yamamoto sub-lineage, Kiyonari's uncle]
Kiyonari (清成)	[Head of the Nejime main line] ⁸⁷⁸

This brief joint-signature contract between the heads of the Nejime and its sub-lineages provides valuable insight into which members of the Nejime network were still seen as vital parts of their kin group or “*ichimon*” (一門) at the start of the Nanbokuchō period. Effectively, these six figures and the various lineages they led represent the full extent of the Nejime as an integrated kinship network, with the notable exception of the Sumino (heirs of the Nishimoto estate), who were less militarily active than the other sub-lines. Further, this document demonstrates that while some members of the Nejime were not treated as primary heirs and had split off from the main line, they were still members of the kin group, and their descendants were still a part of the broader body of otherwise independent property holders that identified as members of the Nejime. Kiyotane and Yorizumi were by now several generations removed from the main line, but still identified as Kiyonari's kin. Shimahama Kiyotaka's exact tie to the others is unknown, and he was likely the furthest removed from the main line, appearing nowhere else in the Nejime record.⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁷ Kiyotaka and the Shimahama appear nowhere else in the *Nejime Monjo*. However, records from the *Shimahama Monjo*, a short collection spanning 1331-1340, confirm that the Shimahama were an offshoot of the Nejime living in the Shimahama region of Kitamata as small scale local landholders (so called *kozaichi ryōshu* “小在地領主”). I have not been able to examine this collection directly, and rely on the study of Kamiya Haruka, “Kyūshū daigaku shozō no Shimahama monjo - Shimahama-ke monjo no saikōsatsu.” See also Kondō Shigekazu, “Nejime monjo no denrai ni tsuite,” p. 32, where he lays out a brief genealogy for the Shimahama.

⁸⁷⁸ Sub-lineage affiliations are not included in the document, which is signed only with personal names.

⁸⁷⁹ The Shimahama (島浜) were Kitamata-based relatives who quickly disappear from the Nejime record, and seem to have joined directly with the northern Shimazu. The Shimahama shared only nominal social ties to the Nejime, whom they did not interact with as kin or serve militarily at any point in the fourteenth century. See Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite,” p. 31. Suzuki notes

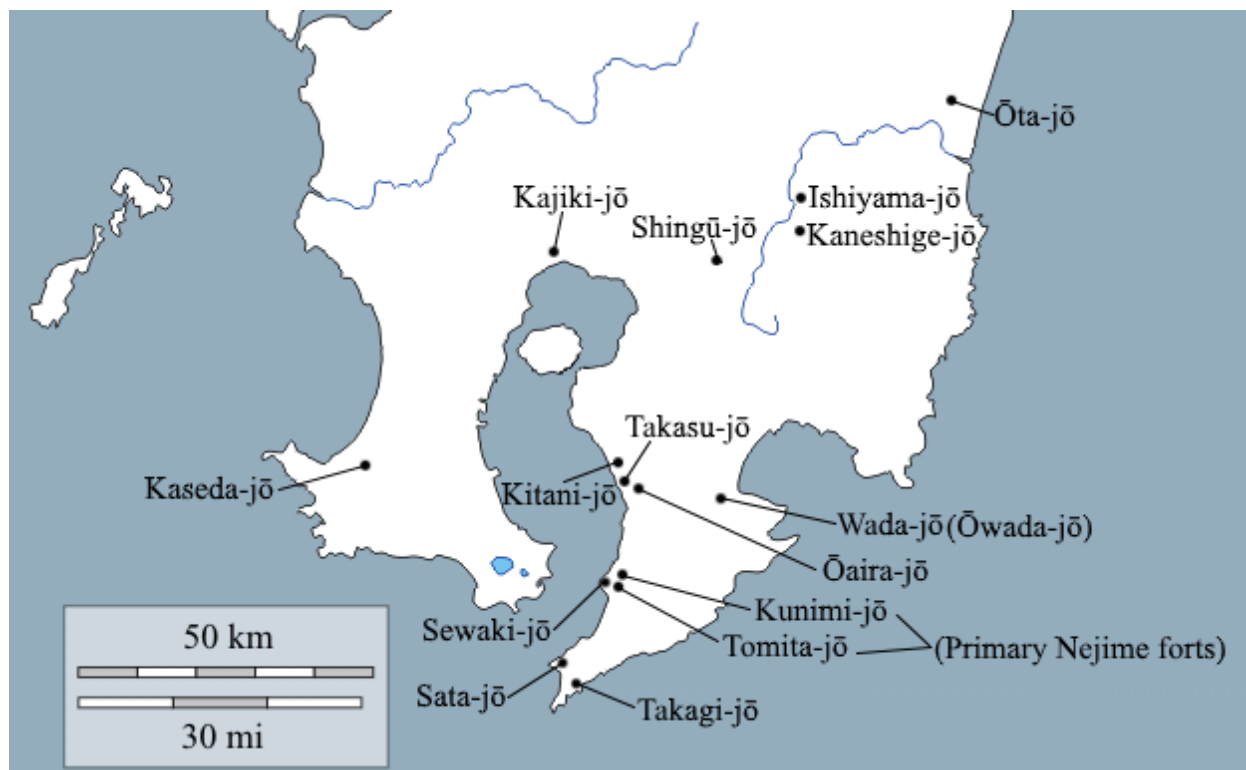
A half year after drafting their oath of mutual loyalty, various members of the Nejime network began submitting battle reports, in what would become a vast body of overlapping military records, which, while insightful for the light they shed on major political rivalries in the region, are too numerous to detail fully in this study. Members of different sub-lineages regularly fought together and submitted documents that were drafted in tandem on the same day (likely by the same person).⁸⁸⁰ Usually, Nejime battle reports come in sets of two or three nearly identical documents; the leaders and prominent military figures of sub-lineages submitted their own individual reports, which served as independent petitions for both recognition and reward from political and military superiors.

This is an important feature of the Nejime and other warrior groups from the early Nanbokuchō period. As was the case in the Ichikawa, even as warrior kin groups grew increasingly reliant on single predominant heirs, in the opening decades of the Nanbokuchō conflicts, the siblings, uncles, and cousins of the main heir retained direct ties to their military superiors, meaning that they did not yet rely on a singular head of their lineage to transmit their requests for military recognition or the potential rewards that came with it. This is clearly the case for the Nejime, as more than half-dozen different members of the Nejime network submitted their own military reports in the first two decades of fighting, mostly in pursuit of Kimotsuki Kaneshige, who led a sizeable band of enemies of the court.⁸⁸¹

that no other records exist of the Shimahama within the *Nejime Monjo*. Shimahama recordkeeping was wholly separate from the Nejime. I would hazard that the early Nanbokuchō was the moment of the split, and that after the compact the Shimahama found more utility in an alliance with their neighbors and nominal estate lords the Shimazu than with the Nejime, facilitating the break.

⁸⁸⁰ The same phenomenon is visible in Ichikawa records, when cognates fought in the same battles, but the number and consistency of overlapping records is greater in the Nejime, where cognates almost never split up to engage in separate simultaneous campaigns.

⁸⁸¹ There are at least eight figures within the Nejime kinship network who submitted their own individual battle reports in the first half of the Nanbokuchō period, and several others whose relationship to the Nejime is unclear.



Map 10: Major siege and home fort locations of the Nejime forces, 1336-1392.

- 1336.11.21 - Ōta-jō in Kunitomi-shō (国富庄大田城)
- 1336.12.6 - Shingū-jō in Takarabe-in (財部院新宮城)
- 1336.12.18 - Kaneshige-jō (兼重城)
- 1337.1.10 - Ishiyama-jō (石山城) (continuing until the tenth month)
- 1338.7.11 - Wada/Ōwada-jō (大和田城)⁸⁸²
- 1339.1.13 - Within Takarabe-gō (上財郷) (continuing until the fourth month)

Figure 22: Chronology of major sieges in pursuit of the Kimotsuki, 1336-1339.

⁸⁸² See Ryakuō 2 (1339).8.27 *Takebe Kiyomichi gunchūjō* (KCSI vol. 1, #459 and vol. 2, #9) for the naming overlap; this fort seems to have gone most commonly by Ōwada-jō (大和田城), but was sometimes simply called Wada-jō. The same is the case for (大始良城) Ōaira-jō, often listed only as Aira-jō (始良城).

Figure 23: Nejime military actors who submitted separate military documents in the early-mid fourteenth century.

Lineage	Personal Name	KKSI vol. 1 doc. #, Date	Title (Japanese)
Ikehata	Bettōmaru	#693 (1331) 元徳三年十月二十日	建部別當丸着到状
Kita	Kiyotake	#601 (1333) 元弘三年七月二十日	建部清武着到状
Fujiwara	Kiyoyoshi	#792 (1336) 建武三年六月十七日	建部清吉軍忠状案
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#694 (1336) 建武三年六月十八日	建部清種軍忠状
Miyahara	Shigetane	#455 (1336) 建武三年十一月二十一日	建部重種着到状
Kita	Kiyotake	#604 (1336) 建武三年十一月二十一日	建部清武着到状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#695 (1336) 建武三年十一月二十一日	建部清種着到状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#696 (1337) 建武四年正月十日	建部清種軍忠状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#697 (1337) 建武四年四月二十三日	建部清種軍忠状
Sumino	Kiyomichi	#458 (1337) 建武四年四月二十三日	建部清道軍忠状
Sumino	Kiyomichi	#459 (1339) 暦応二年八月二十七日	建部清道軍忠状
Nejime	Kiyonari	#60 (1339) 暦応二年八月二十八日	建部清成軍忠状案
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#698 (1339) 暦応二年八月三十日	建部清種軍忠状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#699 (1341) 暦応四年後四月 日	祢寢清種軍忠状
Miyahara	Shigetane	#460 (1341) 暦応四年後四月 日	祢寢重種軍忠状
Yamamoto	Kiyomasu	#461 (1341) 暦応四年後四月 日	祢寢清増軍忠状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#700 (1341) 暦応四年九月 日	祢寢清種軍忠状
Miyahara	Shigetane	#463 (1341) 暦応四年九月 日	祢寢重種軍忠状
Yamamoto	Kiyomasu	#464 (1341) 暦応四年九月 日	祢寢清増軍忠状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#701 (1341) 暦応四年十一月 日	祢寢清種軍忠状
Miyahara	Shigetane	#462 (1342) 暦応五年九月 日	祢寢重種軍忠状
Yamamoto	Kiyomasu	#465 (1342) 暦応五年九月 日	祢寢清増軍忠状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#702 (1342) 暦応五年九月 日	祢寢清種軍忠状
Nejime	Kiyonari	#75 (1351) 観応二年八月 日	祢寢清成軍忠状
Yamamoto	Kiyomasu	#466 (1351) 観応二年八月 日	建部清増軍忠状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#703 (1351) 観応二年八月 日	祢寢清種軍忠状
Nejime	Kiyonari	#77 (1351) 観応二年八月 日	祢寢清成軍忠状案
Yamamoto	Kiyomasu	#467 (1354) 文和三年三月 日	祢寢清増軍忠状
Nejime	Kiyonari / Kiyonari	#91 (1354) 文和三年三月 日	祢寢清成・同清有軍忠状
Ikehata	Kiyotane	#704 (1354) 文和三年三月 日	祢寢清種軍忠状
Yamamoto	Kiyomasu	#469 (1357) 延文貳年五月 日	建部清増軍忠状
Miyahara	Shigetane	#470 (1357) 延文貳年五月 日	建部重種軍忠状

However, particularly after the 1350s, the Nejime combined the service records of multiple group members into single documents written up by Kiyonari and his successors, whose roles as the successive heads of the Nejime main line extended to the unofficial position of commander of the entire integrated network of Nejime sub-lineages and Nejime-*in* residents (increasingly re-categorized into the status of the singular Nejime-*dono*). Such unified military records often included calls by Nejime heads for the individual recognition of their most powerful relatives, who retained their direct ties to military superiors even after the military recordkeeping of the group became more streamlined. Kiyonari handled the documentation of military service for fellow fighters and subordinates from Nejime-*in* who were not part of the kin group, and the band of fighters that he commanded grew quickly into a large force that exceeded that of most provincial warrior groups. Through the military development of the Nejime, we can track the increasing authority and power that Kiyonari held as the first full-fledged *Nejime-dono*, an informal title that ultimately grew to carry substantial weight.

The total image of the ongoing campaign against Kaneshige is complicated and jumbled by the multi-layered set of battle documents created over the course of multiple years, and often little detail is provided concerning each battle and minor fortification the Nejime attacked. This set of initial conflicts, as described by the Nejime in their reports and outlined in Figure #22, took place almost entirely in the northern region of Ōsumi province, with several reports to encampments and sieges in neighboring Satsuma on the western half of Kagoshima bay later in the 1340s. That the Nejime were fighting so close to home, with and against their adjacent neighbors, meant that the entire *ichizoku* network had a significant stake in the outcome of these conflicts that transcended the victory or defeat of their military superiors or the rewards they might expect from their service. The Nejime were fighting for the maintenance of their own

home territory as much as they were for the success of the Ashikaga or their local representatives in Kyushu.⁸⁸³ Once they had cast their lot in with their provincial Hatakeyama superiors in support of the fledgling Ashikaga regime, the Nejime were face-to-face with their northern enemies, and engaged in an all-or-nothing conflict for control of southern Ōsumi.

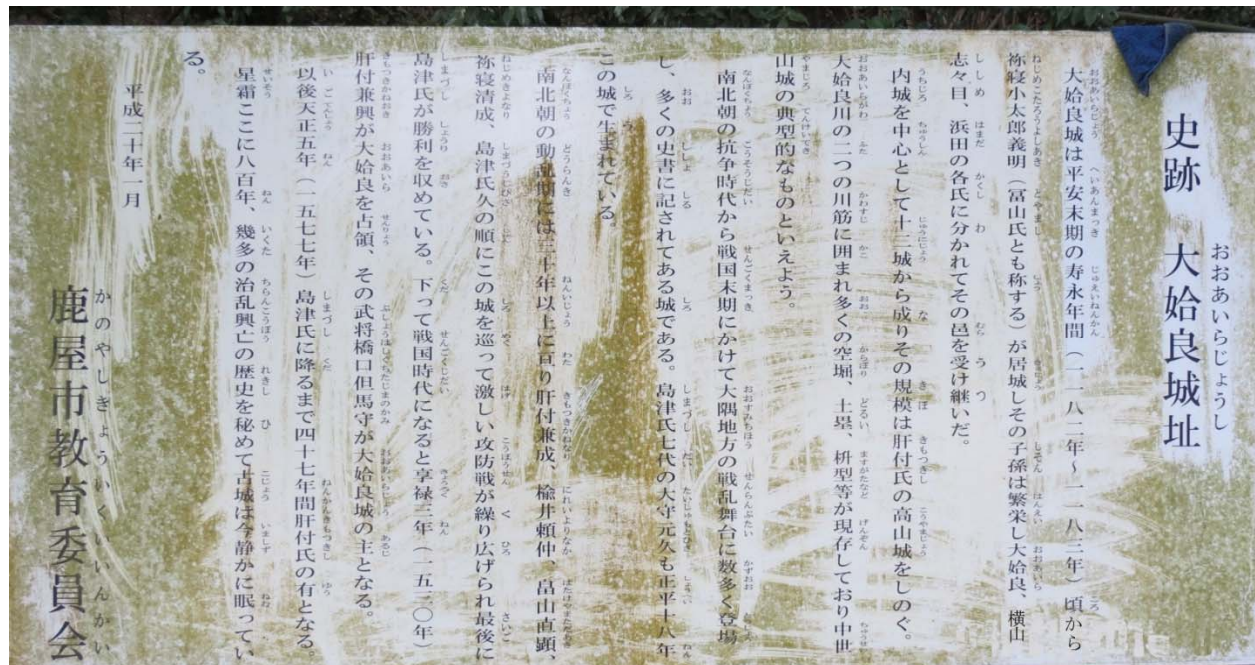


Image 12: Marker at the ruins of Ōaira-jō, written in 2008. Nejime Kiyonari is mentioned at the top of the eleventh line of the main text alongside other well-known figures who controlled the fort at various points. (Photo by the author, 4/1/2015).

Early Nejime military records, submitted separately by differing members of the *ichizoku*, were regularly summarized into reports on behalf of the entire *ichizoku* by its head, Kiyonari, who evolved into a powerful political and military figure in southern Kyushu. One of Kiyonari's *gunchūjō*, from 1351 and written on behalf of the Nejime *ichizoku*, is the longest military record in the *Nejime Monjo*, outlining a number of conflicts that led to victory over their enemies in Ōsumi and Satsuma, most notably Nirei Yorinaka.⁸⁸⁴ A commendation letter from

⁸⁸³ Had the Nejime and their allies failed in toppling Kaneshige, they would have likely lost everything, and it is important to keep this in mind when considering their motivations as military figures.

⁸⁸⁴ Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #75). See also Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #77).

Hatakeyama Tadaaki from the same month confirms Kiyonari's record and provides an abbreviated list of the battles, which resulted in the overthrow of seven castles or forts, including Kaseda-jō and Ōaira-jō, a small hill fort in the north that would serve as a major set piece in the region going forward.⁸⁸⁵ The Nejime later took permanent control of the fort, as their foothold in the region grew in the 1370s and beyond.

The total number of injuries sustained by Kiyonari's forces from the fourth month to the eighth month of 1351 was over forty, significantly more than in previous records, indicating a period of particularly harsh fighting in Ōsumi as well as the growing size of the total Nejime warband.⁸⁸⁶ The status of the wounded is unclear; although most of Kiyonari's injured followers suffered wounds to the extremities, some were shot in the head, neck, cut across the sides of their bodies, their backs, or were cut to the bone; one man was cut or shot in five places in a single battle, while another particularly unlucky follower was cut or shot eleven times!⁸⁸⁷ Each injury is listed in detail, but it is not clear how many of Kiyonari's followers perished from their wounds or died in battle, and deaths in particular are rarely listed.

Kiyonari's reports were effective, and prompted a confirmation of service from Hatakeyama Tadaaki, in which he praises "Kiyonari and his *ichizoku* and others" (*Kiyonari ika ichizoku nado* 清成以下一族等) for their military service.⁸⁸⁸ Over the course of fifteen years, Kiyonari's role as regional administrator (*gunji* and *jitō*) and unofficial Nejime head matured into that of a political and military interface between regional Kyushu military leaders and the whole

⁸⁸⁵ Kannō 2 (1351).8.7 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kanjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #76).

⁸⁸⁶ Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #75).

⁸⁸⁷ Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #75). His name was *Ueda Saemon Jirō Morisue* (上田左衛門次郎守末). In the document, names are listed first for each of Kiyonari's injured subordinates, followed by the location and type of injury (but not whether they survived).

⁸⁸⁸ Kannō 2 (1351).8.21 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kanjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #78). The exact phrasing is *Kiyonari ika ichizoku nado gunchū* (清成以下一族等軍忠).

of his by-then sizeable retainer corps of military personnel, as well as his network of collateral kin, each of which continued growing as time passed.⁸⁸⁹ Kiyonari was the first in a line of military commanders known simply as the “Nejime-*dono*.”

Kiyonari wrote a set of two short wills passing his titles and lands to his younger brother Kiyoari in the middle of several ongoing conflicts (out of a total of four *yuzurijō* from 1350 to 1353).⁸⁹⁰ These two wills were drafted in the sixth month of 1253, during a two-month gap in the fighting.⁸⁹¹ By the third month of 1254, when Kiyoari filed his first, transitional military report with Hatakeyama Tadaaki, Kiyonari was listed as deceased (*ima wa shikyo* 今者死去).⁸⁹² During one of the most violent and difficult military struggles the Nejime had engaged in, the torch of leadership was passed, without issue, from brother to brother.⁸⁹³ I will return to the content of Kiyonari and Kiyoari's inheritance records in Chapter VI.

The total number of injuries reported across the fourteen months of fighting under Nejime head Kiyonari and his successor and younger brother Kiyoari in their jointly-named service record was eighty-nine, including seven deaths (all by arrow).⁸⁹⁴ A few unlucky soldiers were injured on multiple separate occasions, but most of the names of the injured are unique, indicating that the Nejime force was quite large. The simpler, singular personal names of the

⁸⁸⁹ The number of people listed in the military report from 1351 vastly outnumbers earlier reports. However, this could be due to an increase in the severity of fighting, an impetus to seek greater reward through more detailed reporting, or the elevation of Kiyonari into a military commander in these battles, with no direct superiors present to personally witness these details. It is probably a mix of these factors, but in general the size of the Nejime fighting force does seem to be much larger here than it was in 1336, and continued to grow thereafter.

⁸⁹⁰ For the earlier two bequests, which I will examine in Chapter VI, see Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #84) and Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #440).

⁸⁹¹ Bunna 2 (1353).6.24 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #89) and Bunna 2 (1353).6.24 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #90). No specific evidence for the cause of this gap in the fighting remains, but it is quite possible that the Nejime suspended their activity specifically because their commanded Kiyonari was near the end of his life.

⁸⁹² Bunna 3 (1354).3 *Nejime Kiyonari, Kiyoari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #91).

⁸⁹³ This battle document directly attests to the increase in the severity of the fighting, as more injuries are listed here than in any other Nejime battle document from the Nanbokuchō period.

⁸⁹⁴ Bunna 3 (1354).3 *Nejime Kiyonari, Kiyoari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #91).

soldiers of low status background are ambiguous, but even if we count all identical names as single individuals, the minimum total number of unique Nejime soldiers who were injured or killed in battle is seventy-two. Of these, twenty-seven are listed as *wakatō* (若党) and had surnames, while twenty-eight were *chūgen* (中間) who had not risen above the basic status of commoners and only had personal names.⁸⁹⁵ These status distinctions had become increasingly fluid as the civil wars of the fourteenth century continued, and men of low status were able to win or invent higher positions for themselves. The remaining seventeen Nejime supporters are listed by a combination of their personal names, surnames, and titles, indicating that they were local elites. Three of these are also listed as *shinrui* (親類) or Nejime kinsmen, though none of them are well known figures, and some of their ties to the Nejime are unclear and likely fictional.⁸⁹⁶ Members of the Nejime sub-lineages who continued to submit their own documents are not listed, as they retained their own recordkeeping even in the mid-1350s after twenty years of fighting under and alongside the Nejime head.

The by-then extensive Nejime warband engaged in a campaign against the Nirei was comprised of at least seventy-six people whom we can name directly, and even more unknown figures who were fortunate enough to escape injury (thus going unrecorded in the battle reports that focus on casualties as a signal of service). This is a large force for a local warrior *ichizoku* of the mid-fourteenth century, and signifies not only the severity of the fighting ongoing in the northern Ōsumi region, but also the growing organizational capacity of the Nejime as a regional

⁸⁹⁵ As noted previously, for more on these two classifications, see Thomas Conlan's *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-century Japan*, especially pp. 397 on *chūgen* and 408 on *wakatō*.

⁸⁹⁶ Many more nonbiological "Nejime" kin, classified as *shinrui*, appear in the late fourteenth century. This was a new form of military kinship that came with the burden of organizing the growing set of Nejime forces. I will discuss this phenomenon both later in this chapter and in Chapter VII. For another example of such military forms of kinship, specifically related *wakatō* 若党 as retainers as pseudo kin (*modoki ketsuen shūdan* 擬血縁集団, as opposed to *ichizoku* blood-kin or *ketsuen shūdan* 血縁集団), see Satō Kazuhiko, *Chūsei no ikki to minshū sekai*, p. 251.

military force centered around their *ichizoku* network.

Where did these housemen and other followers of the Nejime come from? Many were likely local commoners from their home peninsula and members of lesser houses who sought to improve their standing through military service, as fits with the widely accepted idea of socioeconomic mobility present in wartime in medieval Japan. The Nejime themselves were beneficiaries of this increase in mobility, and the fact that war brought socioeconomic opportunity is no surprise. However, that local men of fighting age could climb the social ladder through military service does not explain how they came to join the Nejime and fight under the leadership of Kiyonari and his relatives. From at least the time of Kiyotsuna, who included a specific will dividing up his servants, the Nejime already had a significant number of internal retainers, assistants, and laborers, who were considered transmittable property and served the Nejime as a part of their social status.⁸⁹⁷

We do have one lone example of how an outsider of low social standing, in this case the son of a probably somewhat well-off landed farming family, could be absorbed into the Nejime as a part of their corps of human property. In 1338, a crop failure or famine (飢饉 - *kikin*) threw at least some local farmers in the Nejime region into economic disarray.⁸⁹⁸ In the fourth month, a woman known to us only as the "mother of Ubatarō" (*Ubatarō ga Haha* うはたらうかはゝ), likely living within or near the holdings of Kiyotane (referred to by the woman as *Ikehata-dono*),

⁸⁹⁷ The term *shojū* (所従) encompasses both *kenin* housemen/housewomen (家人) and *genin* hereditary servants (下人), and indicates hereditary servitude. See Hitomi Tonomura, *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan*, p. 53 on *genin*. See Hall and Mass, *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, p. 257 on *kenin*. For more on *shojū* see Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Kamakura Bakufu, A Study in Documents*, p. 209. Mass defines *shojū* as "A personal servant who could be bought or sold, and could be forced to do whatever work was demanded by the lord. Similar in status to *genin*."

⁸⁹⁸ This famine or crop failure was likely fairly localized, as I have not found reference to it elsewhere. Courtiers often recorded large-scale natural disasters including droughts that effected the provinces, and a list of them can be found in Yada Toshifumi, "Chūsei no shizen to ningen," pp. 300-301.

requested that he take in her nine-year-old son in exchange for a loan of 200 *mon* in cash.⁸⁹⁹ The mother stated that because of the famine that year they were starving, but that (also because of the famine) the money had the purchasing power of two or three *kanmon* (2000-3000 *mon*) in normal times, and would get her back on her feet (*kotoshi wa kikin nite sōrō hodo ni, waga mi mo kano warawa mo, ueshinu beku sōrō aida, miuchi ni okimairase sōrō, tadashi tōji no ni-hyaku mon wa, higo no ni kanmon san kanmon ni atari sōrō* 今年ハきゝんにて候ほとに、わか身もかのハラワも、うゑしぬへく候あいた、御うちにおきまいらせ候、たゝしたうしの二百もんハ、日ころの二くわんもん三くわんもんにあたり候).⁹⁰⁰ She promised to repay Kiyotane double the 200-*mon* loan by the ninth month of that year; if payment was not made, Kiyotane could retain her son Ubatarō as repayment, and he would become Kiyotane's permanent property with the loan document serving as a receipt (*moshi mata ku gatsu-chu sugi sōrawaba, kono jō o hōken to shite, eitai o kagite, kano Ubatrō warawa o sōden, fukuji serare mairase sōrō beki nari* もし又九月中すき候ハゝ、このしやうをはうけんとして、ゑいたいをかきて、かのうはたらうわらわをさうてん、ふくしせらえまいらせ候へきなり).⁹⁰¹ The back of the document was later appended with a note that this was the proof document for the child Ubatarō (*Ubatarō warawa no shōmon* うはたらうわらわのせうもん), though non-conclusive, this added note likely indicates that payment was not made by his mother, and that Ubatarō became a permanent part of Kiyotane's human property corps.⁹⁰²

We have no way of knowing the fate of Ubatarō, beyond that he likely lived the rest of

⁸⁹⁹ Kenmu 5 (1338).4.8 *Uba Tarō Haha jinshin shichiken* (KKSI vol. 1, #745).

⁹⁰⁰ Kenmu 5 (1338).4.8 *Uba Tarō Haha jinshin shichiken* (KKSI vol. 1, #745). The term I translate roughly as “starving,” *ueshinu* (飢死 or 餓死, often visible in medieval documents like this one as うゑしぬ), means to die of hunger or starve to death. See the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry for “*ueshinu*.”

⁹⁰¹ Kenmu 5 (1338).4.8 *Uba Tarō Haha jinshin shichiken* (KKSI vol. 1, #745). The document includes a note for the kanji of *fukuji* (服仕), a general term for servitude.

⁹⁰² Kenmu 5 (1338).4.8 *Uba Tarō Haha jinshin shichiken* (KKSI vol. 1, #745).

his life as one of Kiyotane's lower *genin* (下人) servants. Was he an indentured laborer or farmhand? Did he fight under Kiyotane and Kiyonari in the wars of the 1340s and 50s as an adult?⁹⁰³ Due to his low status and lack of a full name, we cannot know his fate, including for how long and in what capacity he served Kiyotane. Either way, this document provides a rare glimpse into one way that local elites grew their retinue of various attendants, a process that is not usually visible to observers today. Many others likely joined the Nejime not out of need, but out of opportunity, as attachment to a successful warrior *ichizoku* would benefit those seeking to join the military profession and established small-scale warriors without the political ties needed to correspond with military commanders and patrons directly.

The Nejime-dono as a Regional Commander

The period of fighting from 1336 through 1357 greatly benefitted the Nejime as they evolved into military power-holders. The fighting throughout their home region let Kiyonari and his allies and successors justify the buildup of a large military force based out of their home territory of Nejime-in, forming a southern bulwark against the Kimotsuki, Nirei, Shimazu (who were on-again, off-again allies), and other “outlaws” from Satsuma. The Nejime, like other warriors with sufficient clout to do so, switched sides multiple times during the Nanbokuchō period, fighting to protect and expand their holdings rather than to serve a singular military or political superior. The consolidation of property under the administrative head of Nejime-in was not complete, nor was his power over the sub-lineages of his brothers and cousins absolute. However, in the rising tide of the Nanbokuchō period, the power of the Nejime head grew at a

⁹⁰³ In Kiyonari and Kiyonari's joint service report, Bunna 3 (1354).3 *Nejime Kiyonari, Kiyonari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #91), a commoner by the name Tarō was killed, while another, called Heitarō, was wounded. It is easy to imagine that Ubatarō might have found himself in a similar position, as the time that he joined the Nejime was that of the greatest demand for soldiers in the history of Japan. However, there is not further mention of Ubatarō in any of the Nejime records, at least under the same name.

much faster rate than his compatriots, as he interfaced directly with the regional command structure that formed above them. This is especially evident after the *Nejime-dono* took full control over Nejime military recordkeeping in the 1370s and thereafter.

By the last years of Kiyonari's life, he was referred to almost exclusively by his commanders and kinsmen alike as simply "*Nejime-dono*," or "the lord of Nejime," embodying their kin group's power in the region.⁹⁰⁴ The term first appears in Kamakura documents including several of the 1320s tax disputes, wherein the Chinzei Tandai referred to Kiyoyasu as "*Nejime-gunji-dono*."⁹⁰⁵ Although it initially served as a convenient shortening of the multiple Nejime-held titles of *gunji* and *jitō-shiki*, the informal title of "*Nejime-dono*" grew to hold greater significance than those previous offices. For example, in a rushed missive from 1336, regarding the establishment of regional control in the western half of Japan by Ashikaga Takauji, his general Kō no Moronao (高師直) addressed a command to "*Nejime gunji-dono*," the head of the region whose personal name he likely did not know.⁹⁰⁶ The document concerned the passage of warships from all across the province (大隅園津々浦々船事) that were rushing to the capital, which the Nejime were ordered to tally and report on (including specifically the number of soldiers and oarsmen per ship or *inzū* 員数 and *kako kajitori* 水手梶取), regardless of whether

⁹⁰⁴ The pseudo-title of *Nejime-dono* itself is merely an honorific term for the head of the Nejime and administrative head of *Nejime-in*, and has no intrinsic meaning. It is not defined in any document in the *Nejime Monjo*, and is merely an honorific shorthand based on the *Nejime-in-shi* and *gunji* positions. References to other family heads as *dono* are common throughout the medieval period, and the term was commonly used at court. However, in the case of the Nejime, where other terms for headship were only rarely employed, we can infer the growing weight and symbolic meaning of *Nejime-dono* as an informal but significant title from the fact that in co-signed documents from political superiors like the Imagawa and Shimazu, the leader of the Nejime would often sign without any other title, name, or rank, and dozens of such records have survived in the *Nejime Monjo*.⁹⁰⁴ The *Nejime-dono* was known to both military leaders in Kyushu and Kyoto, and the full Nejime kinship network, as the military and civil administrator in charge of *Nejime-in* and the head of the Nejime *ichizoku* or *ichimon* family unit. Documents from military superiors often provide reward or recognition to the *Nejime-dono* on behalf of his entire *ichizoku* (and thus left the distribution of such rewards to the discretion of the *Nejime-dono*).

⁹⁰⁵ Gen'ō 2 (1320).5.25 *Chinzei shigyōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #41) and Gen'ō 2 (1320).10.6 *Chinzei shigyōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #42).

⁹⁰⁶ Kenmu 3 (1336).3.12 *Kō no Moronao hōsho* (KKSI vol. 1, #51).

those ships were large or small.⁹⁰⁷

Although Kō no Moronao did not reference the Nejime-*dono* (Kiyonari, in this case) by name, this was clearly a significant appellation reserved for a powerful ally. Historian Nakamura Tomohiro, who refers to the Nejime as the “lords of the coastal region of the Ōsumi peninsula” (*Ōsumi hantō enganiki no ryōshu* 大隅半島沿岸域の領主), provides context for this document, stating that the dispatch of this order followed Ashikaga Takauji’s destruction of several rivals in northern Kyushu.⁹⁰⁸ According to Nakamura, the order to monitor passing warships was an effort at further consolidating power in the region following the battle of Tatarahama (*Tatarahama gassen* 多々良浜合戦), which ended a few days earlier, in the third month of 1336.⁹⁰⁹ That the Nejime were a southern instrument in this broader effort is a testament to their regional authority as it was perceived by the central warrior elite.

From the beginning of the Nanbokuchō period onward, the significance of the Nejime-*dono* as a local warlord continued to expand. From the late 1350s onward, the Nejime-*dono* became the exclusive link between locals in southern Ōsumi (including his sub-lineage relatives and a growing set of military kin) and powerful figures in the local Ashikaga leadership, particularly the Imagawa under Imagawa Ryōshun and several members of the Shimazu *shugo* lineage.⁹¹⁰ Though it lacked the well-defined, traditionally structured power dynamic of earlier

⁹⁰⁷ Kenmu 3 (1336).3.12 *Kō no Moronao hōsho* (KKSI vol. 1, #51).

⁹⁰⁸ Nakamura Tomohiro, “Shimazu-shi no ryōgoku shihai to suijō kōtsū,” p. 121. Nakamura makes the argument that much of the power that local warriors like the Nejime and Kimotsuki developed was due to their importance in naval battles, which the Ashikaga and Imagawa could not conduct without local aid, the Shimazu being too powerful in the region for the Bakufu to fight without recruiting oppositional forces from the region. See pp. 122-123.

⁹⁰⁹ Nakamura Tomohiro, “Shimazu-shi no ryōgoku shihai to suijō kōtsū,” p. 121.

⁹¹⁰ See Niina Kazuhito, “Kōryaku, Eitoku no minami Kyūshū josei,” an investigation into undated military documents from the late Nanbokuchō period, which also provides useful background on the latter half of the Nanbokuchō period. See especially p. 25 for a chart of Nejime records, which categorizes them based on the nature of each conflict, and allows for easy visualization of the Nejime focus over time. Conflict with the Shimazu occurred late, as the Nejime delayed choosing sides between the Imagawa and the Shimazu in the opening years of conflict between the two.

landed posts like the *gunji* or *jitō-shiki*, the nebulous nature of the “Nejime-*dono*” designation was significantly more authoritative than previous iterations of Nejime lordship, and was synonymous with the combined authority of earlier official positions, the later development of military command, and full-scale administrative authority throughout Nejime-*in*. The Nejime-*dono* embodied their home territory through the direct appropriation of its name, and his capacity within the region, while not totalitarian, was certainly that of formidable leadership.

Individual military records from various Nejime warriors, representing their separate sub-lineages in *gunchūjō* (battle reports) and *chakutōjō* (documents of arrival), which were abundant until 1357, disappear thereafter, as military documentation became the almost exclusive domain of the Nejime-*dono*. Why were there no more *gunchūjō*, or subdivided military reports of any kind after this point? The Nejime did not stop fighting, but rather, secondary members of the main line and sub-lineages stopped submitting their own reports early in the third Nejime-*dono* Hisakiyo’s career as their leader (Kiyoari maintained the position of Nejime headship for only about a year, as a transitional figure between Kiyonari and Kiyoari’s son Hisakiyo).

After twenty years of shoulder-to-shoulder fighting, the relationship between the successive Nejime-*dono* and their commanders, especially Hatakeyama Tadaaki, whom they followed in his multiple political shifts between higher patrons, solidified to the point that specific petitions for recognition were no longer needed. Correspondence between the head of the Nejime and various military leaders became more frequent in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as their level of prestige grew to warrant frequent, direct communication from the Hatakeyama, the Shimazu, the Ashikaga, and later, the Imagawa.⁹¹¹ As regional politics grew more complex, like they had in the Ichikawa case, the maintenance of multiple lines of

⁹¹¹ For a general treatment of Kyushu politics in the mid-to-late fourteenth century, particularly Imagawa Ryōshun’s effort to build up an *ikki* to oppose the Shimazu, see Murai Shōsuke, *Chūsei kokka to zaichi shakai*, pp. 435-466.

documentation with provincial elites became difficult, and central superiors resorted to communicating with the most powerful or visible figure on behalf of their entire *ichizoku*.

The trend toward the full-scale consolidation of all military records under the Nejime head, who had also been the de-facto military leader of the kin group since the second Mongol invasion in 1281, fully matured after the late 1350s. Rather than submitting multiple copies of battle reports which were usually identical or very nearly so, as the Nejime network had done in overlapping records from 1336, 1337, 1339, 1341, 1342, 1351, 1354, and 1357, documents regarding their military activity of the Nejime, including the members of various sub-lineages, were thereafter consolidated into reports under Hisakiyo, who inherited a streamlined role of military administration and command.⁹¹²

Despite this paramount position as administrator and recordkeeper for the *ichizoku*, the evolution of the Nejime-*dono* was not a wholesale subordination of the sub-lineages; even under the official authority of their military proxy the Nejime-*dono*, Nejime collaterals retained their property holdings in the region, and were often referred to as minor lords (Kita-*dono*, Ikehata-*dono*, Sumino-*dono* etc.), who held dual identities as the leaders of their sub-lineages and members of the broader Nejime *ichizoku*. In each case the networked group of kin, regardless of how far removed they were from the core of the group in terms of blood or generations, signed their records as “Nejime” in addition to their own sub-lineage names, and were included in the records of the Nejime head as members of his distributed *ichizoku* kin group.

By the early fifteenth century, the Nejime-*dono* title eclipsed all others held by the main line, or perhaps encapsulated them to such a degree that referring to the scattered *jitō-shiki* and

⁹¹² In chronological order, see *KKSI*, vol. 1, #792, 694, 455, 604, 695, 696, 697, 458, 459, 60, 698, 691, 699, 460, 461, 700, 463, 464, 701, 462, 465, 702, 75, 466, 703, 77, 467, 91, 704, 469, and 470 for individual records from 1336-1357, which often overlap and appear in sets of one to three records of individual conflicts. See Figure #23 earlier in this section for a detailed list of these records.

the increasingly defunct Nejime *gunji* post was no longer necessary resulting from the ascendancy of the Nejime to a position of more significant regional power. By 1343, (Kita) Kiyotake and other sub-lineage members used the *Nejime-dono* title internally to refer to his own brother (or half-brother), Kiyonari, as the head of the Nejime.⁹¹³ From the documents of Kiyotake and others, we learn that the “*Nejime-dono*” was at least partially synonymous with the use of the term *sōryō* in other groups, a basic relational concept that was largely absent from previous Nejime records and never became a common identifier in their social group. The military organization of the Nejime led to the informal elevation Kiyonari and his successors as the heads of the entire Nejime region, along with the sub-lineage heads that served him, who still had direct ties to the broader military command structure in Kyushu.

The formation of the broad network of Nejime kinsmen and their subordinates into a fully integrated military entity under the leading and coordinating Nejime-*dono* completed a major shift from the earlier lineage network into a more unified structure. This emerging structure was not yet fully formed even at the end of the Nanbokuchō period. The latter social form of the Nejime, including what scholars term its *bushidan* (武士団) military and familial unit, would encompass the socioeconomic and military modes of organization under the Nejime-*dono*, such that little information remains on most of the sub-lineages after the early fifteenth century.⁹¹⁴ Internal records dwindle past the 1350s, and our knowledge of the Nejime kin group is largely limited to that of the medieval outsiders with whom they corresponded. As links to central power grew more tenuous in the fifteenth century, the compulsion to reveal information about kin

⁹¹³ See Kōei 2 (1343).12.28 *Takebe Kiyotake yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #615) and Kōei 2 (1343).4.13 *Takebe Kiyotake okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #605). I will examine these documents in detail in Chapter VI.

⁹¹⁴ Suzuki Katsuya and Kozono Kimio each discuss the Nejime as a military unit at length. See Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, pp. 20-71, and Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite,” pp. 35-43. See also the *Nejime kyōdo-shi* vol. 1, pp. 229-232.

structure, as it aligned with the size and shape of military forces, evaporated completely in the face of growing chaos and fragmenting alliances.

At several points in the late 1300s, conflicts within the ranks of their military superiors, (Kamakura, the Ashikaga, and Go-Daigo, the Northern and Southern Courts, Hatakeyama Tadaaki and Shimazu Ujihisa, and later the Imagawa and Shimazu) forced the Nejime to choose sides, carefully navigating between these rivalries as political conflicts grew into a century of sustained war. Many of the specific details of the continuing military exploits of the Nejime in the later Muromachi and Sengoku period fall beyond the purview of this study. After the Nejime military apparatus was fully developed, information on the internal dynamics of the group becomes scarce, and the Nejime-*dono* was likely in a position of full military (but not social) authority over most of the Nejime sub-lineages in the 1400s.

Nejime-*dono* Hisakiyo's records from the late fourteenth century, for the first time, treat all the members of the various Nejime sub-lineages as direct subordinates who fought for him rather than with him. Few details of the type and duration of fighting are provided in later Nejime military records, which often come in the form of lists of those injured or those whose service warranted recognition. One revealing exception, from 1372, comes from an otherwise unknown *shinrui* "relative" called Danjō Nobushige, listed as Hisakiyo's deputy (*Nejime umanosuke Hisakiyo no dai shinrui Danjō Nobushige* 祢寝右馬助久清代親類彈正忠信成), who engaged in seaborne battles in Hisakiyo's name in service to Imagawa Nakaaki (今川仲秋), listing Hisakiyo as his *sōryō* (惣領) in the document.⁹¹⁵ It is entirely unclear whether Nobushige was actually a member of the Nejime, and his name falls outside of any normal Nejime naming

⁹¹⁵ Ōan 5 (1372).12.5 *Nejime Hisakiyo dai Danjō Nobushige mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #617). This record is discussed at length in Nakamura Tomohiro, "Shimazu-shi no ryōgoku shihai to suijō kōtsū," pp. 121-122, which focuses on seaborne control by the Shimazu in the fourteenth century.

conventions. It is highly likely that his status as a *shinrui* kinsman was either fictionalized or highly tenuous, revealing the extent of the bond of military kinship that developed under the Nejime-*dono* in the fourteenth century.

Evidence of the political and military importance of the Nejime-*dono* and his *ichizoku* is abundant, and indeed too abundant to explore in this chapter. For example, as the Imagawa attempted to establish power in Kyushu, and especially after the start of their open feud with the Shimazu, the Nejime received fifty letters from Imagawa Ryōshun and forty-six from Imagawa Mitsunori all in the span of a decade, from 1372 to 1382, while two final letters from Imagawa Mitsuo (今川三雄) arrived in 1385. Communication between the Nejime-*dono* and the Imagawa was frequent, and included confirmations of the Nejime holdings and records, responses to minor legal issues, and numerous requests for military support in the fight against the Shimazu. These communications were sent to the Nejime-*dono* directly as personal communiqués.

Correspondence between Imagawa Ryōshun, Imagawa Mitsunori (Ryōshun's son and leading general), and the retired Nejime-*dono* Hisakiyo would require a study of its own to fully analyze and explain. Documents from the end of the fourteenth century onward are sporadic, but into the 1380s the powerful neighbors and central superiors of the Nejime continued to court them for military aid.

Military Organization and Recordkeeping in the Fourteenth Century Nejime *Ichizoku*

By the end of the Nanbokuchō conflicts in 1392, the main line had absorbed the military identity of some of its sub-lineages to the point that they left few detailed military or succession records of their own. I will examine this process in detail in Chapter VI. Further, some locals that had no known direct kinship affiliation with the Nejime in the Kamakura and early Nanbokuchō periods fell under the social/military structure of the Nejime by the late 1300s.

From 1336 through 1357, Nejime records reached military commanders in numerous divided channels, maintained by each sub-lineage. Thereafter, the nature of the record itself changed, as the military administration of the Nejime was unified under the Nejime-*dono* (in this case, Hisakiyo). In this section, I will briefly examine what this shift in recordkeeping meant in terms of how Nejime military structure changed between the eras of the headship of Kiyonari (1330-1352) and his nephew Hisakiyo (1353-1374).

An important element of the change between these two successive military leaders of the Nejime involves both the size and the nature of their military subordinate groups, and points to the elevated social status of the Nejime head between the time of Kiyonari and Hisakiyo. The supporters of the Nejime fell into three broad categories, which were common social classifications in medieval military structure across Japan. These groups were the *shinrui* (親類), or “relatives” who fought alongside the Nejime under compacts of allegiance but who could select their military superiors at will, the *wakatō* (若党), lesser military professionals with their own surnames who usually fought on horseback but took orders directly from a local superior, and the *chūgen* (中間), fighters without surnames or warrior pedigree who often fought on foot and performed compulsory or voluntary service as residents on the land of local elites like the Nejime. Although these three categorizations appear in the military records of Nejime Kiyonari in the 1340s and 1350s, the emphasis on the social classification of subordinates became more pronounced and structured in the later records of his nephew Hisakiyo.

In Kiyonari’s earlier military service records, he emphasized where he and his relatives fought, for how long, against whom, who among his followers was injured, the nature of their injuries, when they received it, and their basic social status (whether they were *shinrui*, *wakatō*,

or *chūgen*).⁹¹⁶ Mentions of direct military subordinates are quite rare in the records of the leaders of the Nejime sub-lineages, who seem to have had very few followers of their own. While reports from the Nanbokuchō period occasionally include records of injuries to one or two subordinates from a sub-lineage, the overwhelming majority of the military subordinates of the Nejime fell under the direct command of Kiyonari and the successive main heirs.

Just after Kiyonari died in 1353, the last separate military records from any of the Nejime sub-lineages also petered out, with the last independent *gunchūjō* from Nejime sub-lineage members appearing in 1357 (from the heads of the Yamamoto and Miyahara).⁹¹⁷ After 1357, the military record of members of the Nejime sub-lineages appears only in the records of Hisakiyo himself, where they are listed as his *shinrui* relatives. The semi-autonomy and direct documentary links to military superiors that the sub-lineages enjoyed in the first twenty years of the Nanbokuchō period under Kiyonari was stripped away under Hisakiyo, who submitted reports of their military activity and petitioned for recognition documents for them. For example, in one of Hisakiyo's petitions from 1381, he requested documents of recognition for ten of his subordinates, including two members from the Nejime main line, and members of the Yamamoto, Miyahara, and Nishimoto/Sumino sub-lineages.⁹¹⁸

By the late 1370s, Hisakiyo, who technically retired (adopting the name Anraku Kiyotsuna 安楽清綱) in 1374 but retained administrative authority for another decade, had come to control the military recordkeeping of the sub-lineages, a signal that his military authority had

⁹¹⁶ For example, see Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #75), though not formatted as a list like Hisakiyo's later documents, here Kiyonari wrote a lengthy listing of each battle in which his subordinates were injured, their names, the location of their injury, and their status as *shinrui*, *wakatō*, or *chūgen*. The same type of long, unformatted list of the injured persisted until the time of Hisakiyo. The longest of these records is the joint *gunchūjō* from Kiyonari and Kiyoari, see Bunna 3 (1354).3 *Nejime Kiyonari, Kiyoari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #91).

⁹¹⁷ Enbun 2 (1357).5 *Takebe Kiyomasu gunchūjō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #469), and Enbun 2 (1357).5 *Takebe Shigetane gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #470).

⁹¹⁸ Eitoku 1 (1381).6.1 *Nejime Hisakiyo yotō kyōmyō chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #133).

grown significantly.⁹¹⁹ An important distinction between Kiyonari and Hisakiyo, which indicates the still-evolving nature of the Nejime network, is that Kiyonari listed very few of his subordinates as *shinrui* relatives, and the term was reserved for those we can verify as his close, blood-related kin. His most powerful relatives, who would have qualified for early categorization as *shinrui*, submitted their own individual documents and maintained direct links to more powerful military commanders, drafting their own military reports either in tandem with the Nejime head or completely independently. From 1331 through 1357, a total of twenty-eight military records survive from the Nejime sub-lineages, appearing more regularly than the reports from the main line under Kiyonari, of which only four survive. Figure #24 below summarizes the balance of these records by lineage affiliation.

After less than a decade of conflict, Kiyonari's military superiors already understood that the various members of the Nejime *ichizoku* fought under his overarching authority. As early as 1342, Shimazu Sadahisa called for rewards for Nejime Kiyonari “and his *ichizoku*,” (大隅國祢寢郡司清成并一族等申恩賞事) whom he commended for their military actions and reported on the loss of tens of their forces in battle.⁹²⁰ This commendation by Sadahisa followed a series of military reports from various Nejime sub-lineages, which bolstered Kiyonari’s own claim for reward.⁹²¹ After receiving no significant rewards for their early years of service, the Nejime turned against the Shimazu, fighting against Sadahisa and Ujihisa in the 1350s for Ashikaga Tadafuyu, whose arrival in Kyushu split local forces into a three-way struggle for power during

⁹¹⁹ See Ōei 2 (1395) *Anraku Kiyotsuna shojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #311), *Anraku Kiyotsuna shojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #309), and *Anraku Kiyotsuna shojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #313). Hisakiyo apparently chose the new name based on consultation with an oracle or *shintaku* (神託), perhaps in tribute to his great-great-great grandfather Kiyotsuna, the prolific will-writer and creator of the initial sub-lineage splits in the Nejime property.

⁹²⁰ Kōei 1 (1342).12.11 *Shimazu Dōkan Sadahisa kyojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #64).

⁹²¹ Over a half-dozen corroborating records from the Nejime sub-lineages fit this time period. In chronological order, see KKSI vol. 1, #699, 460, 461, 700, 463, 464, 701, 462, 465, and 702.

the early 1350s.⁹²²

Kiyonari's reports, while less frequent than those of his relatives, are also different in style. They are broad summaries of the military action of his large body of direct subordinates and his compatriots from the sub-lineages, whose separate records were always individually focused. Kiyonari's reports, usually answered by his direct superior Hatakeyama Tadaaki, emphasize the solidarity of the entire Nejime "ichizoku" under him.⁹²³ Simultaneously, the reports of various sub-lineages emphasized their continuing loyalty to their military commanders, stressing that they had engaged in a continuing struggle in support of the Ashikaga against local southern court adherents from the Kenmu era (specifically 1336) onward, demonstrating unwavering loyalty to the northern cause.⁹²⁴ Sub-lineage records often came on the same date as those of Kiyonari, and served to emphasize the overall unification and service of the broader Nejime group to their military commanders. In other words, although Kiyonari had a measure of military authority over his relatives and benefitted by proxy from their service, their combined effort to gain reward from their commanders was an essentially collaborative effort all the way up until Kiyonari's death.

The difference in the textual format and content of Nejime documents after Kiyonari is important; they reveal a new level of authority over the sub-lineages exerted by Hisakiyo that Kiyonari did not possess. Kiyonari's battle reports are free-form accounts of exactly when and

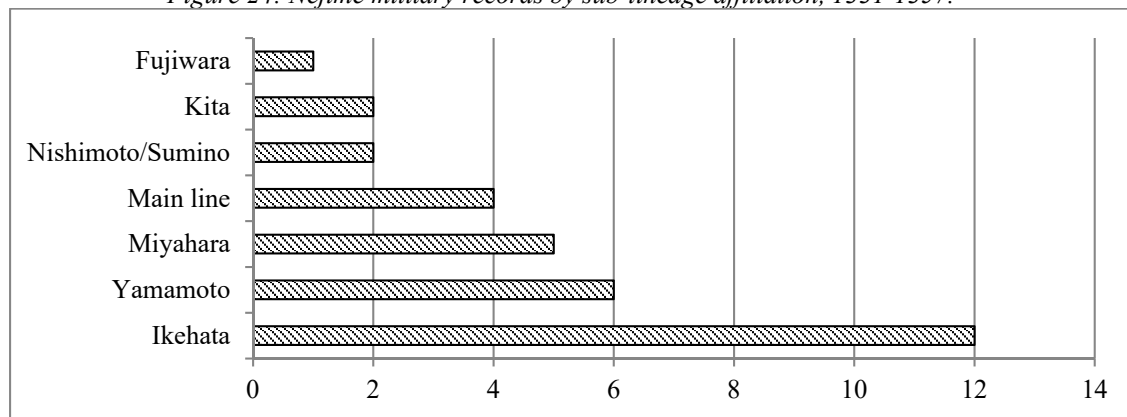
⁹²² See Kannō 2 (1351).12.13 *Owari Yoshifuyu kyojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #82) and Enbun 2 (1357).5 *Takebe Kiyomasu gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #469). On Yoshifuyu, see the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikēi, kenbetsu etsuran Kagoshima-ken, kumage-gun* entry for Tanegashima (種子島), which details the half-jitō-shiki award to Kiyotane through Ashikaga Tadafuyu's general Owari Yoshifuyu.

⁹²³ Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #77). The specific phrasing refers to the military service of "Nejime Kiyonari and the ichizoku under him" (大隅国祢寝孫次郎清成以下一族等軍忠事).

⁹²⁴ This language can be found in multiple sub-lineage reports, for example Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Takebe Kiyomasu gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #466), Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Takebe Kiyotane gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #703), which accompanied Kiyonari's own report. It was mutually beneficial to Kiyonari and the sub-lineage heads to display their ongoing cooperative effort to support the Ashikaga.

where he and his subordinates fought, often encapsulating multiple battles or even multiple years of service. The result is a cluttered, chaotic list of names, dates, and locations that is organized chronologically, recording each minor engagement, each fort or castle sieged (and even which gate they attacked) and injuries suffered. To get the full picture of who was involved, one would need to consult several additional military records from Kiyonari's allied *ichizoku* heads.

Figure 24: *Nejime* military records by sub-lineage affiliation, 1331-1357.⁹²⁵



Hisakiyo's records, in contrast, are neatly organized into individual named battles, listed by date, and formatted into simple lists of all his injured soldiers, categorized by their social status. Only three such records survive (of four battles, one record containing two lists), but one good example of this is Hisakiyo's 1379 report of the "Battle of Nishimata" (*Nishimata gassen* - 西俣合戦) in the northern Aira region, which is formatted as a listing of the wounded (*teoi* 手負) in that engagement.⁹²⁶ The Nejime controlled administration of the Aira region and held a *jitō-shiki* in Nishimata from the time of Kiyoari, who was awarded the post by Hatakeyama Tadaaki in 1356.⁹²⁷ The battle, otherwise unknown to history, took place on the eleventh day of the

⁹²⁵ This does not include any duplicate records, a number of which appear in *KKSI* vol. 2, which are identical copies of records from *KKSI* vol. 1.

⁹²⁶ *Kōryaku* 1 (1379).11.11 *Nishimoto gassen teoi chūmon* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #128). Nejime-in is divided into northern and southern halves (Kitamata and Minamimata), but does not include a western, or Nishimata division. Aira does, so I assume this is a reference to that Nishimata, in the heart of ongoing military activity.

⁹²⁷ *Bunna* 5 (1356).4.23 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki jitō-shiki ate-okonai-jō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #93). See also the *Nejime kyōdo-shi*, vol. 1, pp. 215-218, which lists the conferral of the *jitō* post as well as some of the Tashiro lands in Nejime-in to Kiyoari.

eleventh month of 1379.⁹²⁸ Whereas Kiyonari's records covered entire, protracted military campaigns, Hisakiyo's more abbreviated documents are specific to one or at most two successive engagements, with no direct detail of the locations, fortifications involved, or how each battle was fought (whether it was a night attack, an assault on a castle gate, a protracted siege, a standoff involving the construction of temporary forts, etc.).

These details were usually present in the more chaotic, chronological campaign records of Kiyonari, and the stark difference in the records of Hisakiyo points to perhaps a personal difference in their styles of recordkeeping, but more importantly to the higher level of status that Kiyonari's decades of well-documented service and organization of the Nejime network earned the new Nejime-head. Hisakiyo did not need to provide minute details of each day's fighting to his military superiors. Hisakiyo's report of the Nishimoto battle is a list of thirteen injured *shinrui* relatives and four *chūgen* subordinates who were killed. An otherwise unknown Nejime member named Nejime Hikosaburō-Nyūdō is listed separately, and it seems that several injured *wakatō* fell under his authority. Next, Hisakiyo moved on to a separate battle in the same area at Ōaira-jō, the regional fort that frequently changed hands, where two *shinrui* and four *wakatō* retainers were injured, while two *chūgen* were killed. One sub-lineage member, Nejime Hachirōsaburō-Nyūdō, also lost a *chūgen* who was his direct subordinate.⁹²⁹

Although Kiyonari and Hisakiyo's cousins from the Nejime sub-lineages maintained independence in name and in documentary ties to Hatakeyama Tadaaki and Shimazu Ujihisa in the opening decades of the Nanbokuchō period, they received little in the way of rewards directly from them, and increasingly relied on the distribution of awards provided by the Nejime head. This is a major theme in the continuous tilting of power in favor of the Nejime-*dono* over his

⁹²⁸ Kōryaku 1 (1379).11.11 *Nishimoto gassen teoi chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #128).

⁹²⁹ Kōryaku 1 (1379).11.11 *Nishimoto gassen teoi chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #128).

subordinate kin, and explains why, despite the abundance of their records, relatively little evidence of direct reward to the sub-lineages remains. In a 1350 summons from Ashikaga Tadafuyu, the Nejime-*gunji* was asked to bring his *ichizoku* with him and hasten to battle (相催一族、急速馳参、可致忠節之状如件).⁹³⁰ The campaign lasted a full year, and in total Tadafuyu sent a half-dozen summonses to the Nejime head Kiyonari over the course of the fighting.⁹³¹ Out of the six records, only the first and last documents mention the Nejime *ichizoku*, which was viewed as a single military unit by the Ashikaga; the others list no subject at all. By this point, at least in the eyes of the Ashikaga themselves, Kiyonari was in full command of his set of relatives and followers as military subordinates. Award documents from the 1350s onward generally ignore the Nejime *ichizoku*, as the greatest material rewards went to Kiyonari and his successor Hisakiyo.⁹³² In 1382, Imagawa Ryōshun provided Hisakiyo with a listing of the confirmed awards granted to him and his *ichizoku*, which included five sizeable holdings for Hisakiyo, and four much smaller holdings passed on to various other Nejime members.⁹³³ Between 1350 and 1380 under Hisakiyo, the supremacy of the main line over the sub-lineages grew markedly.

The ongoing shift toward a more powerful, singular Nejime military commander had a major impact on the structure of the Nejime kinship network. Hisakiyo's authority was sufficient to expect the total cooperation of his *ichizoku* to provide military service.⁹³⁴ Hisakiyo's records

⁹³⁰ Jōwa 6 (1350) *Ashikaga Tadafuyu gunzei saisokujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #66).

⁹³¹ See the series of six separate (identically titled) military service requests: Jōwa 6 (1350) *Ashikaga Tadafuyu gunzei saisokujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #66-71).

⁹³² Kannō 2 (1351).7.17 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kanjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #74).

⁹³³ Eitoku 2 (1382).9.22 *Imagawa Ryōshun kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #138).

⁹³⁴ (Undated).6.7 *Takebe Hisakiyo ukebumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #340). For example, in this record submitted by Hisakiyo to the *bugyōsho*, probably on the request of Imagawa Ryōshun, who petitioned for Hisakiyo's allegiance along with that of the Shimazu. See Ōan 5 (1372).1.25 *Imagawa Ryōshun kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #122). Here, Hisakiyo assures his superiors that the full *ichizoku* is behind him in his support for their cause.

list many figures who were not closely related to the Nejime but who were nonetheless categorized as *shinrui* relatives. These names appear only in military documents, and for Hisakiyo the designation of *shinrui* had come to include powerful allies who did not fit into the category of lesser *wakatō* retainers. Because so little is known about these figures, it is impossible to accurately guess at the nature of their ties to the Nejime kin group, but it is more likely that they were fully integrated military subordinates of high status, like the Nejime sub-lineages were, than that they were considered actual relatives of the Nejime main line. Simply put, the line between relatives and subordinates was blurring at the end of the fourteenth century.

Conclusion

The Ichikawa brothers and their successors fought shoulder-to-shoulder across Shinano and surrounding provinces, while cooperating to retain a presence at home to guard their mutual interests in Takai. Some campaigns were led by cognates, who often showed up earlier or even led entire campaigns without the head of the Ichikawa. Branches of both the Ichikawa and the Nakano maintained significant secondary connections to local authorities in the early 1300s. In 1309, Nakano Nakayoshi, who became heir to Ren'a's re-divided maternal property line after she retrieved her property from Morifusa, passed his lands on to his son Ienaka. Confirmation of the transfer came not from the central warrior government, but from the Shinano provincial office of the court (*Shinano no tsukasa*).⁹³⁵ The active functionality of this separate office, under the imperial power structure, is also expressed in a document addressed to Morifusa from the ninth month of 1324, wherein he was referred to, although not by his name (the office is assigning this duty to the "new Ichikawa *saemon*"), as holding responsibilities relating to a periodic survey of the area of Shinano around his holdings, a right the Ichikawa held through the

⁹³⁵ See Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano Kuni no Tsukasa chōsen* (KI, 31:23678) for the transfer of Nakayoshi's property and its confirmation by the Shinano office.

autonomy of their Shikumi estate, which was immune to external surveying or intrusion as special *shugo* land.⁹³⁶ The mention of a Shinano provincial office of the imperial court in relation to both Nakano Nakayoshi and Ichikawa Morifusa not only indicates a level of local stature, but also reveals an active connection to central imperial authority (and a channel to Go-Daigo) well in advance of the fall of the Kamakura regime.⁹³⁷

Less than a half-decade after Ichikawa matriarch Senkō's bequest in 1329, the political structure upon which the local authority and landholdings of the Ichikawa were dependent and legitimized crumbled, and in just a few years the allegiance of the Ichikawa changed several times. The Ichikawa documents from 1333 onward reveal a record of military service, political alignments, and unified alliance within the *ichizoku*. Yet they do not tell the full story of the Ichikawa members that we have studied thus far. One element of mystery is the fate of Morifusa's son Hachirō, of whom there is no mention whatsoever following Senkō's 1329 bequest. As each of his three brothers are well represented in documents from the Kenmu and later periods, and we never learn Hachirō's adult name, I must assume that his health was failing or that he had already died by the time the regime fell. That he would not have participated in battle while his three brothers fought throughout the province and surrounding areas seems an unlikely scenario, not only because he was assigned heirloom armor in his father's will, but also because he had multiple shares of land to defend alongside that of his siblings, all of which was jeopardized in coming conflicts.⁹³⁸

⁹³⁶ Genkō 4 (1324). *Shinano Kuni Zasshō mōshijō* (SNS, v. 5 pp. 53-54). I have been unable to locate this document in the *Kamakura ibun*. On the phenomena of internal autonomy, see Chapter II and the discussion of *shugoshi funyu ken*, or non-entry by the *shugo*, bestowed on the Nakano in the 1220s and extended to the Ichikawa thereafter.

⁹³⁷ This is a vital clue that the Ichikawa and Nakano were well-aware of an authority other than the Kantō that was a functional base of power capable of confirming landholdings. Such existing knowledge of an additional alternative structure of authority is noteworthy given the changes that were to come.

⁹³⁸ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24). Hachirō's armor was a full *yoroi* suit with *haramaki* waistguard, outlined in the previous chapter. Hachirō inherited land from both of his parents, and his tax burden, based on paddy holdings, was second only to the *sōryō*'s. See also Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa*

Further, due to the militarized nature of Ichikawa records from 1333 onward, we know little to nothing of the female members of the Ichikawa, particularly the four daughters of Morifusa and Senkō. Based on their names, which were either based on the names of the places they resided or the people they resided with, some of these daughters may have already “married out” of the *ichizoku* in the late Kamakura period, but one (the Hoshinano Daughter) remained in Hirabayashi, on the southern end of the group’s territorial corridor of the Chikuma river, while another (the Ōita Daughter) resided next to the Shikumi estate, and all seem to have been nearby, as they inherited various rights to land access in and around the core Ichikawa territories.⁹³⁹ Their invisibility is a consequence of shifting documentary foci rather than any rapid social shift, though the slow decline in women’s visibility was well underway in the late Kamakura period.

Battle reports show collaboration between brothers both on and off the battlefield. It is clear that during the Kenmu and early Nanbokuchō periods, the unity of the *ichizoku* established by Morifusa and Senkō was retained and even bolstered as external violence drove the group together, rather than apart. This was a common phenomenon in the Kantō, at least in terms of their broader political loyalties, as Andrew Goble notes, “virtually no eastern *gokenin* houses split between the two sides that formed in 1333.”⁹⁴⁰ As we shall see, the Ichikawa brothers maintained the lineage of Morifusa and bolstered the reputation of the Ichikawa *ichizoku* during their time as warriors under Go-Daigo and Ashikaga Takauji.

When the first military *sōryō* Ichikawa Sukefusa was wounded, his brother came to his rescue on the field, demonstrating that the survival of his sibling and head of the kin group may have outweighed even ideas of basic self-interest or preservation, and certainly those of family

yuzurijō (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp. 20-22) which describes his largest land share, a *zaike* residence and three *chō* of paddy.

⁹³⁹ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

⁹⁴⁰ Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo’s Revolution*, pp. 120-121.

rivalry. An Ichikawa cognate, Chikamune, gained lands and a share of a *jitō-shiki* for military service that were not overseen or mediated by the *sōryō*. His father Tsunesuke was contacted independently by the Ashikaga to settle a neighboring group's dispute over their *jitō-shiki*, demonstrating that ongoing military action by Ichikawa cognates led to significant rewards and status of their own. Early on, each militarily-active relative retained individual ties to their commanders, which were later mediated by the *sōryō* as central presence and authority in the Kantō waned, and large groups of unified enemies encircled the isolated northern borderlands of the Shinano/Echigo alps. I have argued that this was a recordkeeping shift rather than a shift in social roles or the power of the *sōryō*, which, while considerable, was ultimately incomplete.

In the Nejime, the main line and the sub-lineages certified their military allegiance to each other through a formal compact of alliance that did not prioritize any single figure. The Ikehata were the most military active subgroup, gained their own *shiki* office through the Sata (which was later reconfirmed through military service), and expanded the reach of the Nejime network south onto the island of Tanegashima. They are a prime example of how the military benefits of main lines also spilled over to collaterals, for the fighting the Ikehata engaged in was always together with either the main line or other collateral sub-lineages. The development of the informal but gradually solidified position of Nejime-*dono* served to streamline processes of paperwork that grew tedious over decades of near-constant warfare, and like in the Ichikawa, the primacy of this central figure was related to a monopoly over the transmission of texts rather than absolute power over collateral relatives. Success at war was only the primary concern of some Nejime sub-lineages, and several subsections of the Nejime spent little time engaged in military activity. We might expect those who abandoned the field, being members of the warrior class, to have significantly weakened from absence in wartime, but as we will learn in the

following chapter, this was not the case.⁹⁴¹

In terms of common military features, I would reiterate four points from the close analysis of Nejime and Ichikawa records. First, both groups maintained group solidarity after the fall of the Kamakura regime, and operated as unified military bodies under the same commanders they already followed prior to the collapse. The shift back to warfare did not involve major political acrobatics for either *ichizoku*, and left them under the same command structures that had been in place in previous, peaceful decades. Military solidarity benefitted the main heirs most visibly, but also the collateral kin in each group. The power of main heirs grew indisputably during wartime in both cases, though to what degree this should be categorized as power over (rather than though cooperation with) their collaterals is highly debatable. Group “loyalty” was assured by the very tangible knowledge that the continued survival of the *ichizoku* as a unit was important to the entire body of kin and their mutual interests.

Second, when at war, both groups seem to have rotated who was engaged in battle, maintaining some presence at home, through the need to do this was more pronounced for the Ichikawa. This was an extended feature of the designation, in both groups, of collateral kin as sentinels on the borderlands who solidified group control of the fringes of their physical territory, a topic I explored in Chapter III. The geography of military activity in the fourteenth century often meant weeks, months, or in rare cases years away from home, and during these periods *ichizoku* members engaged in an informal exchange of mutual assurance of security and stability in their home regions. While the nature of such a rotation is often unexplained, there was clearly a significant value in keeping relatives on-site, even though in both groups the home region was

⁹⁴¹ I will return to this topic in the following chapter, as we examine the fate of the Nejime sub-lines in detail. The Sumino found economic success as a largely non-military subdivision of the Nejime network that endured for centuries, though the exact nature of their profession is shrouded by the scarcity of non-military texts.

subdivided into different residential and productive plots of land that were owned separately by various collateral members.

Third, collateral kin in each *ichizoku* submitted their own military documents for decades, but the main heir eventually ended up regulating these textual channels. Breaking from most interpretations, I argue that this is evidence of political streamlining rather than total familial dominance. Nevertheless, in place of higher military authorities, from the 1350s onward, under the second or third generation of military leaders, it seems that Nejime and Ichikawa heads became well-connected with central military authorities in ways that collaterals were not, and their political and administrative authority over their kin was significantly enhanced as they took control of the flow of their military records. However, to misconstrue control of military documents as total familial power is to misunderstand the nature of these records, which were narrow in scope and not necessarily of primary concern for collateral kin, who only had to fight when it was of their own mutual benefit, while the office-holding family heads were compelled to battle by their political superiors. Such a view also misunderstands the nature of kinship as it is visible in the Nejime and Ichikawa, where cooperation and collaboration were always key elements of the success of *ichizoku* heads as minor military powers.

Fourth, and finally, in both the Ichikawa and the Nejime, those cognatic kin with the least to lose (and most to gain) were the most active militarily. Here my findings are square in line with the rest of the field, and this is not a great revelation to scholars of early medieval Japanese warfare. At the opening of civil war, the Ikehata were still a recent subdivision of the Nejime with little history, having formed just before the end of the Kamakura period under Zen'a and her son Kiyotane. The young Kiyotane's constant reports to battle earned him lands and titles, and expanded the total sphere of Nejime influence to officially encompass the southern islands at

the top of the Ryukyu chain. Ichikawa Tsunesuke was the youngest of the three brothers who went to war together at the start of the Kenmu period, and had no permanent lands of his own until he won them in battle, growing into a powerful transitional figure between the *sōryō* Sukefusa and his son Yorifusa, and leading the Ichikawa in battle on several occasions.

After 1333, Ichikawa records contain only a few scattered mentions of inheritance and property transmission. These mentions are integrated with the military documents within this chapter, and are not substantial enough to stand on their own. In contrast, the Nejime, with their wider set of semi-autonomous sub-lineages, retained a significant secondary documentary focus on inheritance recordkeeping into the early fifteenth century. Though the lion's share of the *Nejime Monjo* after 1333 focuses on military activity, there is sufficient surviving material to assemble a detailed view of their networked group structure and individual sub-lineage formations throughout the Nanbokuchō period. In the next chapter, the Nejime sub-lineages will provide a window into the ground-level socioeconomic flows of a fourteenth century warrior *ichizoku* network.

CHAPTER VI: THE NEJIME-*DONO* AND COLLATERAL KIN

This chapter focuses on the scattered sets of Nejime sub-lineage and main line inheritance records from the end of the Kamakura period onward. The main line evolved alongside multiple groups of collateral kin visible in the Nejime network from the late Kamakura through the Muromachi period, spanning roughly the 1270s through the end of the 1400s.⁹⁴² The story of the successive Nejime heads and the people who supported them (and they regularly supported in return) provides an exceptionally detailed view of how cognatic kin and parallel, related lines could operate in concert with group heads of the post-Kamakura age. The records of the sub-lineages are numerous and historiographically valuable, because in most fourteenth-century warrior *ichizoku*, the realm of inheritance records steadily shrank, rendering most relatives who did not actively participate in battle invisible to historians.

In the Nejime, occasional, permanent divisions of land continued for multiple generations, and formed the self-sustaining property network needed to support a half-dozen separate, semi-autonomous branches of the *ichizoku* network. These sub-lineages were made up

⁹⁴² As a deliberately fluid category, “collateral kin” in this case includes the brothers and sisters of several generations of main heirs (be they male or female), their children, and in some cases also their “husbands” and “wives,” in the cases that those terms are applicable. The way I employ the term “collateral kin” is deliberately vague, as the people who could fit under this category are a necessarily broad selection. In standard anthropological use, it is contrasted with “lineal kin,” who were the set of direct and clearly-defined descendants present in the Nejime main line. I use these terms because “collateral” is a fitting definition for the Nejime sub-lines, whose “cognatic” status was lost after a single generation, after which they were cousins of increasingly distant biological relationship to the main line who were still collaterally related.

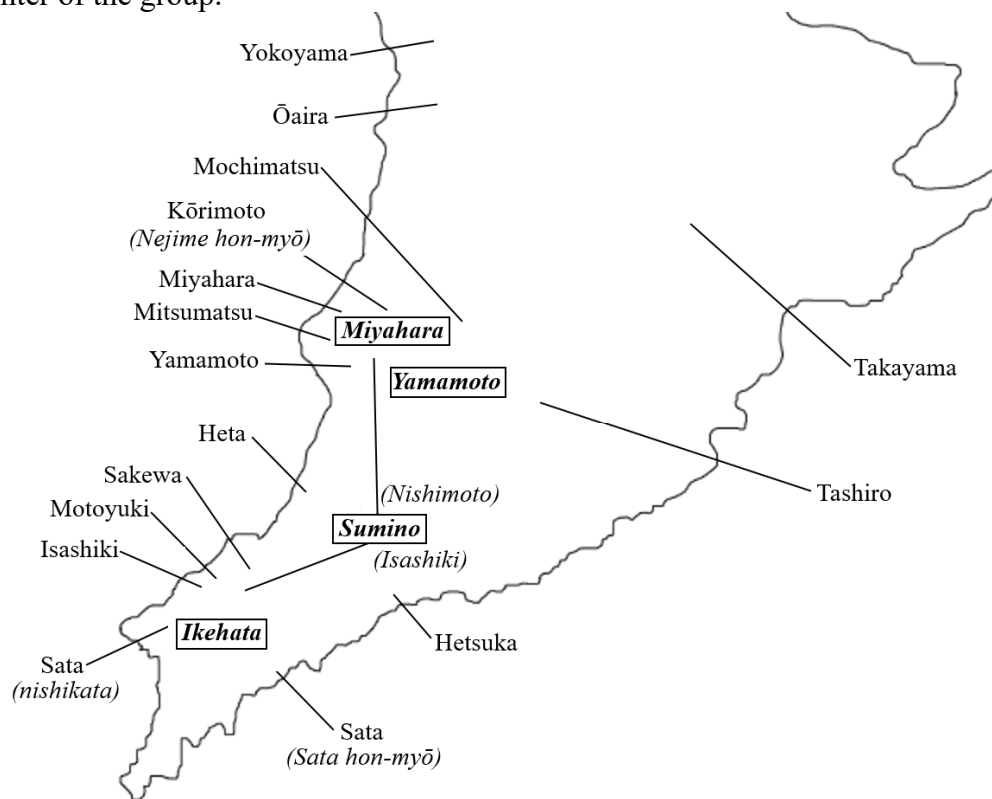
of collateral kin who had access to property.⁹⁴³ As groups of small-scale, permanent landholders, the Nejime sub-lineages remained in socioeconomic orbit around the main line, benefitting from its success in the administrative, economic, and military realms and contributing to it directly. For some, the individual success they saw on the battlefield or through other (undocumented) means was sufficient to succeed in forging their own enduring identities, although a continuous bond to the main line always remained beneficial and essential. Others lasted only for a short time, between one and three generations, before folding their land back into the main line and abandoning their separate named identities. There is ample evidence that the Nejime heads attempted to sustain these separate elements of their kin network, and that they recognized the potential benefit of a diverse strategy for local control.⁹⁴⁴

In the sections that follow, I will analyze the Kita, Ikehata, Yamamoto, Miyahara, and Nishimoto/Sumino sub-lineages alongside the Nejime main line, as the nebulous entity of the Nejime formed and reformed in the fourteenth century and beyond. This analysis necessarily takes place in parallel with an account of the known social and inheritance activities of the Nejime main line during this period, as the stories of the sub-lineages and the main line are intertwined and overlapping. I hope to demonstrate that in at least some cases, the unification of warrior “houses” (as singular *ie* 家) was not completed even in the fifteenth century, and that

⁹⁴³ The amount of property cognates owned varied. Many of their holdings are likely unknown, but these later offshoots each owned less land than their distant and independent Sata and Tashiro cousins, who split off in the eleventh century and formed unrelated groups soon thereafter, but also declined from the late Kamakura period onward. Not all cousins and more distant relatives were collaterals; the Sata and Tashiro were “outsiders” while the Nejime sub-lineages were not. In cases where inheritance was heavily divided and headship was ill-defined, as was the case in most Heian-period households, collateral kin would be the relatively narrow group of potential heirs who did not receive property, as well as those outside the natal group who attached themselves through social rather than material bonds. By the medieval period natal identities were firmer, and the potential body of collaterals larger than before.

⁹⁴⁴ This is particularly the case with the Nishimoto/Sumino and Ikehata, independent economic and military branches of the Nejime that were actively supported by the main line. On the early formation of these sub-lineages, see Chapters IV and V.

broad social structures were highly valued and essential to those that constructed them. The rapid growth of the Nejime both in terms of its total military manpower, its base of property and official control, and its consolidation across Ōsumi peninsula all depended on a wide base of constituents who shared mutual interests but were never consolidated into a single point of power. The personified power of the Nejime-*dono* was made possible by the coordinated and cooperative efforts of the entire Nejime network, which drew legitimacy and stability from the central familial unit and retained ties of kinship, military allegiance, and economic collaboration with the center of the group.



Map 11: The geographic layout of the Nejime sub-lineages in the early fourteenth century. Note: The Ikehata also controlled a southern island territory on Tanegashima.

The periodization of records from each sub-lineage varies dramatically, and I will trace these groups chronologically from the 1330s onward. The earliest major property divisions, which founded some of the sub-lines in the 1270s, were detailed in Chapter IV, and I will briefly reiterate them here from the perspective of each smaller node of the kin network.

The Early Failure of the Kita Sub-Lineage

Nejime main line secondary heir Kiyotake's newly-developed "Kita" (北 - or "north") sub-lineage appears at the end of the Kamakura period. The one-man name unit was ill-fated, short-lived, and never progressed past the embryonic stage of development. Despite the failure of the Kita before it exceeded a single identifiable figure, it is useful to look at Kiyotane because the almost immediate collapse of his attempt at forging a new identity reveals some of the mechanics of this process.⁹⁴⁵

Kiyotake inherited several landed properties in Nejime-*in*, but his namesake, "Kita" derived from an external office outside the core Nejime region, which he had trouble holding from the start. Kiyotake's main property was a *benzaishi-shiki* (弁済使職) office of local management and taxation (sometimes translated as the position of "financial officer")⁹⁴⁶ for the village of Sōgawa *mura* (曾小河村) within Ogawa-*in* (小河院), far to the north near the end of Kagoshima bay and the Hachiman shrine, which he inherited from an otherwise unknown uncle named Kiyohira (清衡).⁹⁴⁷ We have no evidence of how the "Kita" name developed in detail, whether it was assigned to Kiyotake along with his lands as a broader effort to solidify control of

⁹⁴⁵ For another analysis of Kiyotake, see Michiko Goto, "The Lives and Roles of Women of Various Classes in the *Ie* of Late Medieval Japan," p. 192.

⁹⁴⁶ On *benzaishi-shiki*, a type of *shiki* office common in Kyushu, See Ihara Masazumi, "Chinzei Shimazu-shō ni okeru benzaishi," p. 32, which lists *benzaishi* alongside *gunji*, *in-shi*, *gesu*, and *myōshu shiki*, and draws from Asakawa Kan'ichi's *Document of Iriki (Iriki-in monjo)*, to describe *benzaishi* as officers of taxation that handled payments to *shōen* on land that was parceled out of *kokugaryō*, a practice noted in further detail on p. 34. The specific functions of *benzaishi* on Shimazu land are outlined on pp. 40-43, and it appears that these officers had broad rights similar to those of *jitō*, with the capacity to control a wide array of activity, including nonagricultural activity such as seaward and river-based travel. For an English translation of *benzaishi* as "financial officer," see Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Kamakura Bakufu: A Study in Documents*, pp. 194-195.

⁹⁴⁷ Gentoku 3 (1331).6 *Takebe Kiyotake mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #823). No record of the inheritance itself has survived, and Kiyohira is otherwise unknown. He does not appear to be one of the brothers of Kiyoyasu, and was thus likely an uncle from another sub-lineage, possibly on Kiyotake's mother's side. This is the only record of Kiyohira that appears in either the *Nejime Monjo* or the *Kamakura ibun*. The only other reference to the *benzai shi-shiki* in Sōgawa *mura* is from a century earlier, in 1225, when it was in the hands of the local Fujiwara. See Gennin 2 (1225).3.7 *Shami Butsunen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #570). See also the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikēi* entry for Sōgawa *mura* (曾小川村), which confirms that the village was located within Ogawa-*in*.

the detached land of the Nejime *ichizoku* in that area, whether he selected it personally, or whether it formed organically over time as a designation identifying whoever managed the northern territories owned by the Nejime.

Sōgawa village was likely part of the property referred to in earlier and later generations as the Nejime *kokugaryō* properties in Ogawa, the village office perhaps having been divided off to Kiyotake's uncle Kiyohira in an otherwise undocumented transfer. A vaguely defined set of Ogawa-*in* properties had been in Nejime possession since 1145, and though they were not always mentioned specifically in inheritance records (they are notably absent in Kiyotsuna's wills, but were presumably passed to his main heir), they can be traced as remaining in the kin group into the early fifteenth century.⁹⁴⁸ The "Kita" sub-lineage may have had undocumented roots from earlier generations of managers of the northern portion of the Nejime estate, though no records of earlier "Kita" figures remain.

Kiyotake faced difficulty in Ogawa early on, as the rising political instability of the 1330s exasperated local border disputes. In 1331, Kiyotake filed a petition with the *Dazaifu* detailing an ongoing feud with several local residents.⁹⁴⁹ The dispute over who should control the village of Sōgawa was longstanding, and began under predecessor Kiyohira's tenure as *benzai-shi* officer in 1309 or perhaps even earlier.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁸ Records that include land in Ogawa-*in*, usually as undefined *kokugaryō* property, can be found in Ten'yō 2 (1145).4.20 *Mae-Ōsumi no jō Takebe Yoritaka okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #642), Gennin 2 (1225).3.7 *Shami Butsunen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #570), Shōan 3 (1301).2.21 *Takebe Kiyochika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #35), Shōan 4 (1302).1.26 *Arihide kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #482) – a purchase of paddy by the Sumino, Shōwa 1 (1312).8.22 *Sanekiyo, Seigen rensho hōsho-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #433), Shōwa 3 (1314).9.10 *Takebe Kiyoharu yuzurijō I* (KKSI vol. 1, #39), Bunpō 1 (1317).9.5 *Takebe Kiyotō ukebumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #40), Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #43), Karyaku 2 (1327).2.4 *Shami Gyōchi yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #665), Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #84), Bunna 2 (1353).8.1 *Nejime Kiyoari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #121),
⁹⁴⁹ Gentoku 3 (1331).6 *Takebe Kiyotake mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #823), Kentoku 2 (1371).8.10 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #198), Ōan 4 (1371).8.14 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #201), Ōan 7 (1374).11.30 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #202), and Ōei 16 (1409).7.17 *Takebe Kiyohira yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #222).

⁹⁵⁰ Kiyotake references his uncle's correspondence with the Shimazu *shōchō* (庄序) or local shōen manager from 1309 in describing the history of the case. He also included a series of nine total records from various *shōen* officers,

According to Kiyotake, in the midst of his ongoing lawsuit over the region, three local men continued to forcefully enter Sōgawa village, steal the wheat crop, and interfere in his ability to manage taxation. One of the men, named Enya (円也) used the documents of a “criminal” (犯人 - *hannin*) from the local Aira group, while another, called Dōnen (道念) used old records from a different local *benzai-shi* officer that he purchased in secret from an unscrupulous Hachiman shrine representative to make similar claims to the area.⁹⁵¹ Kiyotake stated that these men would not adhere to any previous *Dazaifu* ordinances supporting him or his predecessor, and that the men continued to invade his lands while filing suits against him with their false documents. The case was never resolved.

The overthrow of the Kamakura regime in 1333 embroiled the Nejime in ongoing political and military struggles that persisted through the end of Kiyotake’s life (and well beyond). The collapse of the courts and the remote location of his new office left Kiyotake with little chance to shore up his holdings, settle the ongoing lawsuit over rights in Sōgawa *mura*, or establish an independent lineage of his own. Kiyotake reported to battle on several occasions in the 1330s, but was not a particularly active military figure compared to his brothers in the main line or cousins in the other sub-lines. As the world around him fragmented, ongoing violence and chaos had a major role in the abortive failure of Kiyotake’s one-man Kita sub-lineage. The Nejime region was too far away and the region too consumed by warfare from the mid-1330s onward for Kiyotake to have had a realistic chance of administering his northern properties, which sat at the far end of Kimotsuki and Shimazu territory. In 1343, Kiyotake returned his

the Ōsumi *kokushi* governor’s office and the *honke*, and his own ancestral records that he would have inherited along with the post itself. Gentoku 3 (1331).6 *Takebe Kiyotake mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #823).

⁹⁵¹ The point made by Kiyotake is that the criminal history and unscrupulous ways in which these men obtained the documents made them criminals (in addition to their direct violence in the village). Thus, as criminals with illegal documents, they were *hibun* (非分) with no standing to make any claims at all. Gentoku 3 (1331).6 *Takebe Kiyotake mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #823).

surviving landed estate to the Nejime main line.

In his *yuzurijō*, Kiyotake cited his ongoing involvement in battles (*gassen* かせん) and the continuing uncertainty prevailing in the world (世間依老少不定) as the reason for giving up his property.⁹⁵² Although the Kamakura courts continually sided with Kiyohira and Kiyotake in their enduring suits against local villagers, they were never able to enforce the courts' will on his rivals in Sōgawa, and their legal victories were hollow. In the tumult of the 1330s and 1340s, the judicial decisions of previous decades were meaningless. Kiyotake no longer listed the northern *benzai-shi shiki* in his bequest documents from 1343, and it seems that in the interim, Kiyotake had lost the entirety of his northern claim. Without the ability to carry out the official duties of tax-collection that imbued the Kita sub-lineage with potential, the divided name group was defunct.

Kiyotake's surviving parcels of land were scattered throughout the core region of southern Nejime-*in*, and included rice paddies, upland fields, a residence, and mountain fields in the core region of Kōrimoto as well as additional fields in Mitsumatsu-*myō*, Takeyasu-*myō* and land in Sata including a portion of Nishikata.⁹⁵³ Kiyotake granted all of this land to his mother to keep until her death (又但母尼御前一期之間者、可令知行給之由) after which he declared that it should all revert to the “*sōryō*” and Nejime-*dono* Kiyonari, listed as his older brother (*ani* 兄).⁹⁵⁴

⁹⁵² Kōei 2 (1343).12.28 *Takebe Kiyotake yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #615) and Kōei 2 (1343).4.13 *Takebe Kiyotake okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #605).

⁹⁵³ Kōei 2 (1343).12.28 *Takebe Kiyotake yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #615). He wrote a provisional version of his bequest eight months earlier, which was written hastily in kana, and contained the same order that his lands would first go to his mother and then to the *sōryō* after her death. This document again reiterates the contents of Kiyotake's previous *okibumi* and *yuzurijō*. See Kōei 2 (1343).4.13 *Takebe Kiyotake okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #605). I will return to this set of records in Chapter VII.

⁹⁵⁴ This second medieval use of the term *sōryō* by a Nejime sub-lineage member is again not a reference to a particular position, but rather a general use of the word, akin to calling Kiyonari the family head or chieftain, but without any formalized markers of status or well-defined meaning to the group.

An earlier *okibumi* from Kiyotake, written a few months before the *yuzurijō*, details the arrangement further, stating that his mother must return the land directly to the *sōryō* (*sono nochi wa sōryō ni kaeshi tsuku beki yoshi* そのうちハそうりやうにかへしつくへきよし).⁹⁵⁵ This is one of only a few uses of the term *sōryō* from within the Nejime, and denotes the central position, but not specific role, of Kiyonari. In his *yuzurijō*, addressed to his mother *haha* Ama Gozen, Kiyotake also states that “there is a pregnant woman, and even if a child is born, you must make suitable arrangements for them.” (次女姓懷任候、縦雖産子候、亘爲御計候).⁹⁵⁶ Kiyotake’s relationship to the woman is unknown. She may have been a sister or other cognatic relative, a sexual partner (possibly pregnant with Kiyotake’s child), or another socially related figure worthy of affection and material assistance.

In his earlier *okibumi*, Kiyotake also lists a female heir (possibly the same pregnant woman), called Akuri (あくり); however, he notes that the grant to her was for only her lifetime (*ichigo* 一こ), because giving land to the woman permanently was tantamount to passing property to outsiders and would diminish the estate of the *sōryō* (*nyoshi ni ryō o yuzuri sōrō koto wa, tanin no shōryō ni naru koto nite sōrō, mata sōryō shiki wa sebakū nari, sue tayuru koto nite sōrō nari* によしにりやうをゆつり候事ハ、た人のしよりやうになる事にて候、又そうりやうしきハせハくなりすゑたゆる事にて候なり).⁹⁵⁷

Kiyotake likely did not abandon his new name and identity as “Kita” due to a lack of a potential successor, but due specifically to the loss of the office that would have sustained and defined the sub-lineage. Without sufficient foundations of its own, the concept of a sub-lineage

⁹⁵⁵ Kōei 2 (1343).4.13 *Takebe Kiyotake okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #605).

⁹⁵⁶ Kōei 2 (1343).12.28 *Takebe Kiyotake yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #615).

⁹⁵⁷ Kōei 2 (1343).4.13 *Takebe Kiyotake okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #605).

was invalid regardless of the availability of kin. The only exception that Kiyotake listed was his armor, including plain sets (*gusoku* ぐそく) and a special named set named “iwanami” (よこふくいわなみ) which he stated should remain within the *ie* (“house”) but could be distributed according to his mother Ama Gozen's wishes.⁹⁵⁸ The decision to revert his surviving estate back to his natal kin group ended the idea of the Kita, which floundered under unfortunate political circumstances in the early Nanbokuchō period.⁹⁵⁹

Kiyonari and Kiyoari's Bequests: Expanding the Nejime Main-Line Holdings

Nejime-dono Kiyonari wrote four *yuzurijō* between 1350 and 1353.⁹⁶⁰ As we learned in the previous chapter, these grants came amid an ongoing fighting that he was directly involved in as the military commander of the Nejime and, increasingly, as the key liaison to their military superiors. Kiyonari had no known children of his own, and passed headship to his younger brother, Kiyoari, likely because Kiyoari had a son who could carry the mantle of headship thereafter. Kiyoari finished Kiyonari's final military report after his death, with a joint document on a year's military activity bridging the military affairs of the two heads in 1354.⁹⁶¹

The first pair of Kiyonari's bequests from 1350 included the transmission, first and foremost, of the by-then standard package of Nejime property and titles in Nejime-in, Ogawa-in, and Chikuzen near Hakata, along with the Nejime documents to his younger brother and

⁹⁵⁸ Kōei 2 (1343).4.13 *Takebe Kiyotake okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #605). The use of the term *ie*, like the use of the term *sōryō* in the same document, is anomalous, as normally the term *ichizoku* was used to refer to the kin group. It is possible that *ie* here refers only to the domestic unit of the main line (from which Kiyotake was born, and to which his land would return after his mother's death). However, no other use of the term in this fashion appears in the Nejime documents. I will return to this issue, and to the topic of Kiyotake specifically, in Chapter VII.

⁹⁵⁹ A year later, Kiyotake donated a small three-*tan* plot of wet-paddy for monk's meals (*sōsairyō* 僧齋料). See Kōei 3 (1344).8.10 *Takebe Kiyotake kishinjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #616). The land is referred to as the property of his dead father and the estate paddy (*chigyōbun denchi* 知行分田地) of Kiyotake.

⁹⁶⁰ Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #84), Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #440), Bunna 2 (1353).6.24 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #89), and Bunna 2 (1353).6.24 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #90).

⁹⁶¹ Bunna 3 (1354).3 *Nejime Kiyonari, Kiyoari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #91).

chakushi Kiyoari. Additionally, Kiyonari mandated that after Kiyoari's death, all of this should pass to Inubōmaru (犬房丸, or Inufusamaru) the childhood name of Kiyoari's son Hisakiyo (久清), without any obstructions or interference (但清有一期後者、以犬房丸無他妨、可讓與彼職之狀如件).⁹⁶² His secondary will assigned a group of servants (at least eight, and likely several more; three of five are listed as groups of multiple related servants or *ichirui* 一類) to "meme" Gozen, a female relative, possibly a sister.⁹⁶³

In a second pair of bequests drafted three years later, near the end of his life, Kiyonari gave Kiyoari several additional chunks of land. First was a four *tan* plot of paddy in the Nishikata sub-region of the Sata peninsula, along with a village there called Heta-mura (邊田村).⁹⁶⁴ Last and most significantly, in his fourth and final bequest, Kiyonari transferred a newly awarded set of three *jitō* offices, in *shimo-Ōsumi-gun* (下大隅郡), *Kanoya-in* (鹿屋院), and *Ōnejime-in* (大祢寢院) to Kiyoari.⁹⁶⁵ These offices were the primary awards Kiyonari had personally accrued for his military service to the Ashikaga and their subordinates in the region over the previous two decades of fighting, and represented a major expansion in the scope and power of the head of the Nejime. The division of Kiyonari's bequests into the 1350 and 1353 sets divided the old and new Nejime holdings and offices.

⁹⁶² Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #84).

⁹⁶³ Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #440). It is possible, though we can only speculate, that *meme* in this case was a wet-nurse, possibly the mother of Kiyotake, making Kiyonari his half-brother.

Although this link is tenuous at best, the term "*meme*," which is written in kana in Kiyonari's bequest to her, to this day retains a special local dialectal meaning on Yakushima, where it is a form of adoptive parental relationship indicating adoptive parents or *kari-oya* (仮り親). See the entry for *meme* (めめ) in *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, where it is described as similar to the classification of *eboshi-oya* (or godfather) described in Chapter II. This is merely one possibility, and is likely an overly tenuous link. Kozono Kimio guesses that "*meme* Gozen" was either a wife, daughter, or concubine of Kiyonari, though he mentions her only in passing and notes that the relationship is unclear. See Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 58. See also p. 41 for some additional context.

⁹⁶⁴ Bunna 2 (1353).6.24 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #89). "Heta" is sometimes written using the more common (辺田村). There is a village by this name in Kimotsuki, just south of Yamamoto-mura (the region that gave the Yamamoto sub-lineage its name).

⁹⁶⁵ Bunna 2 (1353).6.24 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #90).

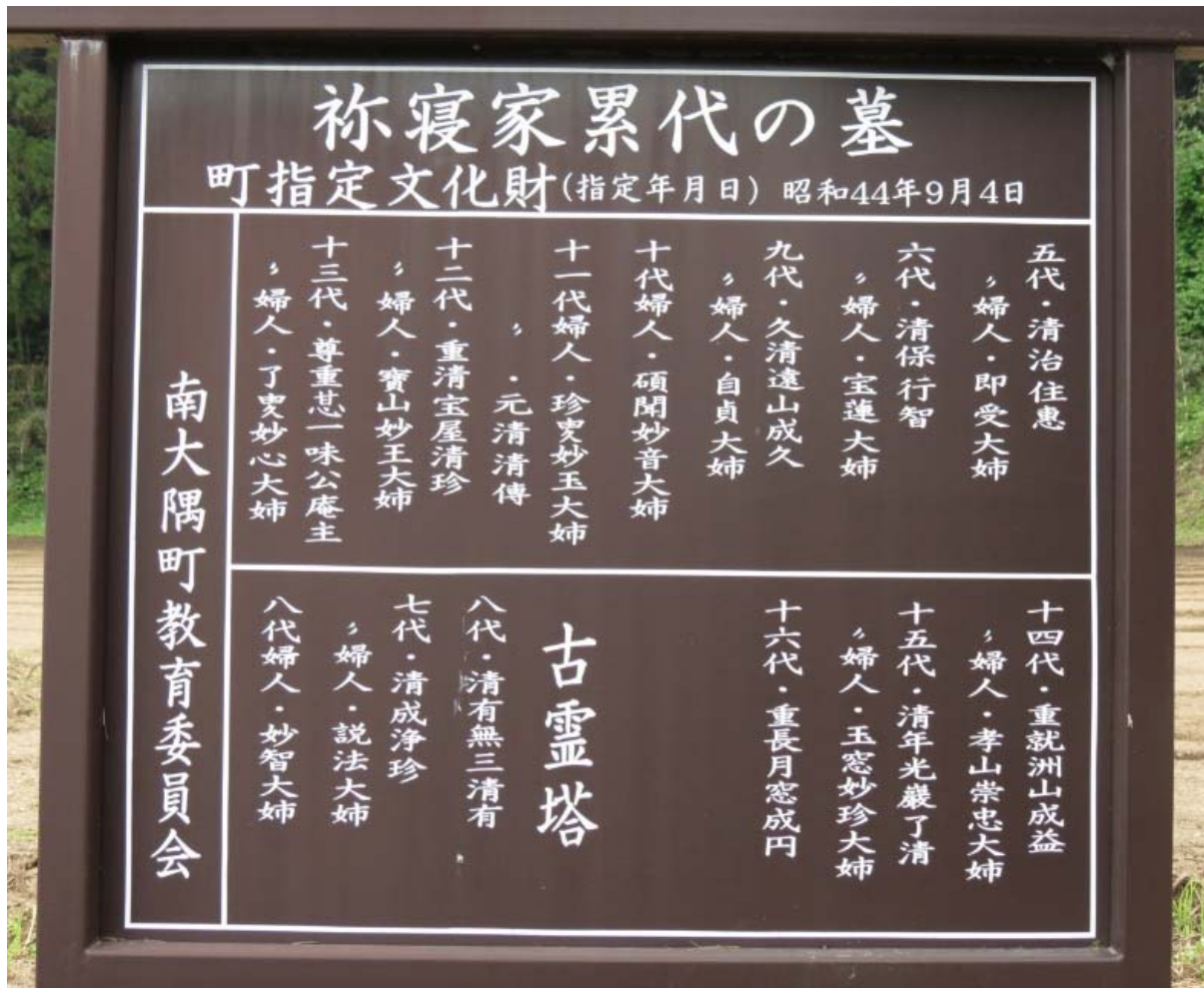


Image 13: The sign listing the interred at the Nejime gravesite, written in 1969. (Photo by the author, 4/2/2015).⁹⁶⁶

The new *jitō* offices in shimo-Ōsumi, Kanoya, and Ōnejime were in regions where Kiyonari led the Nejime forces during multiple campaigns, and Ōnejime-*in* included the expanded northern half of Nejime-*in* (where a town by the same name lies today), previously under the control of various collaterals of the Shimazu and/or Kimotsuki.⁹⁶⁷ These new acquisitions, passed down from Kiyonari to Kiyoari and then Hisakiyo, represent a major expansion of regional authority for the Nejime outside of their native region. As a *jitō*, Kiyonari gained administrative authority in these areas that was theoretically equal to his authority in

⁹⁶⁶ Note the absence of the “tenth generation” head Hisakiyo (the tenth listing only includes his “wife,” not Hisakiyo himself). This sign should not be treated as an indicator of medieval marriage practices, as it is based on later records, and these “wives” are largely unmentioned in medieval documents.

⁹⁶⁷ Bunna 3 (1354).3 *Nejime Kiyonari, Kiyoari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #91).

Minamimata, though the amount of land he actually controlled or owned directly there is unknown. In an undated register of the Shimazu-*shōen* likely from the early to mid-fourteenth century, the agricultural land of shimo-Ōsumi-gun is measured at a total of over ninety-five *chō*; Ōnejime-in is listed at over forty *chō*, and Kanoya-in at eighty-five *chō*.⁹⁶⁸



Map 12: Administrative posts of the Nejime-dono in the late Nanbokuchō period.⁹⁶⁹

At the start of the Kamakura period, Minamimata measured only forty *chō* of agricultural land, with ten of that split off into the domain of the Sata.⁹⁷⁰ While these are only measures of

⁹⁶⁸ See the undated *Shimazu-shō Ōsumi hō yosegōri densū chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #451), wherein they are listed under the management of Shimazu Sadahisa (1269-1363).

⁹⁶⁹ Ōnejime-in included the Ōaira region, and bordered northern Nejime-in. The administrative post of *myōshu-shiki* in Genna-mura on Tanegashima island belonged to the Ikehata. For more detailed maps, see Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, pp. 8, 117, and 174.

⁹⁷⁰ See Chapter III for medieval measurements and commentary on surveying.

agricultural land, this demonstrates that Kiyonari's new posts were over substantial areas.

Although the total amount of the agricultural land in Nejime-*in* had expanded somewhat since then through the clearing of new fields, these new northern areas of Nejime control much larger in both physical size and agricultural output than the Nejime home region. While the Nejime had a much greater level of local control and extensive holdings in Nejime-*in* than in the regions that fell under their new *jitō* posts, offices in these three regions significantly expanded the Nejime-*dono*'s official authority and share of tax revenues.

Kiyoari only remained head of the Nejime for a few months, writing up a single *yuzurijō* that followed his older brother's mandate to pass headship on to his (Kiyoari's) son.⁹⁷¹ The documents only covered the original Nejime holdings and offices from 1350 (including the Mongol reward lands that Kiyoari had passed to a temple for local management, the proceeds from which were used in the construction of a new residence for one of the chief monks).⁹⁷² There is no mention of the new set of three additional *jitō* posts in the Shimazu-*shō*, though they must have been included, as they appear again later in the Nejime portfolio.⁹⁷³ It seems that Kiyonari's grant of these properties, which came in 1353 just two months before Kiyoari's grant, was sufficient for their direct transfer on to his nephew Hisakiyo, though (as always) it is also possible that other grants have been lost.

Hisakiyo (1363-1374) and Kiyohira's (1409-1412) bequests

A great deal of correspondence between the third Nejime-*dono* Hisakiyo and his superiors, most prominently Imagawa Ryōshun, makes up the bulk of his records, Nejime

⁹⁷¹ Bunna 2 (1353).8.1 *Nejime Kiyoari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #121), and Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #84).

⁹⁷² Bunna 2 (1353).10.22 *Takebe Kiyoari kishinjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #300).

⁹⁷³ They are reconfirmed in 1381 and 1382. See Eitoku 1 (1381).6.2 *Imagawa Ryōshun kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #136), and Eitoku 2 (1382).9.22 *Imagawa Ryōshun kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #138).

headship having matured into a position of regional military command after several decades of service. Hisakiyo's position as the head of the Nejime, both the kin group and the region, was fully solidified thanks to the military campaigns of his predecessors and his ongoing political ties to powerful figures under the Ashikaga. Correspondence with the Imagawa is not present in the records of the sub-lineages, and Hisakiyo seems to have grown into a position of sole political predominance thanks to his position as the sole political interface for the Nejime network.

Six bequests survive from Hisakiyo, although several of these are exact duplicates of his grant to his main heir, Kiyohira (清平). These grants, from 1371, follow the set formula of the *yuzurijō* addressed to every main heir since the time of Kiyotsuna a hundred years earlier, with little variation on the ongoing (but not constant) trend of passing the core properties and titles to a single heir.⁹⁷⁴ Aside from these overlapping grants of the main property including the Nejime *in-shi* and *jitō* posts, the Mongol-invasion era reward lands in Hakata, and property in Ogawa-*in* to Kiyohira, Hisakiyo's other bequests are all addressed to women.

First, in 1363, even before giving property to his main heir, Hisakiyo divided off a substantial set of lands his “succession mother” or stepmother (*keibo* - けいぼ/継母 – a term for a father's affine who was not one's birth mother), which she would hold for her lifetime.⁹⁷⁵ No instructions are given on what should happen to the property thereafter, though the statement that it was a lifetime grant (*ichigobun*) likely indicates that Hisakiyo meant for it to return to himself or his successor thereafter. The grant included four scattered plots of paddy in Minamimata

⁹⁷⁴ The trio of identical documents for Hisakiyo's main heir are: Kentoku 2 (1371).8.10 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #198), Kentoku 2 (1371).8.10 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #201), and Ōan 4 (1371).8.14 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #202). Some of Hisakiyo's bequests use southern court dates (Kentoku) while others use northern court dates (Ōan). This was the year that Imagawa Ryōshun arrived in Kyushu, and may indicate the high degree of political turbulence on the island. It is unusual to see documents from one person use the dates of different courts within the span of only a few days.

⁹⁷⁵ Jōji 2 (1363).11.5 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #197). See also 'Kamakura ibun' ni miru chūsei no kotoba jiten, pp. 56-57 on “Succession mothers.”

totaling 1.15 *chō*, as well as three named *sono*, altogether a significant chunk of land.⁹⁷⁶ As a provision for any special levies that might crop up, Hisakiyo instructed his stepmother to follow a tax outline created by Kiyoyari, though that record is not extant.⁹⁷⁷

In 1371, Hisakiyo also wrote two short *okibumi* instructions to his “wife” (女房 - *nyōbō*) and son Kiyohira. In the first *okibumi*, which is signed by Hisakiyo and addressed to Kiyohira (under his childhood name, Onibōmaru), he stated clearly that “Nyōbō” was Kiyohira’s mother (*Onibōmaru ga haha* 鬼房丸か母) and commanded him to make sure she was well-taken care of or supported (扶持 - *fuchi*) in the future, and that although she had been given her own property (*betsu shoryō* 別所領), Kiyohira must still care for her.⁹⁷⁸ In the second *okibumi*, a rhetorically rich and opaque document, Hisakiyo commanded those he supported to aid his successor (久清かふちの人々のなかへ申をき候、相構々々一そくその外おもひあへり候て、鬼房をとりたてられ候て人になされ候へく候、面々一向たのミ存候、返々たのミ存候々々).⁹⁷⁹

Finally, in a *yuzurijō* from 1374, eleven years after giving his stepmother a set of properties, Hisakiyo also gave his birth mother (*hahaoya* 母親) Shamini Sayui (沙弥尼沙祐 or Sayū) another set of lands that was roughly twice the size of his stepmother’s, totaling 2.3 *chō*, also including one named *sono*.⁹⁸⁰ She was to follow the *Nejime sōryō* (a rare usage in the *Nejime*, likely meant to bind his mother and her heirs to whomever was in charge of the group in perpetuity), in handling taxes on the land, and to return the property to him at the end of her

⁹⁷⁶ Jōji 2 (1363).11.5 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #197).

⁹⁷⁷ Jōji 2 (1363).11.5 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #197).

⁹⁷⁸ Ōan 4 (1371).8.14 *Takebe Hisakiyo okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #199).

⁹⁷⁹ Ōan 4 (1371).8.14 *Takebe Hisakiyo okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #200). The term *fuchi* means to support, and though it later turned into a fixed term related to rationed stipends, this is not the meaning here.

⁹⁸⁰ Ōan 7 (1374).12 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #390).

life.⁹⁸¹ That Hisakiyo had two maternal ties is particularly noteworthy, and demonstrates that maternal bonds could exist between a son and multiple female “parents.”⁹⁸²

A substantial amount of the property Hisakiyo gave to both his stepmother and his birth mother is listed as newly cleared land developed by Gorō Nyūdō (五郎入道). This is a childhood name common to the Yamamoto sub-lineage (Kiyotaka and Kiyomasu were both named Gorō). In 1358, Yamamoto Kiyomasu gave up his land, and folded his property back into the main line under Hisakiyo. We will examine this transfer as well as the activity of all the surviving sub-lineages shortly, but for now it is useful to note that these properties were not a part of the core property holdings of the Nejime main heir, which may explain why Hisakiyo chose to divide them off to his mothers for their lifetime use as residential and productive lands.⁹⁸³ Aside from the smaller lifetime grants to his stepmother, “wife,” and mother, the rest of Hisakiyo’s property went to his main heir Kiyohira.

By this point, a pattern had emerged in which the mothers, wives, and widows of the Nejime main heir sometimes had a significant role in the control and transmission of land, though their decisions were contingent on the limits placed on them in specific bequests. Women like Hisakiyo’s mother (or Kiyomoto’s niece, Yoritsuna’s daughter, Kiyonari’s mother and stepmother, etc.) often served as bridging agents between the main house and its subordinates, or between main heirs, while also inheriting land to live on and profit from during their lifetime.

⁹⁸¹ Ōan 7 (1374).12 *Takebe Hisakiyo yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #390). This is the only time in the Nejime record that a head of the main line used the term *sōryō* in self-reference (here, to his successor), possibly indicating the increasing status of the main heir and main line over both the secondary heirs and associated Nejime sub-lineages by the late Nanbokuchō period. Taxes were regularly handled by *sōryō* in those groups that had them, so in the late fourteenth century, the Nejime head seems to have adopted the language of *sōryō* as local officials and administrators, though the internal “familial” prerogatives sometimes assigned to *sōryō* are still absent in this case.

⁹⁸² It was likely not possible to have multiple “fathers” without an official declaration of adoption (and the removal of a natal paternal link). Hisakiyo’s two “mothers” contrast with the forceful declaration from the Kamakura judiciary that a man could not have two “fathers,” explored in Chapter IV. See Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

⁹⁸³ Kiyomasu’s wills are Enbun 3 (1358).6.10 *Takebe Kiyomasu yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #474 and #497).

The arrangement benefitted them materially, but also strengthened the bonds of kinship between fathers, mothers, and sons in a period in which women's access to land was otherwise diminishing. These documents demonstrate a stronger level of concern, not only for Hisakiyo's own "mother," but also for his affine and the "mother" of his child, whose welfare was clearly a concern for Hisakiyo and is demonstrated by the pleading tone of the documents. While she is still not described as a "wife" in the document, the bequest to "Nyōbō" is evidence of rising affinal ties in the fourteenth century Nejime.

Hisakiyo's son, Kiyohira, only wrote one short bequest of his own, to his son Motokiyo (元清), the new main heir, in 1409.⁹⁸⁴ There were no explicit mentions of the vast network of subordinates that supported the Nejime-*dono*, who had come to rule the Nejime region at an unquestionable and predominant level. Kiyohira was preeminent enough as the head of the Nejime network that when a relative from another sub-line died intestate, he personally and without any external consultation wrote up their bequest (an *okibumi*) for them, signing in his own name in place of the actual landholder.⁹⁸⁵ Yet as we will see, the authority of the main line over the property-owning sub-lineages who divided off in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, was that of a mediator, not an authoritarian, and these groups continued their own legacies alongside that of the main line.

The Fate of the Surviving Nejime Sub-lineages

Weaker sub-lineages and many local semi-related or unrelated groups fell under the direct authority of the Nejime-*dono* in the mid-to-late Nanbokuchō period, the distinction

⁹⁸⁴ Ōei 16 (1409).7.17 *Takebe Kiyohira yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #222).

⁹⁸⁵ Ōei 19 (1412).3.20 *Takebe Kiyohira okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #471). Kiyohira later confirmed Kiyotoshi's bequests as head of the *ichizoku*; see the later section on the Sumino sub-lineage in this chapter.

between kin and subordinate blurring over time.⁹⁸⁶ However, some sub-lineages remained independent well-past the time of Kiyonari, and while in some cases we simply do not know what happened to some lesser lineages of the Nejime, in others we can piece together a great deal from their combined military and inheritance records.

In a 1350 summons to battle from Ashikaga Tadafuyu, the Nejime-*gunji* was asked to bring his *ichizoku* with him and hasten to battle. The campaign lasted a full year, and Tadafuyu sent a half-dozen summonses to the Nejime head Kiyonari over the course of the fighting.⁹⁸⁷ Out of the six summonses, only the first and last documents mention the Nejime *ichizoku*, who were viewed as a single military unit by the Ashikaga. It is clear that by this point, at least in the eyes of the Ashikaga, Kiyonari was in full command of his subordinates. Award documents from the 1350s onward additionally ignore the Nejime *ichizoku*, and the greatest rewards went to Kiyonari and his successor Hisakiyo.⁹⁸⁸

In 1382, Imagawa Ryōshun provided Hisakiyo with a listing of the confirmed awards granted to him and his *ichizoku*, which included five sizeable holdings for Hisakiyo, and four smaller holdings passed on to various other Nejime members outside the main line.⁹⁸⁹ After Kiyonari passed headship of the main line to Hisakiyo, the supremacy of the main line over the sub-lineages in terms of military reward and documentation grew markedly, to the point that Hisakiyo became the broker of rewards for his kin. As the political power of the Nejime main line grew following the military successes of the 1330s through 1370s, the separate records of its

⁹⁸⁶ In this section, I am most concerned with the sub-lineages that were directly related to the Nejime kin group and were mutually recognized as Nejime *ichizoku* members. For this reason, I once again omit the Sata and (largely defunct) Tashiro, who were by now two-hundred years removed from the Nejime as independent social entities, who engaged in occasional land trades and legal quarrels but did not generally consider themselves relatives of the Nejime or fall under Nejime familial authority.

⁹⁸⁷ See the series of six separate military service requests: Jōwa 6 (1350) *Ashikaga Tadafuyu gunzei saisokujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #66-71). Each document is individually dated, ranging from the first to the twelfth month.

⁹⁸⁸ Kannō 2 (1351).7.17 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kanjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #74).

⁹⁸⁹ Eitoku 2 (1382).9.22 *Imagawa Ryōshun kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #138)

sub-lineages became increasingly scarce.

However, most sub-lineages still retained some level of independent recordkeeping into the late 1300s, with some extending as late as the sixteenth century. The quick demise of the one-man Kita sub-lineage after Kiyotake returned his Nejime-*in* property to his mother (and the main line) in 1343 left four major sub-lineages intact; the Ikehata, the Yamamoto, the Miyahara, and the Nishimoto/Sumino.⁹⁹⁰ These groups had direct kinship ties to the Nejime main line and were considered a part of the Nejime *ichizoku*. Let us examine these groups individually based on their surviving documents from the fourteenth century.

The Ikehata

Kiyotane's Ikehata branch, built on the property of his mother Zen'a and through donations from several other sub-lineages as well as purchased land, was the most militarily powerful of the Nejime sub-lineages in the mid Nanbokuchō period and retained the greatest level of independence beyond the fourteenth century. It is noteworthy that the Ikehata property line was formed largely through the funneling of several female relative's smaller property lines into the singular Ikehata-*dono*, Kiyotane, who managed their holdings thereafter. Kiyotane was a highly active military figure, personally fighting throughout the 1330s through the 1350s. He was in frequent contact with Hatakeyama Tadaaki, the regional commander of the Ashikaga forces in the opening decades of the Nanbokuchō period, and received multiple commendations directly from him.

As a reward for his service, Kiyotane's various landholdings were reconfirmed, most notably a *myōshu-shiki* post on Tanegashima island, first purchased (and "inherited" for the

⁹⁹⁰ The Sumino were the newest group, sharing roots with the Nishimoto as well as property links to the Ikehata, and formed during the Nanbokuchō period.

purpose of establishing the legitimate transfer of the office) from Sata Chikamasa in 1318.⁹⁹¹ In 1337, after his first major campaign, Hatakeyama Tadaaki reconfirmed Kiyotane's *myōshu-shiki* post on Tanegashima in an *ando-jō*.⁹⁹² In 1341 Hatakeyama Tadaaki wrote a special commendation for Kiyotane, submitted to the Ashikaga court (*bugyōsho* 奉行所) in Kyoto.⁹⁹³ Tadaaki summarized the injuries Kiyotane incurred in the opening half decade of fighting, as well as the castles or forts he had helped to seize from their enemies. Tadaaki noted that Kiyotane was wounded three times, first in the right shin during a battle at Kaneshige-jō (兼重城) in 1336, then in the left hand a month later in another battle in 1337 at Ishiyama-jō (石山城), and again in the right knee or thigh in 1339 in battle at a temporary fortification (向城 *mukaijiro* or *mukaijō*) in Kami-Takarabe (上財部).⁹⁹⁴

In addition to these reported wounds, Tadaaki also noted that Kiyotane was involved in the overthrow of the forts or castles Ishiyama-jō, Ōwada-jō, Shingū-jō, and Kaneshige-hon-jō (the main fortification of Kaneshige himself and an alternate name for Kaneshige-jō).⁹⁹⁵ As we know from the various records of the Nejime in wartime, many fortifications changed hands multiple times, and thus the double listing of Ishiyama-jō and Kaneshige-jō or Kaneshige-hon-jō means that Kiyotane fought in at least two separate battles in those locations. In just over five years, Kiyotane had fought in at least seven major conflicts set at various fortifications just north of the Nejime home territory, some of which took the form of protracted sieges. He was injured at least three times, all by arrow, and his Tadaaki saw fit to petition for commendations for him

⁹⁹¹ See Bunpō 2 (1318).12.10 *Takebe Chikamasa kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #712), and Bunpō 2 (1318).12.10 *Takebe Chikamasa yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #711).

⁹⁹² Kenmu 4 (1337).8.1 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki ando-jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #689). Kiyotane's military record was substantial; in 1339 after he assisted in fighting off Kimotsuki Kaneshige in several castle sieges, Tadaaki wrote a second commendation. See Ryakuō 2 (1339).4.20 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kanjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #690).

⁹⁹³ Ryakuō 4 (1341).12.20 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kyōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #691).

⁹⁹⁴ Ryakuō 4 (1341).12.20 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kyōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #691).

⁹⁹⁵ Ryakuō 4 (1341).12.20 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kyōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #691).

directly, without using Nejime head Kiyonari as a middleman.

A final piece of the Ikehata property came from someone named Kiyoteru, who wrote a grant to Kiyotane, whom he lists as his father (*shinpu* 親父), and the Ikehata-*dono*, in 1341.⁹⁹⁶ Kiyoteru's bequest to Kiyotane included seven *tan* of upland *hatake*, a *yashiki* residence, and Yamanoguchi *sono*, all in the area of Sata village, which he passed up to Kiyotane "due to the uncertainty of the age" (らうせうふちやうのさかひたる).⁹⁹⁷ Kiyoteru inherited these lands from someone called Renfuku (whose gender is unclear) in 1335, and a female nun called Ama-Nenbō (尼ねんほう) held it for him for multiple years, indicating that he was a young child when Renfuku died and still quite young when he wrote his *yuzurijō* to transfer the land to his father.⁹⁹⁸ The transfer from Kiyoteru to Kiyotane of a formerly separate property line is indicative of a shift toward consolidated inheritance within the Ikehata, an important theme going forward. Renfuku may have been Kiyoteru's mother, though their identity and relationships are unclear; it is also possible that Renfuku is a male Buddhist name, (no prefixes or suffixes are listed, which normally help determine gender), in which case Kiyoteru's listing of Kiyotane as his father could be an adoptive or otherwise fictionalized or invented tie.⁹⁹⁹ These relationships are ultimately unknown, and after the 1330s, secondary heirs in the Ikehata line, as well as in many others, are usually invisible in the historical record. The donation of Renfuku's land by Kiyoteru completed the core of Kiyotane's holdings, a formidable set of lands centered in the Sata region that he would control for decades to come. Renfuku's estate, like that of several

⁹⁹⁶ Ryakuō 4 (1341).2.15 *Kiyoteru yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #752). Using the honorific *dono* suffix for one's father is somewhat unusual, though brothers in the Nejime sometimes referred to each other in this way. The use of *dono* in reference to his "father" may also imply a fictive parental relationship for the purpose of transferring property.

⁹⁹⁷ Ryakuō 4 (1341).2.15 *Kiyoteru yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #752).

⁹⁹⁸ Kenmu 2 (1335).2.10 *Renfuku yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #720), and Ryakuō 5 (1342).9.2 *Ama nenbō sarijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #721).

⁹⁹⁹ If Renfuku was Kiyoteru's biological father, the nun Ama-Nenbō who held his property might have been his biological mother; Kiyoteru's three potential parental ties make his situation particularly murky.

other otherwise unknown figures, was consolidated with more substantial property lines as inheritances narrowed in the mid-fourteenth century.

Kiyotane adopted the Buddhist name Dōshū (道種) in his retirement and wrote two wills in 1376 and 1378. He must have lived to be quite old, as he gained his initial inheritances, as a child, in the 1310s, and had an adult son (Bettōmaru, a different figure from Kiyoteru) capable to travelling to Hakata for military service in his stead in 1331.¹⁰⁰⁰ The last records of Kiyotane fighting actively are from the 1350s, meaning he lived several decades into retirement from both military activity and lay-life.¹⁰⁰¹ He had ample time to draw up his wills, but elected to choose only one heir, his son Bettōmaru (別當丸); his three bequests are simple transfers to him, and no mention is made of his other son Kiyoteru.¹⁰⁰² It is possible that Bettōmaru is a grandson (and that two lineal descendants of Kiyotane had this childhood name), as no adult name is listed in either 1331 or the 1370s, and Kiyotane's son Bettōmaru may have predeceased him or been passed over for inheritance if this is the case.

Kiyotane's first grant, from 1376, covers his land in Sata village, which he bought before the end of the Kamakura period through a fictive adoption (carried out to legitimate the sale), explained in Chapter VI.¹⁰⁰³ He included the ancestral documents of Sata Chikamasa, purchased along with the land, and listed the exact sizes of each plot. As was common in property transmission records, the newest lands that Kiyotane acquired within his lifetime were

¹⁰⁰⁰ Gentoku 3(1331).10.20 *Takebe Bettōmaru chakutōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #693). Kiyotane was likely significantly younger than his Miyahara cousins, due the cross-generational marriage of his mother and father (Zen'a and Kiyoyasu's brother Kiyonobu), which indicates that Zen'a was younger than her brothers.

¹⁰⁰¹ Bunna 3 (1354).3 *Nejime Kiyotane gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #704).

¹⁰⁰² Kiyoteru's childhood name was Hikomatsujūmaro (ひこまつしゅまろ), listed in his mother's grant. He is also called Iyajirō-dono, (いや二郎との). See Kenmu 2 (1335).2.10 *Renfuku yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #720).

¹⁰⁰³ Eiwa 2 (1376).3.1 *Shami Doshū yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #724). See also an undated copy *Shami Doshū yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #726). The differences between the two are minimal, the first providing slightly more detail on the documentary background of the Sata property.

transferred separately from his core ancestral properties, which had a richer, separate documentary legacy to accompany them.

The second grant, from 1378, included Kiyotane's ancestral holdings in the core Nejime territory, representing his combined inheritances from his mother, uncles, and grand uncle, which we have already examined.¹⁰⁰⁴ Among these properties, one of the agricultural plots or *sono* was named "Ikehata *sono*," the core holding from which his lineage gained its name. This was one of the plots of land granted to Kiyotane by his mother Zen'a, reinforcing that the primary identity of the Ikehata line was tied to its matrilineal roots in the Miyahara subline rather than its patrilineal tie to the Nejime main line.¹⁰⁰⁵ It is unclear what happened to Kiyotane's *shiki* on Miwa village in southern Tanegashima Island, although the purchase/inheritance records would have been included in those passed down from Sata Chikamasa in his first will. Due to the lack of documentary records confirming this holding, it may have been an office Kiyotane held only during his lifetime, and possibly failed to maintain. In the 1350s Nejime main heir Kiyonari received a half-share *jitō-shiki* post on the island, which may have superseded or replaced Kiyotane's *myōshu-shiki* claim, or perhaps existed in tandem with it.¹⁰⁰⁶

The Ikehata line, founded by Kiyotane and his mother Zen'a, continued for many generations into the sixteenth century under his direct patriline. Records immediately following the tenure of Kiyotane are spotty, and Bettōmaru's records are not extant. However, following a lengthy documentary gap, a series of bequests emulating those of Kiyotane, which include his

¹⁰⁰⁴ Eiwa 4 (1378).10.29 *Shami Doshū yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #725).

¹⁰⁰⁵ Genkō 2 (1322).12.16 *Ama Zen'a yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #715), and Genkō 3 (1323).8.25 *Ama Zen'a yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #716).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Kannō 3 (1352).2.1 *Owari Tadafuyu hyōrō ryōsho azuke-jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #86).

Ikehata-lineage properties in both Sata and Nejime from 1476,¹⁰⁰⁷ 1497,¹⁰⁰⁸ 1544 resumes.¹⁰⁰⁹

Though few details remain, the Ikehata survived as an independent sub-lineage tied to the Nejime main line but not directly reliant on it for two more centuries. The Ikehata remained militarily active, as the last pair of grants from 1544, written by one of Kiyotane's distant descendants called Kiyomoto (清本, whose exact link to the group is unknown), mentions that his son and grandson died in battle. In his shorter bequest, Kiyomoto states that although his son Kiyozumi selected his first grandson Kiyohisa as the original main heir of the Ikehata, because Kiyohisa had died in battle, their many "main house" records were re-deeded to Kiyozumi's "second son" (Kiyomoto's younger grandson) Matashichi (其嫡子弥次郎清尚致戦死、嫡家傳來之文書数通、二男孫又七仁譲渡).¹⁰¹⁰ In another bequest, Kiyomoto explained that his son Kiyozumi had died in battle at Takaoka (高岳), and his first grandson Kiyohisa (or Shigehisa) had been killed later in a battle with foreigners (listed as Chinese and "southern barbarians") at Konejime harbor by a burning arrow through his midsection (池端清本嫡子右衛門尉清住於高岳討死、其嫡子弥次郎重尚於小祢寝港唐人南蛮人と戦之時、中手火矢討死了).¹⁰¹¹

The set of records of Kiyotane and his descendants, some of whom we cannot accurately trace due to gaps in the record, forms the most complete set of any of the Nejime sub-lineages,

¹⁰⁰⁷ Bunmei 8 (1476).4.7 *Shami Sūon yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #727), and Bunmei 8 (1476).4.7 *Shami Sūon yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #728).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Meiō 6 (1497).7.24 *Shami Zenjū yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #729), and Meiō 6 (1497).7.24 *Shami Zenjū yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #730).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Tenbun 13 (1544).11.5 *Shami Kiyomoto yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #731), and Tenbun 13 (1544).11.5 *Shami Kiyomoto yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #732).

¹⁰¹⁰ Tenbun 13 (1544).12 *Shami Kiyomoto yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #733). Because several unknown generations had passed, these figures do not appear in the broader Nejime family trees I have developed in this dissertation. Because the properties involved are core Ikehata land, Kiyomoto is most likely a direct descendant of Kiyotane through Kiyoyasu.

¹⁰¹¹ Tenbun 13 (1544).11.5 *Shami Kiyomoto yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #731). Kiyohisa's name is miswritten in the original document as "Shigehisa" and noted by the editors of the *Kagoshima ken shiryō* as an incorrect character. See KKSI vol. 1, #731, p. 470.

which held their own independent records until the early-modern period.¹⁰¹² This may be partly due to the closer proximity of Kiyotane to the main line, at least in terms of generations of separation; Kiyotane was the son of Kiyonari's uncle, a first cousin to the most powerful figure in the Nejime, and had maternal ties to the Miyahara line, ensuring that he was well-connected to various figures within the Nejime network who supported him early on. Kiyotane's extensive military record allowed him to retain his extensive holdings and political ties, ensuring the independent survival of his name group.

The Yamamoto

While fewer records survive from the Yamamoto compared to the Ikehata, we can still get a fair picture of the state of the sub-lineage in the mid-Nanbokuchō period. The Yamamoto, like the Ikehata, were relatively closely tied to the main line, founded by Kiyonari's uncle Kiyotaka (清高), also known by the Buddhist name Dōe (道恵). Although Kiyotaka/Dōe signed the joint agreement of loyalty and combined military service from 1336 on behalf of Yamamoto, he did not personally part in the fighting, possibly because he was already an older man (as evidenced by his Buddhist name).¹⁰¹³ His set of three *yuzurijō*, written in 1344, 1350, and 1355, passed on property to his sole heir Kiyomasu (清増), who represented the Yamamoto in battle beginning in 1341.¹⁰¹⁴

From his father, Kiyomasu first received a set of mountain fields and a one *tan* paddy in the village of Kami-Nahase-*mura* in Minamimata in 1344.¹⁰¹⁵ Kiyotaka notes that this was the

¹⁰¹² For more on the Ikehata in the sixteenth century, through the lens of intercultural contact with Europe, see Nejime Ken'ichi, *Tōsei runesansu no kaichō: nanban to Nejime-shi no rekishiteki seikai o motomete*, pp. 93-97. This section is based largely on the latest Ikehata records, but also begins with a broad overview of the Takebe/Nejime.

¹⁰¹³ Kenmu 3 (1336).1.11 *Takebe Kiyonari no hoka go-mei ichizoku rensho keijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #738).

¹⁰¹⁴ Listed under his childhood name, Matagorō (又五郎).

¹⁰¹⁵ Kōei 3 (1344).6.29 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #494).

property of a woman called “Ki no ujime,” but that she had died intestate and he was dividing up her land for her (紀氏女重代相傳之所領也、仍紀氏女未分之間、爲道惠計所配分也).¹⁰¹⁶

Though this was only a small chunk of property, it is useful to note that once again, a part of the estate of the Yamamoto sub-lineage, like the bulk of the land given to the Ikehata, was transferred through females, forming a pattern of female contributions to the foundation of secondary lineages, as mothers, more regularly than fathers, sought to establish the posterity of their secondary sons as a means of maintaining their own divided estates (though in the Ki no Ujime’s case, the decision was made by a man on her behalf after her death). In his second grant from 1350, Kiyotaka gave Kiyomasu three servants, all children.¹⁰¹⁷ Kiyotaka further mandated that Kiyomasu would not inherit any future children from the three servants, meaning that their children would be free people.

Finally, in his last *yuzurijō* grant from 1355, Kiyotaka passed down the primary lands of the Yamamoto, which consisted of the land between two mountains in Yamamoto-*myō*, property that Kiyotaka received in a settlement from Kiyonari several decades earlier after suing for his inheritance (described in Chapter IV).¹⁰¹⁸ Also included in the grant was another holding in *shimo-Ōsumi nozato* (下大隅野里, a term for a village), called “Asai” (朝井). Short and to-the-point, this grant constituted the main share of Yamamoto property, which passed from Kiyotaka to his son (listed as Matagorō 又五郎) without any other conditions or instructions.¹⁰¹⁹

As the sole heir of the Yamamoto sub-lineage lands, Kiyomasu was one of the most militarily active members of the Nejime network (after Ikehata Kiyotane), submitting six

¹⁰¹⁶ Kōei 3 (1344).6.29 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #494).

¹⁰¹⁷ Jōwa 6 (1350).11.17 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #495).

¹⁰¹⁸ Bunna 4 (1355).8.25 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #496).

¹⁰¹⁹ Bunna 4 (1355).8.25 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #496).

gunchūjō service reports between 1341 and 1357.¹⁰²⁰ Kiyomasu received fewer documents of recognition than his cousin Kiyotane, but did have at least some direct ties to their commander Hatakeyama Tadaaki, who signed off on his service records and sent a document recognizing Kiyomasu's service in 1356. In that record, Tadaaki awarded Kiyomasu with a set of lands confiscated from enemies in the Aira-*shō* region (where the Nejime frequently fought).¹⁰²¹ No other awards or commendations, or records of direct personal injury survive from Kiyomasu.

Kiyomasu wrote a pair of bequests in 1358, a year after his last military record and only three years after his final inheritance, abandoning the bulk of the separate landed estate of his two-generation sub-line. In one of the two *yuzurijō*, Kiyomasu granted the Yamamoto lands to “Inufusamaru” (犬房丸), the childhood name of main line heir Hisakiyo, the Nejime-*dono* successor of Kiyonari and Kiyōari.¹⁰²² Kiyomasu listed the land as the property of his father Dōe (たうゑ/道恵) and cited his ancestral documents (*honshōmon* ほんせう文) regarding the clear borders of the land, which included wet-paddy, *sono*, and wilderness land (*kōya* 荒野, verifying the liminal nature of the Yamamoto holdings).¹⁰²³ Kiyomasu also included a short passage on services (*onkūji* 御くうし), in which he stated simply that the outline of Dōe (Kiyotaka) should be followed.¹⁰²⁴

Kiyomasu's second grant transmitted the primary Yamamoto estate, a set of villages

¹⁰²⁰ For each of Kiyomasu's military service reports (all *gunchūjō*), see *KKSI* vol. 1, #461, 464-467, and 469, which range from 1341 to 1357 and always appear in parallel with those of various other Nejime network members.

¹⁰²¹ Bunna 4 (1356).4.28 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kakikudashi* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #468). This grant was made at the same time as Tadaaki's grant of the *jitō-shiki* in Nishimata (in Aira) to Hisakiyo. See Bunna 5 (1356).4.23 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki jitō-shiki ate-okonai-jō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #93).

¹⁰²² See Jōwa 6 (1350).2.9 *Takebe Kiyonari yuzurijō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #84), and Bunna 2 (1353).8.1 *Nejime Kiyōari yuzurijō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #121), in which Hisakiyo is listed as Inufusamaru. Inufusamaru became a name repeated in the Nejime main line, and was also the childhood name of Hisakiyo's grandson Motokiyo. See also Ōei 16 (1409).7.17 *Takebe Kiyohira yuzurijō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #222).

¹⁰²³ Enbun 3 (1358).6.10 *Takebe Kiyomasu yuzurijō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #474).

¹⁰²⁴ Enbun 3 (1358).6.10 *Takebe Kiyomasu yuzurijō* (*KKSI* vol. 1, #474).

(*muramura* 村々) located between two mountains in Yamamoto-*myō*, the bulk of which also went to Inufusamaru (Hisakiyo), except for a small share reserved for Kiyomasu's widow (listed as his *goke* 後家).¹⁰²⁵ She received a five *koku* rice stipend to be taken from the taxes (*nengu* ねんく) of Asai village and lands in Nikō village (二河村, also listed in his father's bequest),¹⁰²⁶ listed as a *sono* (Muramatsu *sono* むら松藺), along with or including wet-fields and wilderness land, which she could pass on as she saw fit after her lifetime (但此内朝井村ねんくのうち五石、二河村内むら松藺、同水田荒野後家一期之程、後家心二まかすへく候).¹⁰²⁷ It is unknown whether Kiyomasu and his widow had children, but the language of his grant to her indicates that her remaining land could have been divided off to any of her heirs. After the reabsorption of the bulk of the Yamamoto land by the Nejime-*dono* Hisakiyo, no further records from the Yamamoto survive. Although Kiyomasu's widow and any of their heirs were clearly still not landless, it seems that the Yamamoto did not reach the critical mass necessary for wholesale economic independence.

The Miyahara

The Miyahara (like the Nishimoto) were two generations further removed from the main line than the Kita, Ikehata, and the Yamamoto, which makes them more difficult to track through main-line Nejime records. Based on later-compiled documents, we can follow the basic, patrilineal structure of their lineage through the generation of Kiyonari, though thereafter clear records of succession or inheritance are limited, and later genealogies are difficult or impossible to verify.¹⁰²⁸ In the 1336 joint-signature agreement between *ichizoku* heads, the signatory

¹⁰²⁵ Enbun 3 (1358).6.10 *Takebe Kiyomasu yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #497).

¹⁰²⁶ Bunna 4 (1355).8.25 *Shami Dōe yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #496).

¹⁰²⁷ Enbun 3 (1358).6.10 *Takebe Kiyomasu yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #497).

¹⁰²⁸ See KKSI vol.1, p. 189.

representative of the Miyahara was founder Yorishige's grandson Yorizumi (頼純).¹⁰²⁹ Yet like fellow co-signer Yamamoto Dōe, Miyahara Yorizumi did not fight alongside the Nejime. Instead, it appears that his cousin Shigetane (重種) represented the Miyahara in battle.¹⁰³⁰

Shigetane was the son of Yorizumi's uncle Shigekiyo (also known as Jōsai 浄西), and is part of a secondary lineage of the Miyahara (as was the maternal line under Zen'a that became the Ikehata). Shigetane inherited a small amount of land from his father in 1333, including one *sono* plot and attached paddy fields, demonstrating that despite their limited assets relative to the Nejime main line, the Miyahara continued to divide their holdings into the 1330s.¹⁰³¹ At a minimum, Miyahara Yorishige split his land among the three siblings Zen'a, Kiyozumi, and Shigekiyo. Unlike in the Ikehata and Yamamoto, in which the main heir was the primary military actor for the group, for the Miyahara, military participation was left to Shigetane, the son of a secondary Miyahara heir.

In the 1320s, the Miyahara engaged in a lengthy land dispute with their distant relatives in the Tashiro, the smallest of the three regional shareholders who broke off from the Takebe at the same time as the Sata and Nejime in the Heian period.¹⁰³² Beyond this suit, which led to the appropriation by the Miyahara of a small share of surviving Tashiro land, their records are scattered to the point that it is impossible to trace them in the late fourteenth century.

During his twenty-year military career, spanning 1336-1357, Miyahara Shigetane submitted six military reports of his own, usually in tandem with Ikehata Kiyotane and Yamamoto Kiyomasu, the three cousins making up the most active corps of secondary sub-

¹⁰²⁹ Kenmu 3 (1336).1.11 *Takebe Kiyonari no hoka go-mei ichizoku rensho keijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #738).

¹⁰³⁰ Genkō 3 (1333).1.11 *Jōsai shōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #489). See also Suzuki Katsuya, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite," p. 34.

¹⁰³¹ Genkō 3 (1333).1.11 *Jōsai shōjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #489).

¹⁰³² Genkō 2 (1322).11.11 *Chinzei Tandai-sai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #583).

lineage members who handled their own military records independent from the Nejime head. Shigetane was personally injured while fighting under Shimazu Sadahisa 1341 (by an arrow to his lower left leg), but like his cousin Kiyomasu, received little in direct compensation from his military superiors.¹⁰³³

As noted earlier in this chapter, beginning in 1337, petitions like those from Ashikaga Tadayoshi requesting military aid from the Nejime were addressed to the Nejime-*gunji* “and his *ichizoku*.”¹⁰³⁴ In a 1338 document of reward following the service of the Nejime, which conferred a *jitō-shiki* in Shimazu-*shō* from Hatakeyama Tadaaki to the Nejime-*dono*, the Nejime head was asked to distribute the award (which presumably included divisible land - though *jitō-shiki* could also be divided, the Nejime never did so) as he saw fit among his *ichizoku*.¹⁰³⁵ Beginning in 1339, Kiyonari’s personal military records cited the cooperation of his kin, listing his *ichizoku* alongside himself in their military actions.¹⁰³⁶ This explains the minimal rewards gained by Ikehata Kiyotane, Yamamoto Kiyomasu, and Miyahara Shigetane for their military service. No will survives from Shigetane, and it is possible that like his cousin Yamamoto Kiyomasu his lands eventually ended up back under the management of the main line.¹⁰³⁷

Suzuki Katsuya's interpretation of the limited set of Miyahara records follows this line of reasoning, as he points out that in a 1381 petition for military service recognition, in which Hisakiyo listed ten worthy supporters including two “Nejime” relatives alongside Miyahara

¹⁰³³ See the undated *Nejime Shigetane gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 2, #164). The content is largely the same as Ryakuō 4 (1341).4 *Nejime Kiyomasu gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 2, #163) and the document was likely drafted around the same time, if not on the same day.

¹⁰³⁴ Kenmu 4 (1337).5.16 *Ashikaga Tadayoshi gunzei saisokujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #55).

¹⁰³⁵ Kenmu 5 (1338).7.7 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #58).

¹⁰³⁶ Ryakuō 2 (1339).8.28 *Takebe Kiyonari gunchūjō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #60).

¹⁰³⁷ By 1377, one person using the Miyahara surname called Tachibana Kinfuyu (橘公冬) signed on to join Imagawa Ryōshun's *ikki*, but based on their name they are likely unrelated to the Miyahara of Nejime-*in*. See Eiwa 3 (1377).10.28 *Ikki shinsui keijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #314). Miyahara is a common place name, and this person may not even be from Nejime-*in*.

Mikawa-no-kami (宮原参河守), Yamamoto Kaga-no-kami (山本加賀守), and Nishimoto Hachirō Saemon-no-jo (西本八郎左衛門尉) and five other apparently unrelated subordinates whose service warranted documentary recognition.¹⁰³⁸ This is the last reference to anyone from the Miyahara in the *Nejime Monjo*, and Suzuki is correct in asserting that the sub-lineage was at least militarily subordinate to the main line from the late 1300s onward.

The Nishimoto/Sumino

The most unusual element of the Sumino (角 or す見の) is that all their land was purchased, and nearly all those purchases were made with cash (one chunk was bought with rice), mostly by the Sumino founder Kiyomasa. The Sumino records reveal to what extent systems of wealth had changed by the fourteenth century.¹⁰³⁹ Kiyomasa bought property from his uncle as well as multiple neighbors, amassing a set of lands that was significant enough to sustain his sub-lineage for centuries as an independent economic and (occasional) military entity. The group maintained its independent identity into the early modern period, and in the fields of the former Nishimoto territory of modern Nejime-*chō*, a small stone pagoda monument for the Sumino still stands, in the former Nishimoto and Sumino *sono* villages and fields.¹⁰⁴⁰

Several Kyushu historians have written about the Sumino, focused primarily on their development in the 1300s and the level of control or authority the Nejime main line exerted over them by the early fifteenth century. Compared to the other sub-lines, the Sumino story is both more complex and harder to trace. Sumino records are sporadic from the start, and based on documents and genealogical information from the Edo period, Tokugawa genealogists identified

¹⁰³⁸ Eitoku 1 (1381).6.1 *Nejime Hisakiyo yotō kyōmyō chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #133), and Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite,” pp. 30-31.

¹⁰³⁹ On the shifting economy, see Sakurai Eiji, “Currency and Credit in Medieval Japan,” especially pp. 58-62 on various money notes, and pp. 62-64 on cooper coinage, which was the preferred medium of trade seen in the documents of the Nejime and the Ichikawa.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Gomi Yoshio, “Ōsumi no kuni Nejime gunji shoke Sumino-shi ni tsuite,” pp. 55-56.

the Sumino as (impossibly) the product of two different (non-overlapping) bloodlines. These later genealogies include lesser known members of other sub-lineages to creatively fill in the gaps in the Sumino record. In my interpretation of the Sumino, I have stuck strictly with medieval documents, ignoring later genealogies, and my conclusions on the Sumino align precisely with Gomi Yoshio's findings on the documented succession of the Sumino from the compiled records of the *Nejime Monjo*.¹⁰⁴¹

In terms of their property lineage and geographical identity, the Sumino were a partial continuation of Kiyomoto's earlier Nishimoto sub-lineage. His original holdings in Nishimoto village, adjacent to the properties of the Miyahara and the Nejime main line, formed one core property of the Sumino line. The Sumino name has Nishimoto roots; "Sumino" is the name of a *sono* in the Nishimoto region, found in early fifteenth century records, reinforcing the tie between the Nishimoto and Sumino, which owned a contiguous set of neighboring fields and villages.¹⁰⁴² The area called "Sumino" was a part of the properties purchased for Kiyomasa from Kiyomoto (an uncle) by Kiyochika (his father) in 1303, in an act by the Nejime head that willfully sustained the separate Nishimoto property and name group by passing it directly through his youngest son.¹⁰⁴³ Kiyomoto also passed additional land directly to Kiyomasa.¹⁰⁴⁴

Kiyomasa initially took the Nishimoto name after his father purchased his uncle's lands for him, but sometime in the following three decades he (or possibly his heir) adopted the name "Sumino" (written variously as す見の or 角). This name-change apparently occurred sometime after the failed lawsuit brought by Kiyomasa and his brothers against their sibling and main heir

¹⁰⁴¹ Gomi Yoshio, "Ōsumi no kuni Nejime gunji shoke Sumino-shi ni tsuite." Gomi compares Sumino documents with the available genealogical records from the Edo period to form his conclusions.

¹⁰⁴² Ōei 32 (1425).3.29 *Sumino Kiyoshige kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #500).

¹⁰⁴³ Kengen 2 (1303).3.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto sari-jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #758), and Kengen 2 (1303).3.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #759).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Kagen 4 (1306) *Takebe Kiyomoto yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #763).

Kiyoharu in the early 1300s. The suit concluded in the 1320s, and none of the Nejime brothers, including Kiyomasa, secured any land from their extensive legal efforts (though Kiyotaka, a generation younger, did).¹⁰⁴⁵ The re-naming from Nishimoto to Sumino may have been an attempt by Kiyomasa to distance himself from both the main line and the perhaps tainted Nishimoto name (following the failed lawsuits and the ongoing tax problems of Nishimoto Kiyomoto). Historian Suzuki Katsuya ignores or overlooks the tie to the Nishimoto in his analysis of the Sumino, but still comes to the same conclusion, namely that the Sumino made a clear “trend toward independence from the Nejime *sōryō*.”¹⁰⁴⁶ This move toward greater independence was tied to the adoption of the Sumino name as well as an unknown but lucrative profession that involved significant amounts of cash.

The Sumino also took over large chunks of the Sata region along with numerous smaller, scattered properties. The cannibalization of the Sata holdings by the Nejime sub-lines demonstrates the lack of a bond of kinship between the two groups, as multiple Nejime offshoots opportunistically overtook the southern region from their distant genetic relatives. New lands were acquired through multiple additional property purchases made by Kiyomasa in the early 1300s.¹⁰⁴⁷ The most notable of these was the purchase of the Isashiki estate. Isashiki borders the

¹⁰⁴⁵ See Chapter IV.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite,” p. 20.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Developing additional or “new” land was imperative for any warrior family, though the specifics of how they did this are different, and the Sumino inclination for buying up land from failing neighbors is particularly prolific. Both the Ichikawa and the Nejime were successful in maintaining and expanding their core holdings thanks to military and political success in the fourteenth century, but this is the greatest purely economic example of expansions I have seen. Success in expanding property access was now mandatory to the survival of the kin group and enhanced the power of both main heirs and collateral, but how this was expressed was different. The basic availability of land played a large, possibly primary role in how social space was defined and property was divided, and explains some of the difference in the Nejime and the Ichikawa (see Chapter III). In both groups, continued references to newly-cleared fields (*shinkaiden* 新開田) indicate a concerted effort toward the physical development of the landscape ongoing through the end of the Kamakura period and probably well-beyond, though details of such activity are only available in peacetime, when there was time for the revision of bequests to include such new properties as well as manpower for land clearance. As a brief example, when the Ichikawa had access to southern land for development, two collateral heirs (brother and sister) were used to settle it, and it grew into a substantial

Nishimoto *sono*, on the southern end of the Nejime holdings. In 1303, Kiyomasa purchased four *tan-dai* (反大)¹⁰⁴⁸ of wet paddy and attached mountain fields in Sakewa village for thirty *kanmon* in cash from Isashiki Jōi (浄意, or Chikahiro 親弘) and his son Chikaakira (親明).¹⁰⁴⁹ In 1305, Kiyomasa made two additional purchases from the Isashiki of contiguous lands in Sata and Sakewa villages for seventeen and twenty-eight *kanmon*, though these plots are listed by their local borders rather than by the size of the fields they contained.¹⁰⁵⁰

The takeover of the lands of the Isashiki, a small but troublesome neighbor for the main line (detailed in Chapter III), follows the theme of secondary sub-lineages that acquired land shares and local control in areas that became a nuisance or represented a competitive interest for the Nejime. This is at least part of the reason that the Nejime main line supported the sub-lines, as by installing them in contested space, they eliminated a rival and replaced them with a codependent sub-lineage. As was the case with the other prominent sub-lineages, the Sumino land in Isashiki was not a part of the core Nejime property, and represented an expansion rather than a division of Nejime landholding.

Kiyomasa also bought out several otherwise unknown small-scale landholders in the Nejime region, and was referred to as Nejime Kurō-*dono* by those who sold their land to him. In addition to multiple purchases from the Isashiki, Kiyomasa bought four *tan* of paddy in Ogawa-

holding in the following generation (called Hirabayashi). As we have already seen in this chapter, when the Nejime gained access to land in the far north, a new secondary house (Kita) was developed specifically to take control of it. Land on the physical periphery was the common domain of cognates or collaterals, who took over new property as representatives of the kin group, and at the behest of main heirs, who were shielded from outside threats by the peripheral presence of their collateral kin.

¹⁰⁴⁸ A plot likely slightly larger than four *tan*, literally translatable as four “large-*tan*” probably due to a longstanding mismeasurement of the land in question.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Kengen 2 (1303).4.18 *Takebe Chikaakira, Shami Shiyau (Jōi) renshō kokyakujō, onajiku Takebe Kiyomasa uragaki* (KKSI vol. 1, #760). The price is listed in a separate receipt document, see Kagen 2 (1304).4.23 *Takebe Chikaakira uketori-jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #761).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Kagen 3 (1305).3.18 *Shami Shiyau (Jōi), Takebe Chikaakira kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #485), and Kagen 3 (1305).7.11 *Takebe Chikaakira, Shami Shiyau (Jōi) renshō kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #762).

in for fourteen *koku* of rice from someone called only "Arihide" (有栄) in 1302.¹⁰⁵¹ In 1305, he bought a hunting ground in Hakoyama (はこやま) for thirteen and a half *kanmon* in cash from Shami Sairen (沙弥さいれん - likely a Nejime or Sata relative).¹⁰⁵² These purchases were made in the span of four years, as Kiyomasa worked to buy up available properties in his area of Nejime-*in* at the turn of the fourteenth century.

By the 1330s, by then likely reconceptualized as the “Sumino” rather than “Nishimoto” head, Kiyomasa was in control of the ancestral Nishimoto holdings, the Isashiki estate extending south into some Sata villages, as well as multiple other scattered plots, all of which were purchased rather than inherited directly. This is a distinction that has not been pointed out in any other scholarship on the Nejime; the Sumino line was economically different than all other Nejime sub-lineages in that it was based purely on the developing cash economy of the medieval period, and on landed profits gained from the failure of smaller local landholders, whose properties were up for grabs by the late Kamakura period. The ability to acquire these lands was largely due to tax debt held by the original owners and an increased need for cash on-hand for the repayment of such debts as well as the increasing costs of the military burden of the age.¹⁰⁵³

In the Nanbokuchō period, the Sumino only participated in the earliest military conflicts, and did not join the other Nejime members in battle after 1339. Thus, their story is quite different from that of the other, more militarily active sub-lineages. Sumino founder Kiyomasa took the

¹⁰⁵¹ Shōan 4 (1302).1.26 *Arihide kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #482).

¹⁰⁵² Kagen 3 (1305).6.8 *Shami Sairen kokyakujō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #486), and Kagen 3.6.10 *Shami Sairen uketori-jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #487). In the sale document, Sairen refers to his son as Kiyonao, fitting with regional and Nejime-specific naming practices, and states that although he had previously granted the hunting ground to him, due to a pressing need for cash he had instead elected to sell the property. No other records from or links to Sairen appear in the *Nejime Monjo*.

¹⁰⁵³ Unfortunately, we have no idea how Kiyomasa obtained his cash, whether it was inherited directly or gained from agricultural or other economic practices such as moneylending, piracy, or fishing-based streams of income. As we cannot determine the source of Kiyomasa's money, we cannot ultimately understand the full nature of the economic relationships or practices in place in the Nejime region, particularly in the 14th century and beyond.

Buddhist name Nichinen (日念) by 1333, when he wrote his bequest.¹⁰⁵⁴ His will is a lengthy, kana-script transfer the various lands he had acquired in the Nishimoto, Sata, Sakewa, and Isashiki regions of southern Nejime-*in* to his son Kiyomichi (written as 清道 and 清通 and listed by the childhood name Hachirō), including several *sono* plots, upland *hatake* fields, freshly-cleared land, and paddy, most of indeterminate size and borders.¹⁰⁵⁵

Similar to the case of Ikehata Kiyotane, who handled the passage of a woman's intestate lands on her behalf, Sumino Kiyomasa also facilitated the transfer of his "wife" Yokokawa no Nyōbō's (よこかわのねうほう) property to her daughter (*musume* むすめ) Himewaka Gozen (ひめわかこせん).¹⁰⁵⁶ He refers to Yokokawa no Nyōbō as his "woman" (いとり), and also the mother of his main heir Hachirō. Kiyomasa stated that he had written up a will together with her, passing the bulk of her property to Hachirō as well as some to her daughter, Himewaka Gozen.¹⁰⁵⁷ The property in question is largely unknown, and some otherwise unknown portion of her land was also funneled to a second male heir called Iyakurō (いやくらう).¹⁰⁵⁸

Kiyomasa was clearly in control of his affines' property, though no record from the woman survives to confirm the assignment of any special rights to Kiyomasa over her land. That Kiyomasa could posthumously alter or reinforce the bequest of the woman's property, which he apparently originally co-signed with her, illustrates the declining level of female property prerogatives in the late Kamakura period, although his main goal seems to have been to uphold her prior inheritance decisions. As for why Kiyomasa (or Yokokawa Nyōbō herself) chose to funnel some of her lands to a second son rather than the first, because at least some of the

¹⁰⁵⁴ Genkō 3 (1333).11.4 *Nichinen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #490).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Genkō 3 (1333).11.4 *Nichinen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #490).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Genkō 3 (1333).11.4 *Nichinen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #490).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Genkō 3 (1333).11.4 *Nichinen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #490).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Genkō 3 (1333).11.4 *Nichinen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #490).

property of Yokokawa no Nyōbō was in the Hakata region, and was thus far outside the core holdings of the Sumino, it may have required a separate local presence to manage.¹⁰⁵⁹

Only three years after inheriting his father Kiyomasa's scattered properties, Sumino Kiyomichi, who did not sign the Nejime joint allegiance document from 1336, nevertheless reported to battle alongside his cousins. Kiyomichi fought alongside Kiyotane in 1337 and Kiyonari and Kiyotane in 1339, taking part in the early stages of war against the Kimotsuki.¹⁰⁶⁰ However, unlike the other sub-lineages, whose independent military records continued through the end of Kiyonari's tenure as Nejime head in the late 1350s, no further military records from the Sumino appear after 1339.¹⁰⁶¹

After the Sumino ceased their military activity, records from the sub-lineage become sporadic, and it is difficult to follow the details of their succession in the decades immediately following Kiyomichi's inheritance. It appears that Kiyomichi likely also used the name Kiyomitsu or Seikō (清光 - it is unclear whether this is a Buddhist name, as it appears only once).¹⁰⁶² Only a year after his inheritance in 1334, just prior to the outbreak of warfare in Kyushu (and probably in preparation for it), Kiyomitsu/Seikō wrote a single *kana-yuzurijō* grant to a son called Masuhōshimaru (ます法師丸).¹⁰⁶³ In that grant, he passed down the many scattered and variously categorized properties that made up the Nishimoto/Sumino lands, most of

¹⁰⁵⁹ Genkō 3 (1333).11.4 *Nichinen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #490).

¹⁰⁶⁰ Kenmu 4 (1337).4.23 *Takebe Kiyomichi gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #458 and vol. 2, #8), and *Takebe Kiyomichi gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #459 and vol. 2, #9).

¹⁰⁶¹ The only other military record that might be connected to the Sumino is a relative of Hisakiyo who used the Nishimoto name in 1378, and was listed as Hisakiyo's *shinrui* kinsmen. See Kōryaku 1 (1379).11.11 *Nishimoto gassen teoi chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #128).

¹⁰⁶² Kyushu historians who have written on the Sumino each treat Kiyomichi and Kiyomitsu as separate names for the same figure, although concrete evidence of the identity of "Kiyomitsu" is not extant. I share the general inclination toward treating them as the same figure, which leaves the fate of Iyakurō, the second son who initially inherited the Hakata lands of their mother, a mystery. See Gomi Yoshio "Ōsumi no kuni Nejime gunji shoke Sumino-shi ni tsuite," p. 101, and Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁶³ Kenmu 1 (1334).10.25 *Takebe Kiyomitsu (Seikō?) yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #492).

which were the ancestral holdings in Sata and the various coastal villages and fields in Isashiki purchased by Nichinen (日念, or Kiyomasa) as well five *tan* of paddy in Chikugo province inherited from “the mother of Kiyomichi” (*Kiyomichi ga hahaoya no yuzuri* 清みちか母おやのゆつり), indicating that both of Kiyomichi’s parents had funneled property to him.¹⁰⁶⁴

Also included were Kiyomasa’s original documents, which Kiyomichi/Nichinen transferred in their entirety on to Masuhōshimaru. Kiyomichi made it clear that every scrap of land and the documents that went with them would go to his son, but that if any issues came up with him, “the mother” (*hahaoya* ハハおや) should take control of his estate (*tadashi moshi Masuhōshimaru ikanaru koto mo aran toki wa, hahaoya chigyō subeshi* たゞしもしますほうし丸いかなる事もあらん時ハ、ハハをやちきやうすへし), indicating that at this point Kiyomichi’s son was likely still a child or young man, and that Kiyomichi’s affine (who was not listed as a “wife”) had some authority over their child.¹⁰⁶⁵

Though the full extent and history of Kiyomichi’s holdings is unclear, the combined land purchase records and inheritances he received demonstrate that he was particularly well-off, especially in terms of his cash wealth. This is another important distinction; the amount of cash each sub-lineage possessed is never listed in their inheritance records, and is therefore wholly unknown. Cash was too mercurial to write about in inheritance documents, and constitutes an invisible element of inheritance that may have buoyed up secondary kin well after they stopped gaining lands or titles. In the case of the Sumino, we can see that they were well off in terms of their monetary wealth, but this is only visible because of the extensive set of land purchases they made. Among all the Nejime sub-lineages, the Sumino estate was second only to the Ikehata in

¹⁰⁶⁴ Kenmu 1 (1334).10.25 *Takebe Kiyomitsu (Seikō?) yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #492). The

¹⁰⁶⁵ Kenmu 1 (1334).10.25 *Takebe Kiyomitsu (Seikō?) yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #492).

the total size of their lands.

No records survive from Kiyomichi or his immediate successors; a military record from 1339 is his only surviving document.¹⁰⁶⁶ Local histories vary in their accounts of Sumino succession during the initial decades of the Nanbokuchō period; typically, the names of Sumino members for several generations are misreported, guessed at, or simply do not match the record at all, owing to the gap in actual medieval documentation. Gomi Yoshio has dedicated a lengthy article to the problems in tracing the Sumino due in part to the sporadic nature of their record and embellished by conflicting reports on the group from early-modern Tokugawa genealogists.¹⁰⁶⁷

The largest problem is with the Tokugawa-era misinterpretation or fictionalization of a Sumino founder called Kiyokuni (清国 and also sometimes 清正), who does not appear anywhere in the *Nejime Monjo*, and whose existence would contradict the records of Kiyomasa and Kiyomichi, whom Kiyokuni would need to replace.¹⁰⁶⁸ As Kiyokuni does not exist in the medieval record, later genealogies are therefore particularly suspect regarding the Sumino. A problem that Tokugawa scholars may have run into is that the Sumino seem to have eventually inherited a few documentary records from the Yamamoto and Ikehata sub-lines (probably along with some of their lands), making it easy for early modern record-keepers to conflate and confuse the groups. Verifiable records from the Sumino resume at the turn of the fifteenth century under Kiyomichi's son or grandson, referred to as both Kurō Nobutoshi and Kiyotoshi (信俊 and 清俊), and by the Buddhist name Shami Yūzen (沙弥祐泉). Yūzen lists Sumino

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ryakuō 2 (1339).8.27 *Takebe Kiyomichi gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #459 and vol. 2, #9).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Gomi Yoshio "Ōsumi no kuni Nejime gunji shoke Sumino-shi ni tsuite," especially the two conflicting family trees that Gomi compares, found on p. 55.

¹⁰⁶⁸ See the *Nejime kyōdo-shi*, vol. 2, pp. 295-296, which includes an image of the Sumino memorial stone and a transcription of it. This is one of the origin points for the inclusion of Kiyokuni in the Sumino line, but he is not present in the actual record. It is most likely that "Kiyokuni" and Kiyomasa are one and the same, but this is not the only figure who is out of place in later genealogies. I would refer the reader to Gomi's comprehensive study for the full details on the conflicting nature of Sumino records.

founder Nichinen (Kiyomasa) as the originator of his estate, solidifying the link back to the root of his property line and further ruling out the cooked-up story of Kiyokuni, who does not seem to have existed at all.¹⁰⁶⁹

By the fifteenth century, a unique dynamic between the Sumino and the main line had developed. As Suzuki Katsuya points out, in 1412, Nejime head Kiyohira administered Sumino succession directly in place of any higher authority, a departure from previous generations, in which sub-lines still occasionally interacted directly with Kyushu, Kyoto, and Kantō courts when seeking to certify their bequests.¹⁰⁷⁰ Suzuki bases his analysis on a 1412 Sumino *okibumi* instruction written by the Nejime-*donō* Kiyohira himself in place of the Sumino head, which confirmed the transfer of Yūzen's lands.¹⁰⁷¹ It is certain that this shift in authority is a significant step toward the sublimation of the Sumino by the Nejime main line.

However, Suzuki overlooks that Kiyohira's *okibumi* was a direct reiteration of Yūzen's wills, a pair of bequests written a decade earlier in 1402, and omits them entirely in his article.¹⁰⁷² This is problematic, as it implies that the *okibumi* from Nejime head Kiyohira was the primary document of succession for the Sumino, when in fact it was only a reconfirmation of the Sumino head Yūzen's earlier grants. While Suzuki is correct that the Nejime oversaw Sumino succession, they did not direct or determine it for them, and instead confirmed the internally independent succession decisions of the Sumino head. This fits with my general analysis of post-Kamakura legal matters, as central courts grew increasingly unreliable and local corporate

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ōei 9 (1402).10.28 *Sumino Kurō Nyūdō yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #498), and Ōei 9 (1402).12.9 *Shami Yūzen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #476). Document #476 also reiterates ties to the Hachiman shrine, which is listed as the central proprietor in some of the Sata lands in Minamimata and Nishimoto *sono*, as it had been in earlier transfers such as Enbun 3 (1358).6.10 *Takebe Kiyomasu yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #474), detailed earlier in this section.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Suzuki Katsuya, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite," p. 20.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ōei 19 (1412).3.20 *Takebe Kiyohira okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #471).

¹⁰⁷² Suzuki Katsuya, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite," p. 20.

groups stepped in to fill the shoes of the increasingly defunct Ashikaga judiciary. Further examples of such practices will appear in Chapter VII, as many groups across the archipelago innovated new methods of confirming succession and maintaining group solidarity that eliminated the need for any higher confirmational authority.

In his set of two original *yuzurijō* from 1402, (Sumino Yūzen) Kiyotoshi passed on five parcels of land in the Nejime core region in the first grant, as well as the more scattered and indistinct Sumino holdings in Sata and Isashiki in the second, all to his son and *chakushi* Hachirō Masakiyo (政清, sometimes written as Kiyomasa 清政).¹⁰⁷³ Yūzen included instructions in the primary will that if Hachirō had no male children the land should pass on to another heir, Magoshirō (*moshi Hachirō danshi naku sōrawaba, Magoshirō kono ryō o aitsuku beki nari* もし 八郎男子なく候はゞ、まこ四郎このりやうおあいつくへきなり).¹⁰⁷⁴ The holdings were the same property purchased by the Sumino in the 1330s, with the exception of the far-flung paddy land in Hakata passed down by Kiyomichi's mother, which were probably too far-off to maintain during the intervening seventy years of civil war. It is possible that Kiyotoshi (Yūzen) is the adult name of Masuhōshimaru, though this would make him at least seventy years old. Alternatively, it is also possible that he is Masuhōshimaru's son (Kiyomichi's grandson). Regardless, by the turn of the fifteenth century, although Sumino succession was confirmed internally by the Nejime head, the role of the Nejime-*dono* was still merely to authenticate the succession designs of Yūzen in place of a higher political authority in Hakata or Kyoto.

The shift away from the use of central judiciary bodies to confirm wills certainly

¹⁰⁷³ Ōei 9 (1402).10.28 *Sumino Kurō Nyūdō yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #498), and Ōei 9 (1402).12.9 *Shami Yūzen yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #476). Document #476 includes the *kana* for Masakiyo's name, but in kanji it also appears as Kiyomasa in other documents, making him the second "Kiyomasa" in the Sumino lineage.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ōei 9 (1402).10.28 *Sumino Kurō Nyūdō yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #498).

reinforces the idea of the gradual elevation of the authority of the Nejime head over the Nejime *ichizoku*. Yet the direct relationship with the Nejime-*dono* (as opposed to a distant source of documentary confirmations) was also mutually beneficial for the Sumino, as it allowed a more direct interface with their political superior, who had a direct interest in supporting them as a part of his extended familial and military base.

In 1410, two years before confirming Sumino succession, Nejime-*dono* Kiyohira sold a retirement residence (a *yashiki*) in Nishimoto to Yūzen, then called “Sumino Saemon Jirō-*dono*,” for five *kanmon*, which was his to pass on to his heirs.¹⁰⁷⁵ In 1425, another Sumino member (possibly Yūzen’s brother) resold the retirement residence to an another unknown figure for the same five *kanmon* price, referring to it as land sold to them permanently by their main house or *chaku-ke* (嫡家) and the Nejime-*dono*.¹⁰⁷⁶ This record demonstrates that the economics of subordination to the Nejime head sometimes mutually benefitted the sub-lines, but also shows that there were multiple landholding members of the Sumino even in the early fifteenth century, as it seems that Yūzen had at least two male relatives with land of their own (based their land sales records),¹⁰⁷⁷ one of whom (named Kiyoshige 清茂, otherwise unknown) wrote his own *yuzurijō* transferring multiple small agricultural plots in the Ōnejime-*in* area of Yokoyama no *mura* to a separate, secondary Sumino heir called Kamebōmaru (亀房丸) in 1411.¹⁰⁷⁸

Sumino records throughout the fifteenth century remain sporadic and piecemeal, but in 1496, a final pair of identical bequests from Kiyonobu (清宣), main heir of the Sumino, confirms

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ōei 17 (1410).6.3 *Nejime Kiyohira kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #499).

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ōei 32 (1425).3.29 *Sumino Kiyoshige kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #500).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ōei 32 (1425).3.29 *Sumino Kiyoshige kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #500), and Ōei 32 (1425).3.29 *Sumino Magoshirō Kiyotane kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1#501)

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ōei 18 (1411).3.19 *Kiyoshige yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #407). Neither Kiyoshige or Kamebōmaru (亀房丸) are otherwise known figures. Kiyoshige lists some of the land as the property of his grandfather Michihiro (祖父道廣 or possibly Dōka), another unknown member of the Sumino. That all these figures are otherwise invisible in the record is evidence of the ongoing lines of property outside the main line.

that for over 160 years since the outbreak of civil war, the Sumino remained an independent and economically prosperous group, passing on various lands including the core *sono* and residences in and around Nishimoto and the northern Sata/Isashiki area without losing their independent property rights or social identity.¹⁰⁷⁹ Despite the lack of records that they engaged in military activity past the first few years of the Nanbokuchō period, Kiyonobu (清宣) also reveals that the Sumino had not wholly abandoned their military profession. His wills each state that although he had previously passed on his land to a son called Kiyotoshi (清智), that son had since died in battle in Kimotsuki, and that his granddaughter (*mago* 孫, named *inutsuru-nyō* 犬羆女) would take over the Sumino holdings as his main heir (*chakuijo* 嫡女).¹⁰⁸⁰

Unfortunately, the surrounding record is so sparse that tracing the Sumino further with any degree of certainty is not possible. However, it is valuable to note that at the end of the fifteenth century the Sumino were still able to engage in military activity, and were still a part of the broader Nejime military network, by then more subordinate to the Nejime head (who replaced the role of central authorities in certifying inheritance and succession for the group), but still retained their own identity and interests.¹⁰⁸¹ Further, it is still apparent that, at least in the absence of preferred male heirs, daughters could still take over a household as needed at the turn of the sixteenth century, even after a clear shift toward male heirs had occurred (demonstrated in the 1402 bequest of Kiyonobu's lineal ancestor Yūzen, above).¹⁰⁸²

We know little of what happened in the lengthy gaps in Sumino succession, precisely

¹⁰⁷⁹ Meiō 5 (1496).11.5 *Sumino Kiyonobu yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #768), and Meiō 5 (1496).12.5 *Sumino Kiyonobu yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #502).

¹⁰⁸⁰ Meiō 5 (1496).11.5 *Sumino Kiyonobu yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #768), and Meiō 5 (1496).12.5 *Sumino Kiyonobu yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #502).

¹⁰⁸¹ This is also the general inclination of Gomi Yoshio, see “Ōsumi no kuni Nejime gunji shoke Sumino-shi ni tsuite,” pp. 104 and 100, where he postulates that the Sumino were likely an integrated part of the Nejime *bushidan* retainer corps throughout the late medieval period.

¹⁰⁸² Ōei 9 (1402).10.28 *Sumino Kurō Nyūdō yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #498).

how or why they began using the Sumino name, or the exact relationships of the various Sumino members. By 1412 the Nejime head Kiyohira reached a level of authority over the Sumino wherein he directly confirmed their succession in the place of any outside political or administrative body. However, the Nejime head did not choose heirs for the Sumino, and there is evidence of divided landholding and multiple independent heirs within the group until at least 1425. That the Nejime-*dono* confirmed Sumino succession indicates that they had succeeded in maintaining kin ties despite the Sumino abandonment of military activity after 1340, which Suzuki Katsuya believes was an attempt at establishing independence from the main line.¹⁰⁸³

In light of these later documents I am not confident in this assertion, or at least see no concrete evidence for it, though it is not outside the realm of possibility. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Sumino traded land with the Nejime and other locals, submitted documents to the Nejime-*dono* for confirmation, and even communicated extensively with the Nejime-*dono* in *waka* poetry exchanges, which leads me to believe that although they were not active in battle, they were active in the *ichizoku* network, likely continuing the textually invisible activities that had made them wealthy in the first place.¹⁰⁸⁴

Conclusion

In 1480, Nejime head Shigekiyo (重清), who took the Buddhist name Shami Mosei (沙弥茂清, which can also be read as “Shigekiyo”), wrote a single three-point *okibumi* transferring

¹⁰⁸³ Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei no kōzō - Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite,” p. 20.

¹⁰⁸⁴ The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Nejime-*dono* Tadakiyo (忠清), known most frequently in documents as *Ichimi* (一味) or *Sonchō* (尊重) was a *waka* connoisseur, and even presented his poetry to emperor Go-Kashiwabara. See *KKSI* vol. 1, #477- 481 and #503 for correspondence between the Sumino and Nejime heads, and #244 for one compilation of *Sonchō*'s poetry. See also Gomi Yoshio “Ōsumi no kuni Nejime gunji shoke Sumino-shi ni tsuite,” pp. 110-111 for Gomi's comments on Tadakiyo's correspondence with the Sumino and his visit with the emperor. The letters between the Sumino and Nejime heads are often indecipherable to the modern reader due to a lack of context, but their frequency and shared context alone indicates a close, enduring tie.

his property to a son, Yakubōmaru (益房丸), the childhood name of Tadakiyo or *Sonchō* (尊重, his Buddhist name).¹⁰⁸⁵ This is the final medieval bequest from the Nejime main line prior to a long documentary gap in terms of inheritance records. The record, while brief, provides a valuable conclusion to the Nejime story.

In the first point in his *okibumi*, Shigekiyo made it clear that Tadakiyo was to inherit all of his lands, old and new (前知行當知行之所領等) without any obstruction.¹⁰⁸⁶ In the second point, Kiyoshige instructed Tadakiyo on how to manage his kinsmen (*shinrui* 親類), stating that it was natural for them to occasionally speak their mind and mention details (complain), but that if they were negligent (in their duties), they must been seen as disruptive, and that the same went for members of the household (*ikkachū* 一家中), and that in the event that these people failed in their patronage (*hiiki* 贖賈), they were all mutually guilty of the same offense (親類之間自然雅意之子細申、被致緩怠候する時者、則可違中候、於一家中も可爲同前候、万一贖賈方候はんする時者可爲同罪候).¹⁰⁸⁷ In the third point, contrasting with the second, Kiyoshige implored his successor to both speak clearly and listen closely to others, considering their points carefully, both in this realm and in the Buddhist realm (從他所當所之事疎儀二被申候なとと、傳説にも被聞候する時者、頓ニ可承候).¹⁰⁸⁸ While Shigekiyo's late-fifteenth century will invokes slightly more hierarchical language than was present in earlier generations, the main theme throughout its three points is one of collaboration and mutuality rather than pure control. According to historian Niina Kazuhito, though Shigekiyo's son *Sonchō* (尊重) took on the

¹⁰⁸⁵ Bunmei 12 (1480).2.27 *Shami Mosei okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #234).

¹⁰⁸⁶ Bunmei 12 (1480).2.27 *Shami Mosei okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #234). An additional statement follows instructing others not to interfere in his inheritance.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Bunmei 12 (1480).2.27 *Shami Mosei okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #234).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Bunmei 12 (1480).2.27 *Shami Mosei okibumi* (KKSI vol. 1, #234). *Jūta* (從他) is an abbreviation of *jūtaju* (從他受), the act of handing down and abiding by Buddhist precepts, and is likely a reference to the afterlife.

mantle of Nejime-*dono* and was his singular heir, Shigekiyo's daughter formed a martial bond with the Satsuma branch of the Shimazu, further solidifying Nejime ties to the powerful group and generating closer connections to their later *daimyo* lords.¹⁰⁸⁹

The Nejime sub-lineages, with their diverse strategies and outcomes, are a microcosm of the whole of the warrior class in the mid-fourteenth century and beyond. Each sub-lineage operated differently. A general trend in the rising authority of the Nejime-*dono* is visible, but the degree to which this affected them varied. The one-man Kita folded quickly due to unfortunate circumstances surrounding Kiyotake's northern estate. The Yamamoto survived for several generations before electing to return most of their land back into the main line, though some independent property survived through a barely-visible matriline. The Miyahara are impossible to trace in detail, but continued to exist, undocumented, for generations, appearing later as military subordinates of the Nejime-*dono*, but nowhere else in the record. The Ikehata, conglomerated through land donations, inheritances, and rewards from multiple sources, were a military powerhouse that pushed south, first into the Sata territory and then offshore onto Tanegashima, retaining independence. The Sumino, who evolved out of the Nishimoto and adopted an unknown, apparently lucrative profession from their position near the Nejime port, developed economic interests that allowed them to buyout smallholders across the peninsula and endure alongside their Ikehata and Nejime cousins into the Tokugawa period, composing *waka* poetry in regular correspondence with the Nejime head, and taking to the field only when it benefitted them. The details of how they managed to do any of this are unknown.

The sub-lineages supported and benefitted from sponsorship of the main line, which undoubtedly profited most of all from these enduring relationships. Yet I must emphasize that

¹⁰⁸⁹ A family tree demonstrating these relational dynamics appears in Niina Kazuhito, *Muromachi-ki Shimazu-shi ryōgoku no seiji kōzō*, p. 357.

the heads of the Nejime were well-aware of the symbiotic nature of the coexistence of their network of kin, which diffused the management of often troublesome regions that would otherwise have distracted from the larger political goals and interests of the Nejime-*dono* and provided a concrete base of military support. A shift toward patriliney is visible across the sub-lineages, though numerous vital female figures (highlighted in Figure #25) retained social capital and economic prerogatives as mothers, widows, and daughters operating within an increasingly male-slanted social sphere.

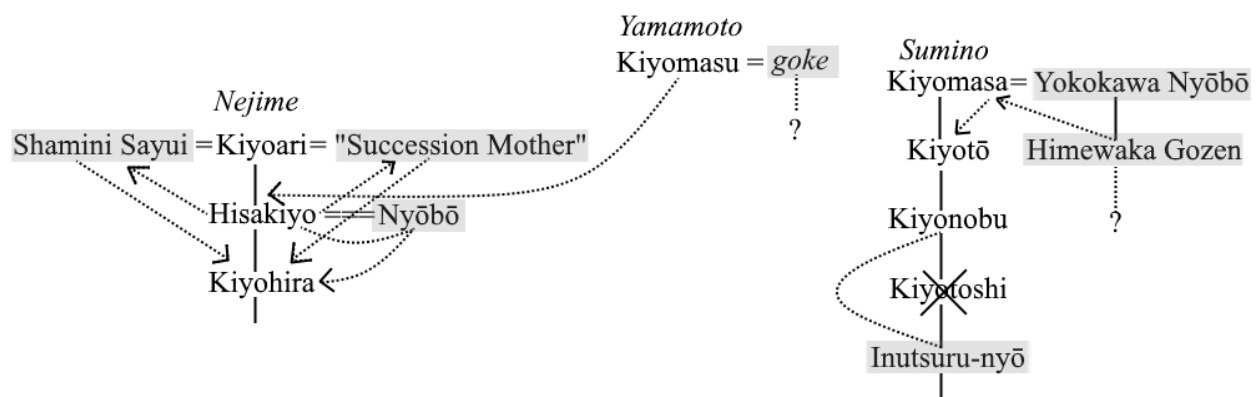


Figure 25: Examples of female ties in the later Nejime ichizoku

If we were to liken the Nejime to a family business (a model which fits the medieval military profession well), the sub-lineages served as small-scale, regional branch managers who prevented local problems from further complicating the day-to-day operation of the central group headquarters, which by then had grown into a major military operation, the leadership of which must have been enormously complex and time-consuming. The head of the Nejime had no interest in pushing out the regional management that kept the *ichizoku* enterprise operating at scale; rather, he benefitted from the managerial labors of his many collaterals kin. Certifying and maintaining their positions as local estate holders and consolidating the documentary processes of military activity were parts of a concerted effort by the successive Nejime-*dono* to streamline their own personal duties and maintain collateral support, all while growing their regional base.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION - FLEXIBLE KINSHIP

This concluding chapter uses a series of thematic comparisons of the Nakano/Ichikawa and Nejime to engage broader trends in the historiography of medieval Japanese society and test established ideas on warrior society and premodern Japanese kinship. Using examples from the *Nejime Monjo* and *Ichikawa Monjo* developed in Chapters I through VI, I will examine overlapping elements of the flexibility of medieval warrior kinship and the viability of broad theoretical familial “systems” as they have been applied to studies of the warrior class.

Though many elements of these systems are reflected throughout this dissertation, here I will argue that the tendency to emphasize social systems first, and therefore place local or regional specificity second, can hinder our understanding of specific groups of people and the places they inhabited. I will argue instead for a holistic and locally-specified approach to warrior kinship that integrates social, political, military, and environmental analysis.

In the first half of this chapter, I highlight the most malleable and variable elements of warrior kinship, including adoption, widowhood, and military kinship. Through these processes, the flexibility of each individual group was enhanced, allowing for a great degree of highly contingent social strategizing by men and women of the warrior class. In the second half of this chapter, I provide a brief analysis of systems of kinship developed by other scholars. I will argue that the flexibility and variability visible in socially-constructed group identity and kinship (most evident in adoption, widowhood, and “marriage” or “non-marriage”) make early medieval

warriors particularly resistant to systematic analysis or categorization, and that the asystemic nature of warrior kinship was an advantageous feature that developed out of a pressing need for adaptability and fluidity. The rough currents and uneven terrain (political, social, and physical) of medieval Japan led to a plethora of relational dynamics and multiple modes of relatedness, which warriors used to their advantage on a proactive basis.

Adoption, “Marriage,” Widowhood, and Military Networking as Nonbiological Kinship

Throughout medieval and early modern Japan, adoption was commonly used to generate suitable heirs and transfer lands and authority within a single *ichizoku* or from one name group to another, regardless of the biological availability of children or other potential descendants.¹⁰⁹⁰ “Marriage adoption,” which usually references cases in which a son-in-law married into an adoptive household for the purpose of succession to a father-in-law or mother-in-law’s estate, as well as direct adoption of individuals without any matrimonial tie, were each exceedingly common.¹⁰⁹¹ Direct adoption, like marriage adoption (also commonly called “son-in-law adoption”), involved the selection of an adult who was already capable, mature, and well suited (in the eyes of the adopter) to assume control of lands, official duties, and familial prerogatives.¹⁰⁹²

¹⁰⁹⁰ For a general treatment of the topic of adoption, see Tabata Yasuko, “Kodai, chūsei no ‘ie’ to kazoku: yōshi o chūshin to shite.” Much of the article is dedicated to a terminological comparison between “adoptees” (*yōshi* 養子 and *yūshi* 猶子), who were often biologically unrelated but socially affiliated relatives connected to an outside group through links such as those of wet nurses, marriage alliances, or longstanding legal fiction. Tabata argues that most adoptions occurred within groups of such relatives, biological or otherwise, and were thus not the adoptions of previously unknown people. See pp. 62-63 for her conclusion on the topic, which is that medieval families were large-scale groups not bound to blood relations. I have come to the same conclusions in both of my case studies.

¹⁰⁹¹ On the topic of “marriage adoption” or “son-in-law adoption” in late medieval Japan, see Kurushima Noriko, “Chūsei kōki no buke to kon’in, yōshi kankei: saigoku o sozai ni,” especially pp. 97 on the definition of adoptive marital practices, which often involved endogamy within extended kin groups and “marriage” to cousins or nephews by daughters from main lines. Kurushima notes that the term for “son-in-law adoption,” (*muko yōshi* 婿養子), though coined in the Edo period, has practical roots in the fourteenth century. In English, see also Kurushima Noriko, “Marriage and Female Inheritance in Medieval Japan.” I will examine more of Kurushima’s work, particularly on *ichizoku ikki*, in the latter half of this chapter.

¹⁰⁹² On son-in-law adoption as a rite of the aristocracy, which was employed by warriors as well, see Wakita Haruko, “Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History,” p. 88.

In the early medieval period, when it is mentioned in documents, adoption almost universally refers to the selection of an adult heir (often a close or distant relative such as a nephew or cousin, but also kin through affinal ties), who inherited a large portion (usually the largest share) of an estate. The adoption of children is far less common in the record, and almost all documented cases of succession through adoptees involve the adoption of one adult by another.¹⁰⁹³ The selection of heirs from inside the natal kin group, as in the selection of a younger brother to succeed an older brother (visible in the case of Nejime Kiyonari and Kiyoari), did not need to be couched in the terminology of adoption (though it could be). Instead, such terminology, in which an adoptee was designated using the legal category of adoptee or *yōshi* (養子) and selected as an heir, could be used to convert an “outsider” (*tanin* 他人) into a kin group member.¹⁰⁹⁴ The adoption of capable leaders from other bloodlines led to transfers of property like that from the Nakano to the Ichikawa (one of a half-dozen adoptions visible in the span of only a few generations of Nakano records), with the goal of stabilizing otherwise internally conflicted sets of relatives.¹⁰⁹⁵

Adoption was not the only form of nonbiologically-driven kinship common in the medieval period. As Jack Goody notes, it is important to consider adoption “...in the context of

¹⁰⁹³ For example, unrelated adoptees were often selected over nephews, who were regularly competitors rather than allies (though this was by no means a universal scenario). See also Kitazume Masao, *Chūsei zenki no mibunsei to sonraku kyōdotai*, pp. 116-126 on “adoptees” (*yōshi* 養子 and *yūshi* 猶子), mostly within the *Azuma Kagami*.

¹⁰⁹⁴ The source guide *‘Kamakura ibun’ ni miru chūsei no kotoba jiten* defines *yōshi* as a *tanin* raised as one’s own child. See pp. 80-81. The entry states that in general, linguistic divisions between female and male adoptees were not made, and the term could be applied evenly to adoptees of both sexes (though the female-specific *yōjo* 養女 also appears in five surviving Kamakura documents).

¹⁰⁹⁵ The legacy of the Ichikawa was built on the transfer of property and leadership authority from one name group to another. The adoption of a male Ichikawa child by the female head of the Nakano is a fascinating case, but it is by no means the first or only in the early Nakano records, which are full of examples of adoption. See the Nakano/Ichikawa family tree in the frontmatter, which includes seven known adoptees, including the group founder. In order: 1. Nakano Yoshinari, 2. Ren’a, 3. Nakano Nakayoshi, 4. Odagiri Sanemichi, 5. Ichikawa Morifusa, 6. Kagetsune, 7. Sukekiyo, 8. Matasaburo.

other quasi-kinship relationships such as fostering, god-parenthood, etc.”¹⁰⁹⁶ Affinal ties and widowhood undoubtedly belong within this set of “quasi-kinship” for many medieval warriors, and can provide useful context to the concepts of relatedness involved in adoptive and other non-blood ties. Military bonding and patronage often took the shape of a form of loose, often wholly undefined kinship. An expanding military network involving military “relatives” in the Nejime case allowed for a continually broadening base of power, and included people who we can identify as both related and unrelated subordinate soldiers of the growing Nejime military apparatus. I would like to explore in detail the malleability of identity present in both the Nejime and the Ichikawa, with an eye on adoptive relationships, marriage, widowhood, and military kinship, each of which stretched the bounds of the kin group and involved creative relational processes that reveal a great deal about the nature of warrior kinship in general.

Adoption in Context: “Outsiders” and “In-Laws” in the *Nejime* and *Ichikawa*

In the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa, group identity was not contingent upon blood relationships or a prescribed closeness of relation by birth. In each group, recognition of shared identity was a flexible tool, and group membership or non-membership was determined differently at different points in the history of each *ichizoku*. Like marriage, adoption was not systematized or culturally specified, and was employed variously in the records of different name groups. Adoptees were regularly the sons of affines from other “marriages,” who, through bonding with their in-laws, were regularly selected as main heirs. In many cases, the difference

¹⁰⁹⁶ Jack Goody, “Adoption in Cross-Cultural Perspective,” (p. 56). I have already covered the topic of god-parenthood in Chapter II, though no specific examples of this practice survive in the Nejime or Nakano/Ichikawa cases. I argue for the inclusion of military kinship and marriage alongside considerations of adoption as important corollaries in the medieval Japanese case. Though Goody’s main goal is the comparison of abundant Eurasian adoptive practices with the less common set of adoptive processes in Africa, his article is also instructive for other comparisons, and I agree with his basic conclusion (on p. 77) that “...many theoretical and analytical problems have arisen because of the tendency of comparative jurists and sociologists...to treat all unilineal descent groups as very similar kinds of unit, wherever found, without fully appreciating the great influence that difference in property relations have upon their structure.”

between adoption and “marriage adoption” or “son-in-law adoption” is blurred.

The most prominent example of the blurred line between marriage adoption and direct adoption is that of Ichikawa Morifusa. We have little record of the relationship between Morifusa’s father Shigefusa and his adoptive mother (Nakano) Shakua. It is unknown whether the adoption of the son Morifusa preceded or followed a “marriage” between Shakua and the father Shigefusa, or whether Morifusa’s father should be considered an adopted son-in-law of Shakua’s father Nakano Tadayoshi, though he was never listed as such by either of Shakua’s parents or by Shakua herself, who was always in direct control of her father’s property.¹⁰⁹⁷ Although Morifusa was a nominal adoptee, his selection as heir may have been predicated on the relationship between his adoptive mother and birth father (who defended his adoption and inheritance in subsequent lawsuits and was therefore closely involved in the process of his son’s takeover of the Nakano estate).¹⁰⁹⁸ It is equally possible that the relationship between Shakua and Morifusa’s father followed the adoption and was unrelated to the selection of Morifusa as Shakua’s heir.

Of course, adoption was a system of give-and-take that also allowed those with too many heirs to discharge the ballast of unneeded kin. In contrast to the Nakano, who imported numerous people like Ichikawa Morifusa to bolster their ranks, the outward-adoption of secondary (non-inheriting) children into neighboring groups allowed the Nejime to absorb neighboring lands and export sons into potential rival groups, and was a process that rid the group of excess inheritors (a byproduct of multiple procreative partnerships that led to an abundance of children and the

¹⁰⁹⁷ Shakua’s bequest makes no mention of Morifusa’s father Shigefusa, and Morifusa was the official adoptee (among several others, who did not inherit major properties). Bun’ei 9 (1272).8.18 *Ama Shakua Amidabutsu yuzurijō* (KI, 15:11547; SNS, 4, pp. 287-288).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316) and Shōō 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480).

proliferation of sub-lineages). Each adoption was unique, and there was no normative process that determined how adoptive relationships were formed, what naming practices endured from birth or were reconfigured upon adoption, or how an adoptee identified after the adoption was complete, though such elements of the adoption were undoubtedly a part of the specific negotiations involved in the process.¹⁰⁹⁹

The out-marriage of secondary heirs, male and female, helped to form bonds with neighbors, and is also visible in daughters. In the Ichikawa case, female children gained formal (documented) names for the first time through their marriages, whereafter they were labeled as the daughter of the house into which they married (such as the “Ōita daughter,” who married into the neighboring and later rival Ōita *ichizoku*, and inherited Ichikawa and Ōita land on their mutual border).¹¹⁰⁰ Yet although their named identities were directly bound to external interests, these women remained adjacent to or even lived within the boundaries of Ichikawa landholdings as local residents, and their relationships with neighbors both relieved the group of potential economic dependents and forged bonds of alliance across the region, serving as social agents of the Ichikawa. These women clearly held enduring ties to their natal house, which I explored in

¹⁰⁹⁹ This is most visible in several of the secondary sons of Nejime Kiyoyasu, who became members of the local Fujiwara and Sata as adoptees, and changed their names in the adoption process. See Shōwa 5 (1316).11.12 *Takebe Nobuchika yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #548) for Sata Nobuchika’s adoption of son-in-law Chikayoshi, and Genkō 3 (1323).4.21 *Fujiwara Tokiyoshi yuzurijō utsushi* (KKSI vol. 1, #564) for Fujiwara Tokiyoshi’s adoption of son-in-law Kiyoyoshi, both sons of Nejime Kiyoyasu whose adult names reflect their new kin group identities. These two “marriage adoptions” share the normative change in naming visible in many, but not all adoptions (for example, Ichikawa Morifusa, who may have been a product of marriage adoption, did not change either his personal or family name, possibly because his adoptive mother married his father, allowing passage of property to the different name group without any nominal reconfiguration of identity, though the timeline of the marriage and adoption are unclear). The Nejime outward marriage adoptions listed above also stand in contrast to the fictive adoption of Nejime (Ikehata) Kiyotane by Sata Chikamasa, whose “adoption” of Kiyotane was made strictly for the purpose of selling him land, and did not involve a shift in naming or identity for Kiyotane, who continued to be a Nejime member and founded his own sub-lineage thereafter. See Bunpō 2 (1318).12.10 *Takebe Chikamasa kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #712) and Bunpō 2 (1318).12.10 *Takebe Chikamasa yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #711) for the sale record and accompanying bequest, which served to legitimize the sale.

¹¹⁰⁰ See Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22) and Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

detail in Chapter IV for three Ichikawa daughters, who were halves of brother-sister pairs of local control that endured during these daughter's lifetimes.

The adoption of adults occurred regularly in many warrior households despite occasional bans (by both the Kamakura government and by individual house heads) on the transmission of property to “outsiders” (*tanin*). *Tanin* as a social category was occasionally employed in documents to place conditions on the sale¹¹⁰¹ or bequest¹¹⁰² of land to non-relatives, yet in the combined records of the Nejime and Ichikawa, the term appears only a half-dozen times, including as a legal term used by contentious potential inheritors to attempt to delegitimize their rivals in judicial matters of inheritance.¹¹⁰³ Ichikawa Morifusa, himself an adoptee, included a stipulation that the lands he granted to the “mother of his children” (she is listed this way and not as a “wife,” a topic I will take up shortly) were hers to divide up as she saw fit, but that she had to do so among their children and grandchildren, and not pass the land to *tanin* “outsiders.” If she did make such an outward transfer, he instructed the children to take the land back from their mother and divide it up among themselves.¹¹⁰⁴ Morifusa's successor Sukefusa also forbade the passage of land to *tanin*.¹¹⁰⁵

As a social category, the prohibition of grants to *tanin* did not preclude or overlap with

¹¹⁰¹ As in Nejime Kiyotsuna's will, see Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #706).

¹¹⁰² As in Ichikawa Morifusa's will, see Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

¹¹⁰³ The most obvious example is the effort by Ichikawa Morifusa's Nakano rivals to curtail his takeover of Shikumi, in which the term *tanin* was employed jointly by his rivals to delegitimize him, including by another competing adoptee! See Chapter IV, as well as Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316) and Shōō 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480). Another unrelated case can be found in *Kamakura ibun*, 14:10617, and is translated in my master's thesis, “Alpine Samurai,” p. 147 (Appendix A, document #3). In that case, a daughter quarreled with an adopted son over his inheritance of a *jitō* post as well as the murder of a servant. The court upheld the adoptive succession of the post, rejecting the claims of the daughter (who referred to her competitor as a *torkio* 取子 or “taken child,” possibly a derogatory reference), reiterating the invalidity of assailing a legal rival on the basis of blood relations, which held no more legal weight than adoptive ties once those ties were properly documented.

¹¹⁰⁴ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

¹¹⁰⁵ Kōei 2 (1343).5.26 *Ichikawa Sukefusa yuzurijō* (SNS, 5, pp. 475-476).

adoptions, because adoptees became recognized *ichizoku* members upon integration with the kin group through either direct adoption or marriage adoption. The exclusivity of the terms for “outsider” (*tanin* 他人) and “adoptee” (*yōshi* 養子)¹¹⁰⁶ is demonstrated clearly in a compelling set of bequests from the records of the Shijime, a distantly related but socially distinct kin group from the Kitamata region of Nejime-in.¹¹⁰⁷ In the bequests, from 1328, an adoptive Shijime father and adopted “Fujiwara” son co-signed two *yuzurijō* bequests. The first called for peace within the Shijime *ichimon* (following the adoption) and immediately after commanded that none of his heirs pass their land to *tanin* outsiders.¹¹⁰⁸ Both bequests include provisions against selling or granting land to outsiders, and land sales seem to have been the greatest concern.¹¹⁰⁹

The term “outsider” clearly did not apply to the adoptee himself, who took over the Shijime and signed both documents as the “Fujiwara Adoptee” (藤原養子), a nominally distinct but socially integrated member of the kin group who would manage it thereafter.¹¹¹⁰ The adoptee also signed off on his adoptive father’s second bequest to a third (apparently birth) son, which mandated that any land sales had to be agreed upon by all three sons and that the kin group

¹¹⁰⁶ *Yōshi* (養子) is the most common of several words for “adoptee” and was the most commonly employed legalistic term. In its kanji form, it appears in a total of 197 documents from the Kamakura period. In comparison, *toriko* (取子) appears in only five Kamakura records.

¹¹⁰⁷ The Shijime, like the Sata and Tashiro, were socially distinct from the Nejime and do not overlap in documents.

¹¹⁰⁸ Karyaku 3 (1328).11.15 *Shami Dōshō, Fujiwara yōshi renshō yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #573).

¹¹⁰⁹ This series of records is referenced in detail in Gomi Yoshio’s “Shijime Monjo no saikōsatsu.” On p. 151, Gomi provides a detailed explanation of these Shijime bequests within his larger investigation into the sub-lineage (which was prompted by the discovery of a thirteenth century stupa from the group in Ōnejime-chō). Gomi shares my assertion that by the late Kamakura period, the political and economic influence of the Nejime from Minamimata had grown to such a point that they had begun to encroach on neighboring holdings, and that areas that were not previously under Nejime control now fell into their hands going into the Nanbokuchō period. Gomi characterizes this shift as a general pattern of the weakening of smaller landholding officers (like the Shijime) in favor of “real” power holders (like the Nejime and the Shimazu, who Gomi views as having put a sort of 2-sided pincher hold on the Shijime). The Nejime takeover of half of the Shijime properties by the early 1300s is evident from document #3 in the *Shijime Monjo*, Kagen 3 (1305).3.15 *Nejime-in Kitamata Kōrimoto mura benzaishi-shiki narabi ni ta sono zaike nado betsupujō*, reproduced on pp. 142 and 162 of Gomi’s article. *Kōrimoto* straddles the northern and southern borders of Nejime-in, and the southern *Kōrimoto* was the core of the group’s holdings dating to the late eleventh century.

¹¹¹⁰ Karyaku 3 (1328).11.15 *Shami Dōshō, Fujiwara yōshi renshō yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #573).

(*ichimon*) as a whole would bear responsibility for settling matters they could not agree on.¹¹¹¹

The adoptee was included in this process; he was far from an outsider, and held ultimate authority in enforcing his adoptive father's command not to dilute the corporate estate.¹¹¹²

Similarly, Nejime Kiyotsuna, in one of his wills that summarized the series of land grants to his main heir Yoritsuna, issued a blanket statement that none of the core lands he listed could be sold to outsiders.¹¹¹³ This was clearly a concern from Kiyotsuna, who worked to avoid the fragmentation of the landed foundation of the Nejime, which was based squarely in the large set of estates, fields, and other properties listed in the document. Though no adoptee was involved in Kiyotsuna's case, the Nejime and Shijime heads were each concerned with the decay of their core holdings through passage to socially unrelated land buyers, who were a threat as *tanin* outsiders in ways that adoptees, who maintained and even enhanced the united corporate entity of the *ichizoku*, were not.

In another series of records from the *Nejime Monjo*, a Sata landholder, dissatisfied with his wealthier sibling's management of the group (as *sōryō*, a formal position of headship present in the Sata but not the Nejime) and concerned about losing his land to his rival brother, creatively employed the terminology of adoption to sell off his mother's maternal land to a Nejime sub-lineage member despite prohibition against sales to *tanin* by the group head (his older brother). The sales record was written alongside a will to the "adoptee," and the distant genetic tie between the Sata and Nejime was used to justify the sale. This case further demonstrates that adoptees, even only nominal ones, were not considered "outsiders" (as well as the fact that the Nejime and Sata, by default, were not mutual kin), and that adoption and land sale often

¹¹¹¹ Karyaku 3 (1328).11.15 *Shami Dōshō, yōshi renshō yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #574).

¹¹¹² Equally, the inclusion of the adoptees signature on his adoptive father's inheritance record to other sons limited his ability to encroach on his adoptive sibling's inheritance.

¹¹¹³ Shōgen 1 (1259).10.5 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #706).

occupied similar realms of activity and prohibition.¹¹¹⁴ A similar adoption and land sale also occurred internally in the Nejime network, when Nishimoto sub-lineage founder Kiyomoto, unable to pay a mountain of tax debts, abandoned his claim to the Nishimoto estate and, though not a formal adoption due to their consanguineal tie, transferred his name and land to the youngest son from the Nejime main line in exchange for the repayment of that debt by the Nejime head.¹¹¹⁵

As a clear category of non-relatedness, the conception of *tanin* demonstrates that there was a distinct delineation between kin and non-kin, which could be used as a rigid container to prevent the spilling of land and titles to those outside the recognized group of relatives. But that container retained a great deal of flexibility because it also universally allowed for adoption, which was a key tool of succession in many warrior households. Adoption functioned as a way of importing heirs to ensure continuity, exporting excess cognates to prevent conflict and the dilution of wealth, and operated regardless of blood ties or extant potential biologically-linked heirs. Adoption generated new kin who were not “outsiders,” and who could maintain the relational entity regardless of biological relatedness. That adoptive succession often occurred despite the presence of extant potential “direct” heirs is a primary feature that distinguishes premodern Japanese adoption from adoption in many other preindustrial cultures, particularly those of Western Europe.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁴ In chronological order, see the mother’s grant: Kagen 2 (1304).3.15 *Taira Ujime yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #710), the Son’s adoption and sale records (authored simultaneously): Bunpō 2 (1318).12.10 *Takebe Chikamasa yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #711) and Bunpō 2 (1318).12.10 *Takebe Chikamasa kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #712), and the later defense of the purchase by Nejime/Ikehata Kiyotane: Kenmu 4 (1337).6 *Nejime Kiyotane mōshijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #743).

¹¹¹⁵ Kengen 2 (1303).3.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto sari-jō* (KKSI vol. 1, #758), and Kengen 2 (1303).3.24 *Takebe Kiyomoto kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #759).

¹¹¹⁶ See Jack Goody, “Adoption in Cross-Cultural Perspective.” On p. 57, Goody lists three “main functions” of adoption in Western Europe, the first two of which involve childless couples and housing for “orphans, bastards and the children of impaired families,” which lay outside the typical framework of medieval Japanese adoption. Goody’s third category is the major area of overlap, in which individuals or couples took an adoptee as an “heir to their

The relational flexibility of the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa, who each at times employed the category of “outsider” to prevent passage of land outward, is clearly demonstrated through the permeability of their social frameworks, which were made loose or rigid based on the contingent needs of a specific generation. Adoption, socially-created relative statuses such as military kinship, and other creative social processes that bent the distinction between “insiders” and “outsiders” allowed these two groups to creatively mold their structures in each generation.

A major caveat to this point is that there are certain unwritten power dynamics that were coded into the otherwise informal practice of marriage adoption that fit with established ideas of gender and power dynamics in medieval Japan. The Nejime never took in an outside son as a marital adoptee, at least not one whose potential power within the group warranted writing about. As a regionally dominant kin group with a high degree of economic, political, and military authority, the Nejime married their sons out to those with less authority or local power, and did not need to take in outside sons to maintain their social network (which always had many heirs, natal and collateral, to choose from). Marriage adoption was a decidedly opportunistic affair for those who gave up a son to another group, the potential returns on this investment being a stronger connection to the outside social entity and the potential to bring that weaker group into the sphere of Nejime influence. It paralleled the outward marriage of daughters into other households, although if men were becoming the default group leaders by the fourteenth century, which it seems they were in general, then the “adoption” of sons into other households through uxori-local “out-marriage” had a greater capacity for control than could be gained from the

property.” However, the practice was much more flexible in Japan than in the European and Chinese examples listed by Goody, and the adoption of heirs even when multiple biological children were already present is a distinct difference in common practice between premodern Japan and Western Europe. This difference is clearest in cases where genetic kin were abundant and adoption occurred anyway, and in cases where adoption meant dual identity within two kin groups.

virilocal out-marriage of daughters.

For both men and women who were moving into new households, the basic consequences of such a move were the same; yet there is a tendency to frame male out-marriage differently from female out-marriage in both historiography and medieval documents. We have few examples of the adoption of daughters in law within the *Nejime* and *Ichikawa Monjo*, although the example of Ren'a provides a useful counterpoint to the adoption of sons-in-law. Ren'a was an adopted inheritor of a divided Nakano property line, passed to her through her adoptive father after she began her relationship with his son.¹¹¹⁷ If it were not for this separate line of property, the Nakano would have lost nearly all their land to the Ichikawa, as Ren'a's property seeded multiple lineages thereafter. As we saw in Chapter IV, Ren'a defended her divided prerogatives successfully in the Kamakura courts, disentangling them from the lands of the father of her children and establishing her multiple adoptees individual landholders.¹¹¹⁸ We cannot draw broad conclusions about "daughter-in-law" adoption in relation to "son-in-law" adoption based on this single case; this is an issue that requires further study, as I suspect that the out-marriage of daughters had similar dynamics to that of sons, although these dynamics are largely undocumented and harder to trace. Similar qualities are visible in both Senkō and the Ōita daughter in the Ichikawa case and Zen'a in the Nejime case, these women having established or been established as independent heirs late in the Kamakura period.¹¹¹⁹

Adoption in the Nejime was never a threat to main line succession like it was in the Nakano. It was also not a feature of a major maternal property lineage, which does not seem to have existed at any point in Nejime history dating back to the eleventh century. The maternal

¹¹¹⁷ Shōō 3 (1290).11.17 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 23:17480, SNS, 4, pp. 388-392).

¹¹¹⁸ Kōan 1 (1278).9.7 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 17:13170; SNS, 4 pp. 311-316).

¹¹¹⁹ On the Ōita daughter, see Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22), and Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (KI, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

line of heirs in the Nakano was not unique, and indeed represents the standard form of succession enduring from the Heian period, in which women and men gained property independently and passed it on without mutual consultation, a core feature of matrilocal child-rearing and of weaker or nonexistent “marriage” bonds.¹¹²⁰

The Nejime did not seem to have a particularly strong marriage bond until at least the late Kamakura period (for example, we cannot even identify which, if any women that the successive Nejime heads had children with were considered their “main wife” or “widow,” when we know of them at all). The Ichikawa exhibited stronger “marriage” in the case of Morifusa and Senkō than is visible before or after, and in that case the combined power of husband and wife in unilineal descent meant that economic and social power was shared between parents for the first time in that group, reducing the need for divided matrilineal and patrilineal property lines.

“Marriage” and Widowhood as Nonbiological Kinship

Not all processes of nonbiological kinship were strictly coded as adoption, though there are common threads of social construction between them. I have elected to discuss them together as a cluster of practices that often served to ensure the survival of the kin group, and which overlap in many cases. I include marriage in this set of practices, because when marriage was employed as a defined category of shared kinship it was equally as much the recognition that the spouse was no longer an “outsider” as adoption was. The decision to recognize a sexual partner as husband or wife (or widow) was entirely optional in the medieval period, and shares elements of nonbiologically-driven kinship and mutual identity visible in adoption and other practices.¹¹²¹

¹¹²⁰ This is one of the best-studied elements of premodern kinship, dating back to Takamura Itsue’s foundational studies of marriage shifts in the classical aristocracy, particularly her 1953 *Shōseikon no kenkyū*. For a detailed summary of the historiography since, see Hitomi Tonomura’s “Family, Women, and Gender in Medieval Society.”

¹¹²¹ As an introduction to widowhood in the early medieval period, with a focus on the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, see Iinuma Kenji, “Goke no chikara: sono seiritsu to yakuwari o megutte,” and Sōgō jōsei-shi kenkyūkai, *Shiryō ni miru Nihon jōsei no ayumi*, pp. 116-118, which provides early-modern documentary examples of *goke* widowhood and succession in commoner households.

There was no medieval term for “marriage,” although the terms “husband” (*otto* 夫) and “wife” (*tsuma* 妻 or *nyōbō* 女房 – literally “lady”) were regularly used to refer to affinal relationships. The terms for father and mother in relation to children were most commonly employed, and as I have already mentioned, a man might refer to a woman as the “mother of his children” (usually by the name of the child or children in question) and then later as his (future) “widow” without ever calling her a *tsuma* or *nyōbō* “wife.” The same can be said for women; it was common for a “single” mother or father to refrain from any reference to the paternal or maternal relatives of their children at all. This makes the definition of marital status particularly dubious in most early medieval cases, when the term “marriage” is most often a misnomer for a sexual relationship that produced children but not necessarily any enduring social bonds.

For men and women of the medieval warrior class, such abstract “marriage” often had little definition until the passage of property, after which the position of widow, rather than wife, was the most formal and meaningful marital relationship, legally codified in the *Goseibai Shikimoku* law code (detailed in Chapter II) and recognized everywhere as the most (and perhaps only) stable form of marital status.¹¹²² In the socially significant sense, one was not truly “married” until the death of a spouse, when the informal copulation-driven relationship of lifetime was finally solidified through documentary recognition and the codification of shared familial rights or responsibilities, most often assigned by men to their widows as transitional

¹¹²² There was no male equivalent to *goke* status, and there are multiple possible explanations for this disparity. First and perhaps most standard is that men increasingly had more property to distribute, and male property lines by the mid-Kamakura period had become the predominant mode of succession in many instances. However, this trend was far from universal, and the absence of a male equivalent to *goke* is also likely the result of naturally shorter male lifespans and the dangers of the military profession, which created a real impetus for male estate planning through spousal relationships that were not explicitly necessary for female non-combatants. The absence of a formal, legal category of male widowerhood did not prevent men from managing or procuring their predeceased female partners’ property (and in such cases, the vernacular of husband and wife may be applicable, though variance rules here, too). For one example from the Nejime Sumino sub-lineage, see Genkō 3 (1333).11.4 *Nichinen yuzurijō* (KCSI vol. 1, #490).

heads and managers of their heirs and estates. As Wakita Haruko asserts, in early medieval warrior households, “with the death of the husband, the wife's rights as parent greatly increased.”¹¹²³ I would further argue that in fact, with the death of the “husband,” the “marriage” was solidified for the first time.

A conception of the phenomena of *goke* status as an essentially postmortem relationship raises parallels with the phenomena of necrogamy (or posthumous marriage and reproduction), a rare practice in East Asia and several other regions, usually employed in the context of a male dying before a female sexual partner gave birth to their child. Whether *goke* status truly qualifies as necrogamy is difficult to pin down, as naturally, the relationship was always one-sided (half of the members being deceased), and the detailed social meaning also undocumented.¹¹²⁴ However, that the terminology of “marriage at death” (or just before) fits medieval Japanese warriors and their *goke*. Resulting from the strengthening or redefinition of matrimonial ties at or near death, “marriage” regularly served as a transitional bond, forming a bridge between grantors and grantees (fathers, mothers, and their children) after the death of the former and inheritance of the latter. The legal categorization of the “mother of children” as the “after house” widow (the literal meaning of the *goke* 後家 characters), established her as “wife” and caretaker for the “husband’s” legacy, a strictly legal relationship that was far from ubiquitous and coded through the language of death and succession.¹¹²⁵ As wills regularly codified how mother-child relationships would operate vis-à-vis the dead father’s property, they were definitive not only of

¹¹²³ Wakita Haruko, “Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 10.1 (1984):73-99, 89.

¹¹²⁴ “Ghost Marriage” is one form. See Ladislav Holy, *Anthropological Perspectives on Kinship*, pp. 17-18 on Nuer ghost marriage, in which brothers took the names of their dead siblings and married in their names, and in which barren women took male names and married other women, becoming “fathers” through surrogacy. See also Andrew Johnson, “Ghost Mothers: Kinship Relations in Thai Spirit Cults,” especially pp. 90-91 on Chinese and Nuer ghost marriages, which “help to restore proper filial order.” On the Nuer, see the classical studies of Evans-Pritchard. See also Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945*.

¹¹²⁵ See Chapter II on the legal conception and codification of *goke* status, as well as the appendix.

“husband-wife” bonds but also of those with and between their children.

The most influential or powerful *goke* widows had as much authority in the matters of an *ichizoku* and in estate management as their late “husbands” did over their own formerly independent spousal properties. *Goke* were regularly left with the authority to curtail the quarreling of their children and even intercede in the actions of new group heads, especially if they violated the documented wishes of the dead spouse (which were often only vaguely stated orders for familial harmony, and therefore left a great deal of authority with the surviving mother). There are several prominent widows in the Ichikawa records. The first is Ren’a, a maternal adoptee into the Nakano household who took partial control of the southern property of her adoptive mother and adoptive brother/husband (she was maternally adopted into the Nakano around or at the same time she was “married” into the patriline through her adoptive brother), and battled the Ichikawa in court (with partial success) to maintain Nakano independence.¹¹²⁶ The second is Ichikawa Morifusa’s widow Senkō, who managed their joint estate after his death and wrote a substantial will of her own, regulating their set of siblings and assuring the authority (and the fair internal administration) of their son and *sōryō* head Sukefusa.¹¹²⁷

There are many other similar cases, in which a “mother” became a “widow” without any documented recognition of her as a “wife” (though such recognition also certainly happened, it was the least bureaucratically significant bond), and assumed headship duties in the transition between her late “husband” and their children. Widows were not merely the executors of their late husband’s wills, and often much of the decision-making regarding succession or the transmission of at least some land (and, regularly, moveable goods, in the rare cases they were

¹¹²⁶ The bulk of Ren’a’s own records have not survived, but her situation is detailed in the lengthy dispute record of the Kamakura court. See Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

¹¹²⁷ See Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22), which imbued the *goke* widow with special rights.

listed), and various economic prerogatives was left up to the “will (heart) of the mother” or “will (heart) of the widow” (these two capacities again taking precedence over wifehood – I have seen no reference to the “will of the wife”), who could do as she saw fit for the group’s posterity, even in relation to the landed property of the late father of her children.¹¹²⁸ This might result in the splitting of land into the heirs’ and widow’s portions (*gokebun* 後家分), as in the case of Nejime/Yamamoto Kiyomasu, the sub-lineage head who collapsed a large chunk of his property back into the Nejime main line, but also granted his widow control of a substantial *sono* estate, separate paddies, and wildland that she could pass on to whomever she wanted after her lifetime according her heart’s wishes as his *goke*.¹¹²⁹

Though ultimately the status of an individual (or as I have suggested, the status of a matrimonial link involving one living and one dead person) *goke* widowhood makes visible some of the largely hidden relational dynamics of affines in the medieval period. Though there are multiple cases that indicate one man might leave behind property to multiple affines, there was usually only one official widow.¹¹³⁰ Similar cases from women with multiple simultaneous partners are somewhat more difficult to find, although Hitomi Tonomura has identified several cases in which women (*goke* or otherwise) had multiple successive “husbands,” which caused

¹¹²⁸ This is not only the case with the wealthiest women of a large group, like Ren’a and Senkō, but is also visible even in the smaller sub-lineages of the Nejime. For example, see Enbun 3 (1358).6.10 *Takebe Kiyomasu yuzurijō* (KCSI vol. 1, #497), in which the “heart of the widow” is the primary delineation of succession by a Nejime cognate.

¹¹²⁹ Enbun 3 (1358).6.10 *Takebe Kiyomasu yuzurijō* (KCSI vol. 1, #497). This also occurred in the Sata, see the record from the Ōsumi *shugo* of Sata Munechika’s landed subdivisions, which include a “widow’s portion” (listed second out of seven properties). See KCSI vol. 1, #504-505. This widow seems to have been particularly powerful, and traveled to the Kyoto to settle issues related to her late husband’s land. See KCSI vol. 1, #506. The same widow is listed in multiple other Sata records, and Sata widows appear more regularly than Nejime ones. On the widow’s portion or *gokebun*, see also Wakita Haruko, “Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women’s History,” p. 88.

¹¹³⁰ For example, see Kenji 2 (1276).1.30 *Takebe Kiyotsuna shojū shōchō* (KCSI vol. 1, #30), a division of servants among a wide set of heirs and multiple women, which is well known for the revelation of the size of the Nejime kin group and its servants.

problems for the Kamakura courts (discussed in Chapter II in the context of re-marriage).¹¹³¹

That women had partners in serial and men in parallel is typical of the medieval period, in which promiscuity of either sort was common and largely a legal non-issue.

While men in the Nejime and Ichikawa tended to have more property than women, and women increasingly chose male heirs over females themselves (amplifying this trend), women still had full legal rights to property and authority over their own independent lands under the letter of the law. Mothers and *goke* were an active part of the process of reduced access to land by females, and men and women alike tended to favor male heirs in the late Kamakura and early Nanbokuchō periods. Yet contrary to the trend of diminishing female property, examples of female inheritance within this framework also endure well into the fourteenth century. Zen'a of the Miyahara subline of the Nejime, the wife of a Nejime main line secondary son who seems to have had little or no property of his own, was the main source of the substantial set of land that served as the foundation of the Ikehata sub-lineage under her son Kiyotane, to whom she passed multiple strains of property in 1322.¹¹³² An endogamously “married” woman with a male son, Zen'a was identified as a safe bet for property succession by multiple donors from the Nejime sub-lineages, including the Nishimoto and her natal Miyahara group.

Many historians have noted a significant decline in female property rights in medieval Japan, although this too was variable, and a more technically accurate description would be that of a decline in female access to property, rather than a change in their “rights” when they were able to access it. Women in the Nejime and Ichikawa could be quite powerful property holders, but only when they had some form of access to inheritances in the first place. That matriarchs

¹¹³¹ See Hitomi Tonomura, “Women and Inheritance in Japan’s Early Warrior Society.”

¹¹³² Genkō 2 (1322).12.16 *Ama Zen'a yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #715), and Genkō 3 (1323).8.25 *Ama Zen'a yuzurijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #716).

had identified a need for economic consolidation by the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century is a major feature of the work of Wakita Haruko, who has argued that females, rather than being marginalized by male inheritance patterns, were active participants and supporters of such patterns because they were necessary to the maintenance of the more developed sense of alliance within kin groups that emerged alongside and after the rise of the warrior class.¹¹³³ The result was the consolidation of earlier late classical matrilineal property with those of males, whom these women considered to be the most viable candidates to manage the entire kin group to ensure its survival. This is a vital point that holds significant parallels to other works on female modes of male-centric kinship within nominally patrilineal societies. Though Wakita was largely concerned with aristocrats and commoners, her insights into marriage and inheritance in those classes spills over, in large degree, to warriors as well.

Ultimately, the consolidation of authority into a few people (as commonly visible in both the Nejime and Ichikawa) or single heir (a technically absent feature in both groups) served to make warrior *ichizoku* more politically and economically agile, and facilitated their survival, which was the main element of mutual concern for fathers and mothers alike, and explains the move away from the selection of separate matrilineal heirs visible from the legends of prehistory through the Kamakura period. The result was a streamlined kin unit with fewer, less complicated political and military ties, but not a socially autocratic one.

New Forms of Collateral Kin: Nejime *Shinrui* and Military Social Networking

While the Ichikawa consolidated into a vertically oriented social unit out of the chaotic and internally competitive roots of the Nakano, and developed a small gathering of military

¹¹³³ For example, see Wakita's "Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History," as well as *Women in Medieval Japan: Motherhood, Household Management and Sexuality*, the recent translation of her earlier Japanese book *Nihon chūsei joseishi no kenkyū: seibetsu yakuwari buntan to bosei, kasei, seiai*.

followers who were characterized as deputies and other forms of unrelated military inferiors, the Nejime increasingly referred to the elite members of their military constituency kinsmen, or *shinrui* (親類), who formed a broad base of supporters.¹¹³⁴ The Nejime use of *shinrui* terminology indicates a different, new form of kinship forged in the realm of politics and battle of the mid-to-late fourteenth century and not clearly defined in extant scholarship of the medieval warrior class. The term *shinrui* itself is common in medieval records, in which collateral military allies are often juxtaposed with children (*shisoku* 子息) and other direct relatives as comingled parts of the body of all constituent kin, including those outside direct vertical lines of succession or blood-relatedness.¹¹³⁵

As a category of military membership and service, the Nejime *shinrui* fought alongside “unrelated” *wakatō* and *chūgen* soldiers under the umbrella of the Nejime-*dono*’s military authority. In records from the late 1330s and 1340s in the initial decades of fighting of the Nanbokuchō period, the few listed Nejime *shinrui* seem to be near or distant relatives including readily identifiable sub-lineage members and other unknown figures who are wholly unidentifiable and may be early examples of military kin.¹¹³⁶ By the late 1370s as the Nejime

¹¹³⁴ Defined in the *Kokushi daijiten* as a blood or marital kin relationship with examples listed from as early as the tenth century. For an example of use of *shinrui* in the strict sense of direct relatives, mentioned in my analysis of the Nakano, see Bun’ei 2 (1265).4.18 *Kantō gechijō* (KI, 13:9285; SNS, 4, pp. 255-261).

¹¹³⁵ Military subordinates are regularly categorized by historians as members of the *bushidan* (武士団) retainer corps (sometimes translated as “kinship groups”) of powerful warrior families, whose military and political clout attracted a large set of subordinates. The Nejime and Ichikawa each had their own *bushidan* (though they did not describe their followers in such terms), and were also occasionally incorporated as *bushidan* members of more powerful military entities themselves, particularly in the sixteenth century. However, neither the Nejime nor the Ichikawa can be said to have held particularly long-term status as housemen of any major regional lord, and each group broke and reformed *bushidan* bonds at it suited them. There are dozens of studies of *bushidan*, but as they relate to kinship, see Toyoda Takeshi, *Bushidan to sonraku*, chapter 3, and Ikoma Takaomi, *Chūsei no Kinai bushidan kōbu seiken*.

¹¹³⁶ *Shinrui* are listed in multiple battle roles – see *KKSI*, vol. 1 #60, 63, 64, 65, 91. On *shinrui* and other forms of nonbiological military-driven kinship, particularly within the context of *ichizoku ikki*, see Goza Yūichi, “Shirakawa Yūki monjo no ikki keijō,” pp. 293-295, and Satō Kazuhiko, *Chūsei no ikki to minshū sekai*, p. 251. See also Goza Yūichi, “Oyako keiyaku, kyōdai keiyaku, ikki keiyaku,” on contractual relationships, including fictive parental relationships, which involved the generation of nonbiological parent-child ties for the purpose of sustaining a corporate entity.

military apparatus rapidly expanded, several much longer lists of *shinrui* include both sub-lineage members and those with external surnames who were not closely related or previously identified as extended members of the Nejime kin group. For example, a 1379 battle report from just north of the Nejime territory lists thirteen *shinrui*, two from Nishimoto who were probably both social and genetic relatives, and eleven others whose family names are wholly unknown in prior Nejime documents and likely had no biological tie.¹¹³⁷ The line blurs further over the following several years, as *shinrui* as a specific category was dropped, and close Nejime relatives within the *ichizoku* were listed alongside numerous others in petitions for reward for service.¹¹³⁸ *Shinrui* is the closest medieval term to the modern word “kin,” and indicates a relational bond between these formerly independent military actors and the Nejime-*dono*, who replaced larger-scale regional generals or *shugo* provincial commanders as the direct superiors of their set of peninsular *shinrui* followers by the late fourteenth century. The relational status of these people was geographic, not genetic, and was a form kin identity shared by members of the Nejime-*in* subsection of the Ōsumi peninsula who served the Nejime head in war. Their ongoing alliance drove them to identify with the Nejime through shared ties of earth and water rather than blood. These new non-blood ties were male-centric; women were not listed in battle reports (even if they were injured or participated in battle), and *shinrui* designation was a further curtailment of women’s access to the broadening sphere of kinship, here centered around male military activity.

As I argued in Chapter III, much of my explanation of the difference in Ichikawa and Nejime structure – including military structure – relies on the different relational and material opportunities each group enjoyed in relation to their natural environment. The Nejime seized on

¹¹³⁷ Kōryaku 1 (1379).11.11 *Nishimoto gassen teoi chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #128).

¹¹³⁸ Eitoku 1 (1381).6.1 *Nejime Hisakiyo yotō kyōmyō chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #133), Eitoku 1 (1381).6.1 *Sata gassen chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #135), and Kōryaku 2 (1389).10.2 *Takasu-jō-mae gassen teoi chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #134).

the expansive opportunities afforded to them by their abundant, terraqueous surroundings and the availability of easy prey in the form of financially insolvent neighbors and other small-scale landholders whose minor estates were unsustainable in the long term. A large body of relatives developed through an absence of marriage bonds and numerous copulatory relationships that widened the social network in the Heian and Kamakura periods, whereafter a magnetic degree of military authority attracted new forms of kin who fit into that broad framework in the war-torn Nanbokuchō and late Muromachi periods. Each of these epochs of expansion was the product of a conscious effort toward the development and maintenance of generative kin ties that replaced the destructive internal dissonance of the earlier Heian period. These developments were opportunistic, and extended from circumstances that were wholly unavailable to the Ichikawa, whose encapsulated natural and political environment could not sustain a larger group of kin.

Historians regularly elect to define the set of social shifts broadly visible in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries through the development of systemic theories of social change, including the end of divided inheritance, the rise of a system of dominant headship, and the inception of a clearly defined and consistent house structure. In the second half of this chapter, I would like to test these ideas based on the individual evidence of relational variability and flexibility seen in the *Nejime* and *Ichikawa Monjo* records.

East and West: What Explains Variation?

By now it should be clear that even for scholars who support the implementation of broad social systems for their power to explain medieval Japanese society, variation is usually present and significant within these systems. This variation is most frequently explained through the description of regional differences, which leads to an explication of dual or tri-sociocultural spheres in operation in premodern Japan. One finds this broadly east-west dichotomy in all sub-

fields of Japanese history, and there is likely a great deal of truth behind the assertion of major, regionally-driven differences across the archipelago. The concept of east and west was emphasized by Amino Yoshihiko, though his interests in defining such spheres overlap only minimally with the elements of warrior kinship I am interested in.¹¹³⁹ Amino's approach to east and west has been solidified by his student, Murai Shōsuke, and their works combine to form a cogent whole that sees "Japan" divided into regional landscapes, zonal seascapes, and liminal borderlands.¹¹⁴⁰

To reiterate the broad conception of Japan's terrestrial regionality; one proposed region is usually centered in the Kantō plain and its surrounding areas, which would include the Nakano/Ichikawa, a Shinano-province group with kin ties that fit the theoretical propositions of the *sōryō-sei* quite well, and lived on the edge of Kantō influence as its northern vanguard. Another is in the west of Honshu, from roughly the capital center and the surrounding Kinai plain westward, viewed as more related to the traditional court in Kyoto than to warrior politics, at least in the late classical and early medieval periods. Kyushu is either included in the western sphere or given a third one of its own, which is most often characterized through a greater freedom from the administrative oversight and structuring of either center, and a generally

¹¹³⁹ Amino Yoshihiko, *Zoku Nihon rekishi o yominaosu*, pp. 63-65 and *Higashi to nishi no kataru Nihon rekishi* as well as "Chiiki-shi kenkyū no ichi shiten: tōgoku to saigoku" on eastern and western cultural spheres within Japan. Much more of Amino's writing on the subject of regionality is compiled in Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū*, vol. 15. See especially pp. 147, 214, 238, 252, 264, 325, and 339. East and west have also been used as categories for dividing up studies of the *sōryō-sei*; see Toyama Mikio, "Saigoku ni okeru sōryōsei no tokushitsu." For another example of distinctions within east and west, see Ōishi Naomasa, "Chiiki-sei to kōtsū," pp. 107-119, which focuses on the differences in eastern and western *shōen*. Thereafter, Ōishi explores the particularities of northern Honshu, another distinct sphere. On distinctions between northern and southern Japan, see Yanagihara Toshiaki, "Chūsei Nihon no kita to minami." On pp. 77-82, Yanagihara points out the failure of many historians to acknowledge spheres of influence south of Tanegashima (the southern island partially controlled by the Nejime), or north into Hokkaido, both of which were in fact centers of their own seaward spheres of influence.

¹¹⁴⁰ Murai Shōsuke, like Amino, is a prolific author with too many works to list. His 2005 book *Chūsei no kokka to zaichi shakai* is an excellent starting point for the study of medieval regionality. Another outgrowth of regionality is the permeability of the boundaries of Japan; see Murai Shōsuke, *Chūsei Nihon no uchi to soto*. See also Arano Yasunori, Ishii Masatoshi, and Murai Shōsuke, eds., *Ajia no naka no Nihon-shi* as well as *Kaijō no michi*.

precocious or rebellious character drawn mostly from the revolutionary movements that ended the later Tokugawa period (1600-1868), and the ready access premodern Kyushuans had to the mainland and the Ryukyu islands. The hinterlands of northern Honshu and Hokkaido, the northernmost subregion, are afforded a fourth sphere, when they are discussed at all.

In terms of regionalized society, we might expect groups from the proposed Kyushu sphere to fit a looser vision of the *sōryō-sei*, which would explain the networked structure of the Nejime and its sub-lines, and the conception of the group as a league, or *ichizoku ikki*, by Suzuki Katsuya.¹¹⁴¹ If we view the Ichikawa and Nejime through the lens of differences in east, west, and southwest, we may be able to explain away much of their social differences and contain them within a *sōryō-sei* structure that accounts for variability through a regionalized view of Japan and sees eastern warriors like the Ichikawa as early adopters of unified inheritance and more assertive forms of headship, and westerners and Kyushuans like the Nejime as holdouts of broader “clan” structure. This would be the default way to handle their variance, which might otherwise endanger the *sōryō-sei* as an analytical device.

I cannot claim to know whether the full scope of differences attributed to eastern and western regionality is accurate, though I tend to agree with the idea in general that there was distinct set of cultures that is well-described by these basic geographical categories. The presence of a freer culture in the southwest that was less directly dominated by capital or court politics makes sense, though I claim no expertise in these regional differentiations or the evidence to support them.¹¹⁴² Mass echoed the concept of east and west in his analysis of *sōryō* to explain

¹¹⁴¹ Suzuki Katsuya, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru zaichi ryōshu-sei: Ōsumi no kuni Nejime-shi o chūshin ni shite,” p. 23.

¹¹⁴² On east/west cultural distinctions in English, see Alan Christy, “Translator’s Introduction” and Amino Yoshihiko, *Rethinking Japanese History*, pp. xxiii and 39-40.

some of the variation he encountered in the documents he utilized in examining the system.¹¹⁴³

However, in the case of kinship configurations, I must object to the idea that region alone accounts for the bulk of social difference, or that a regionalized *sōryō* system (which compartmentalizes variance in broad strokes) is any more tenable than a centralized one. Although I have focused my research on the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa with little reading into neighboring groups, it is at times impossible to study one without becoming familiar with the other, either through documents or local scholarship, which tends to view home regions as communities to be studied together.

Even if we look at the small communities of northern Shinano and southern Kyushu as contained spheres, we will still see significant variety in social forms within them. Not every warrior group in southern Kyushu developed a broad, *ichizoku ikki* style social network (to borrow Suzuki's term), and not everyone in Shinano organized into vertically structured, *sōryō-shiki* dominated households (a generalization that, even on its own, obscures a great deal about the Ichikawa). I would like to briefly examine two groups of Nejime and Ichikawa neighbors to prove that regional trends are not capable of reinstating the *sōryō-sei* as a broadly useful theoretical system. I will keep these explorations deliberately brief, as an expansive study of these two neighboring groups would require another project entirely.

Neighboring Variants: The Nejime and the Sata

First, in Nejime-*in*, let us look at the socially distant but geographically adjacent Sata relatives of the Nejime, who originated from the same local Fujiwara household in the late Heian period as the southern tip of the Ōsumi peninsula was divided between siblings.¹¹⁴⁴ The Sata

¹¹⁴³ Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*, pp. 51 and 59.

¹¹⁴⁴ Jiryaku 5(1069).1.29 *Fujiwara Yorimitsu shoryō haibun-chō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #637). See Chapter IV for a detailed description of the early roots of the Nejime and their neighbors.

were a highly integrated, vertically oriented descent group that often used the term *sōryō* to describe their leaders, who worked actively in the thirteenth and fourteenth century to curtail and minimize the landed interests of secondary heirs in favor of dominance by the singular *sōryō* head.¹¹⁴⁵ The terminology used by the Sata to describe their leaders is entirely different from that of the Nejime. In fact, among the only mentions in the *Nejime Monjo* that describe the head of the Nejime as “*sōryō*” are those from disgruntled members of the Sata, who sought to sell off land to the Nejime and its sub-lineages to maintain economic independence from their own *sōryō* head (who was referred to as such regularly within Sata records). The presumption by these neighbors of the Nejime that the Nejime heads were themselves *sōryō* is mirrored in the modern historiography of the group. In each case, this is an example of outsiders (modern and premodern) misinterpreting the collaborative framework of the Nejime, whose leaders did not categorize themselves as such.

The successive heads of the Sata threatened to confiscate the remaining separate lands of cognates toward the end of the Kamakura period through lawsuits. The Sata leaders had entirely different goals from the Nejime, who worked to sustain sub-lineages even in cases of non-payment of taxes by their collaterals, whom they supported financially when needed. The Nejime and the Sata lived shoulder to shoulder, but as I demonstrated in Chapter III, the characteristics of their natural environment were very different. Although climatically identical, the Nejime lived in an open floodplain with a large, active harbor, while the Sata lived in the mountainous southern region of the peninsula with little room to grow or expand, minimal beachheads, and were surrounded by the Nejime on the north and by ocean to the south, east, and west. The Nejime expanded into Sata territory, buying up land from disgruntled Sata cognates to the

¹¹⁴⁵ See Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, pp. 115-148 on the Sata.

benefit of Nejime ones, who occupied the most peripheral spaces of the scattered set of Nejime estates as a buffer between kin and non-kin. Facing the threat of takeover by a powerful outside entity with many subordinate branches, several of which bought out Sata cognates, the Sata were forced into a vertical structure of kinship that had little in common with the Nejime structure, and is perhaps the most standard example of vertical headship-driven kin grouping in either the *Nejime* or *Ichikawa Monjo*.

In southern Nejime-*in*, in an area of only a few dozen square miles, two groups with identical elite origins adopted entirely different social strategies to maintain control of their estates. Their adaptations were contingent on environmental, political, and economic factors, not a broad regional “western Japan” or “Kyushu” culture of kinship. Their social configurations had much more to do with political and social power dynamics, total wealth, and environmental or physical circumstances than with any abstract sense of sociocultural spheres, traditions, or regional trends within them.

Neighboring Variants: The Ichikawa and the Takanashi

One of the most prominent anti-Ashikaga (or perhaps anti-Uesugi) groups from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which destabilized the northern half of Shinano province through the development of the Shinano *kokujin ikki* league was the Takanashi, a group of warriors from the southern end of Takai-gun (*kami-Takai-gun*). Unlike their Ichikawa neighbors, the Takanashi did not develop a vertical system of headship, but rather constructed a decentralized multi-group alliance that was designed to circumvent central legal oversight of their landed and social prerogatives. Ihara Kesao describes the Takanashi in the late Kamakura period as a group that began by establishing a multi-*ichizoku* tribunal (independent from the Kamakura judiciary, and comprised of *higokenin* or non-vassal warriors who did not operate

within the patronage of the Kantō regime), evolved into a wide *ichizoku ikki* league comprised of multiple name groups in the Nanbokuchō period in defiance of the Ashikaga, and gradually grew into independent daimyo-like status by the turn of the sixteenth century.¹¹⁴⁶

The Nakano/Ichikawa and the Takanashi shared a similar level of military and political authority at the local level. The Ichikawa were integrated into the eastern political power structure of the Kantō, a position they inherited from the Nakano, and had deep ties to the Hōjō that they transferred to the Ashikaga and their local generals after the fall of the Kamakura regime. The Nakano/Ichikawa relied on centrally-mandated prerogatives and support from their tenuous and isolated perch on Shikumi mountain, and their social structure reflected both their singular, isolated natural and political environment and their direct reliance on official sponsorship to maintain regional control, which enhanced the authority of the *sōryō*. The Takanashi cast a wider net; they were not beholden to and often worked actively against central (Ashikaga or Uesugi) warrior authority, which had benefitted them little in the Kamakura period, and developed a social structure that had no head for the very clear purpose of leaving none to be cut off. By remaining diversified, the Takanashi could survive repeated efforts to quash their anti-Ashikaga activity, painted by the center as a rebellion, which would be best conceptualized as a sort of extended guerilla campaign to take over the liminal territory of the Shin-Etsu border region. Both the Takanashi and the Ichikawa were highly successful, and jockeyed for position in the north; the Ichikawa with its centrally-supported *sōryō* head and the Takanashi as one of several name groups that formed and reformed the heart of broad, cooperative band of warriors that opposed them.

¹¹⁴⁶ The Takanashi are the main subject of Ihara Kesao's *Takai chihō no chūsei-shi*, though two earlier articles in a five-part series that the book is based on may be more easily accessible. See Ihara Kesao, "Takai chihō no chūsei-shi (3) Inoue, Takanashi, Suda, Murayama uji no taitō to ichizoku," and "Takai chihō no chūsei-shi (5) Takanashi uji no Sengoku daimyōka to Shin-Etsu kunizakae."

I would argue that in terms of social production, regionality matters less than local specificity. Social specifics were based on complex sets of unique and individualized characteristics rather than any centralized or cultural conception of “family” or “family values” in medieval Japan. Though it might seem an apt conclusion, it would be perilous to assert that there were two “family systems” in place in the medieval period, one based on vertically aligned *sōryō* descent and another on horizontally networked *ichizoku ikki* leagues.

Instead of systematizing premodern warrior kinship, I would offer a simple explanation for these sets of dissimilar peoples, which is echoed throughout the scholarship of my predecessors but always seems to take a backseat to more compartmentalized systemic analysis. That is, that in medieval Japan, warriors were particularly free from any centralized or cultural burden that would limit their capacity for social creativity. There were few social norms, and so kinship developed based purely on specific, localized needs. Some needs were not locally generated, such as the growing demand for military organization, which tended to diminish the power of daughters and secondary sons as visible in official records. An increasing emphasis on “marriage,” developed out of local and central politics (as an extension of militarism), further altered both the idea of sexual union and childbirth as socially bonding and the position of women in kin groups on broad scales.¹¹⁴⁷ Yet headship over an entire kin group, as described by the *sōryō* system, was not systematized at all in the early medieval period, and was instead a later by-product of the political imperatives of the Sengoku (1467-1600) and Tokugawa (1600-1868) periods, which formed into a set of norms that might be descriptive of a “system” at the level of the upper echelon of the daimyo class, but not necessarily those below it.

¹¹⁴⁷ On childbirth in premodern Japan, see Hitomi Tonomura, “Birth-giving and Avoidance Taboo,” Katō Mieko, “Chūsei no shussan: chakutai, kaizoe, sane o shiza toshite,” and Hank Glassman, “At the Crossroads of Birth and Death: The Blood Pool Hell and Postmortem Fetus Extraction.”

Kinship Systems and Historical Intersections

Numerous recent (and highly culturally-specific) kinship studies reveal that even when general “systems” are (or, for historians, were) in place and the basic frameworks they provide seem generally apt to describe a culture or its people, the specific details derived from a local focus can complicate the meaning, value, and social products of those systems. In anthropology, views of the central and local can be enormously wide, referring to the central arguments made by mostly Euro-American anthropologists and ethnographers of the past, who, as David Schneider (among others) critiqued, applied preconceived systemic ideas from their home cultures onto the social worlds present in “other” cultures.¹¹⁴⁸

Karen Sinclair has dedicated several books and articles to the study of Maori kinship, mythology, and culture, which contain compelling ideas on kinship “systems” and cognatic networks that are useful to this project. The default view of Maori kinship (and culture more broadly) is that it is, and has long been based wholly on strict primogeniture. Maori mythology and cosmology put first-born sons into a category of purity separated from the polluted world of both daughters and secondary sons, who are mythologically and socially categorized as “lessers.”¹¹⁴⁹ However, despite the outwardly apparent presence of a system of singular, patrilineal primogeniture, Sinclair discovers within Maori culture a multilayered network of exogamous first-son patrilineal lines that were both supported and surrounded by a cognatic dual-descent and endogamous groups of lower-ranked cognatic kin. Sinclair’s research indicates that in this dual-network, despite their lower status, the internal and extended network of secondary children is and was just as vital to the Maori social world as that of the main primogenital

¹¹⁴⁸ David Schneider, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*.

¹¹⁴⁹ Karen Sinclair, “Mischievous on the Margins: Gender, Primogeniture, and Cognatic Descent Among the Maori,” pp. 159-164. See also Karen Sinclair, *Maori Times, Maori Places: Prophetic Histories*.

line.¹¹⁵⁰ Further, despite a mythologized impurity, which brought with it a cultural expectation of physical weakness and ineptitude, it is apparent that both females and cognatic male kin have a pronounced generative capacity that turns the broadly conceived notions of primogeniture-based social systems into much more complex constructions of mutuality. For the Nejime, it is certainly accurate to assert that while the main line reproduced the primary social group and maintained control of its political and economic functions, it was the collateral kin, both male and female, who “generated” new social structures (my “sub-lineages”) with their own semi-independent identities, which were like Sinclair’s “entirely new social structures” yielded by cognatic female and male Maori kin.¹¹⁵¹

In medieval Japan, the presence of a main heir did not (and could not) preclude their siblings from having children or “generating” their own social structures. Instead, unilineal inheritance patterns only masked these new collateral structures under the textual veil, which focused exclusively on the official capacities of the group head as the local clerical agent of central landholding, political, and military bodies, as well as document production and transmission after the mid-fourteenth century. For after all, that is what a *sōryō* was: an administrative coordinator for a group of kin.

That medieval Japanese texts give collaterals little attention or credit is to be expected from a system of political and economic power that focused its records on prioritizing the

¹¹⁵⁰ Karen Sinclair, “Mischief on the Margins: Gender, Primogeniture, and Cognatic Descent Among the Maori,” p. 169.

¹¹⁵¹ Sinclair states that: “The ideology of descent and primogeniture asserts that order and certainty can only be realized through a system based on the ascribed prerogatives of firstborn males. Departures are depicted as degenerative and illegitimate. However, the converse is in fact true. The creative, generative characteristics of younger brothers and women that we see in the mythology is reflected again in the actuality of descent group formation. For primogeniture and its consequences yield social reproduction, while descent through women or younger brothers is generative, yielding entirely new social structures. Descent ideology and primogeniture mask but cannot obliterate these contradictions in the system.” See “Mischief on the Margins: Gender, Primogeniture, and Cognatic Descent Among the Maori,” p. 170.

individual authority of its local agents, who were bound to and dependent on the support of their relatives in carrying out their official duties and maintaining their social support networks.

Unless there was a serious internal conflict (the types of common cases from which we learn the most about warrior kin structure) there was no reason for higher authorities to discuss collaterals, nor for house heads to bring them up in correspondence with the center. A person without an official *shiki* post (a universal characteristic of house heads, both *sōryō* and non-*sōryō*) was not particularly useful to the central authorities, but this does not mean they were not important as cognatic or collateral members and local agents of their kin groups or capable of independent socioeconomic activity. That many otherwise unknown kin appear with land to bequeath, sell, dispute, or pay taxes on, with money to handle such transactions, is evidence of the great deal of textually invisible socioeconomic capacity these people had, which is otherwise shrouded in the “system” of headship and official interaction, which was the real, primary function of *sōryō*.

Turning back to another short sample of from across the globe, I would like to draw further parallels to Audrey Smedley’s work on West African patrilineal. In her book, *Women Creating Patrilineal: Gender and Environment in West Africa*, Smedley describes a social realm in which women, who are nominally excluded from authority, actively bolster the male-centric nature of the kin group through mother-son dynamics and personal interest in the continuity and stability of the descent group.¹¹⁵² Smedley works against generations of “evolutionist” theory surrounding the development of kinship in three key stages; from promiscuity to matrilineality to patrilineality (largely identical to those proposed for ancient to medieval and early modern Japan).¹¹⁵³ These core tenets apply to views of how women’s power declined in the Japanese

¹¹⁵² Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patrilineal: Gender and Environment in West Africa*.

¹¹⁵³ This is particularly visible in the works of Takamure Itsue, who pioneered the application of such a theory of progression (or perhaps in her view, regression) particularly from matrilineal to patrilineal systems of ancient, classical, medieval, and modern family. See Hitomi Tonomura, “Family, Women, and Gender in Medieval Society,”

medieval period, which is primarily attributed to the rise of virilocal “marriages” the division of women from their natal kin groups through use by their fathers in the formation of marriage bonds with outsiders.¹¹⁵⁴ Smedley’s reiteration of predominant theoretical paradigms surrounding patriliney shares parallels with explanations of the declining fate of women’s individual access to property within main lines as visible in medieval Japanese warriors, although the strengthening of the marriage bond through this enhanced practice of virilocality also meant that wives had a more significant role to play in the management of male-led households, especially as widows. However, Smedley also points out that an exclusive focus on males “...provides only partial knowledge about the social system,” an issue that is clearly shared in this study, where a full view of the groups in question is ultimately impossible.¹¹⁵⁵

The same features of out-marriage that led to a decline in natal inheritance for secondary sons is partly explained by “marriage adoption,” in which sons married into other families to become their heirs. This practice had similar social consequences for the two marrying groups, though the experience of an out-marrying son (who became a main heir) was theoretically quite different from that of an out-marrying daughter (who became the “wife” and/or mother of one).

for a description of Takamura’s influence. Smedley succinctly describes the expected features of the system of patriliney, inherited from generations of European (and Eurocentric) scholarship, as “...a mechanism by which children are identified with the father’s kin group, that is, a rule of membership and descent. It also strongly correlates with the ownership of property in the male line and male leadership positions in the household and polity. Theoretically, all positions of authority are held by males, and these are transmitted directly to the next generations of males. Patrilineal societies in Africa (and most everywhere else) are also virilocal, with young women leaving their natal homes (of their fathers) at marriage to live in the households of their husband’s kin group. It is essentially these facts that gave rise, for example, to Claude Levi-Strauss’s (1960, 1971) ‘alliance theory’ and the wide panoply of beliefs about inequality between the sexes we have seen in the literature. These facts appear to be at the core of ‘male domination.’ Women seemed to have no ‘civic’ personality but were moved around like pawns between groups of male kinsmen.” See Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patriliney: Gender and Environment in West Africa*, p. 2.

¹¹⁵⁴ On Warrior marriage and the development of households, see Hitomi Tonomura and Anne Walthall, “Introduction” in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, pp. 7-8. On marriage and households in broader context, see Wakita Haruko, “The Medieval Household and Gender Roles within the Imperial Family, Nobility, Merchants, and Commoners,” pp. 81-97.

¹¹⁵⁵ Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patriliney: Gender and Environment in West Africa*, p. 10.

Yet in both cases, a system-driven view reduces the perception of the power of individuals within their kin groups.

The limits of structurally-systematized views not only fail in explaining women's significant positions in male-centric lineal descent groups, but also in their overemphasis of the destruction of female power within those groups. Herein lies a largely unexplored and vital line of reasoning for both West Africa and medieval Japan. Smedley asserts that even in structurally patrilineal societies, "when we look at the ethnographic realities from around the world, we see considerable contradictions between the assumptions of this model and the realities of women's lives."¹¹⁵⁶ This seems to hold true for medieval Japan, and in both the West African cases presented by Smedley and in my case studies of the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa, there are some key cognatic features of these specific forms of patriliney that are not explained by the approaches to male descent reflected in Levi-Strauss' alliance theory and other broadly proposed kinship systems that predate Schneider's critique of kinship.¹¹⁵⁷

The full range of kin group identity is also incomplete in most considerations of the Japanese "house" (*ie* 家), an institution that Jack Goody has noted "...obscures as much as it illuminates" (a well-ensconced barb for anthropologists writhing against vague terminology).¹¹⁵⁸ If we are to translate the *ie* as "house," then Goody is no doubt correct; the Nejime and Ichikawa did not conceive of their kin groups as "houses," at least not in a domestic sense, and they did not use the terminology of *ie* as a standalone phrase for their kin groups.¹¹⁵⁹ Rather, they call

¹¹⁵⁶ Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patriliney: Gender and Environment in West Africa*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵⁷ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, and David Schneider, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*.

¹¹⁵⁸ Jack Goody, "Introduction to Women, Family, and Inheritance, in China and Japan," p. 199.

¹¹⁵⁹ For an overview of late medieval scholarship on later warrior *ie*, see David Spafford, "What's in a Name: House Revival, Adoption, and the Bounds of Family in Late Medieval Japan," especially p. 283 and footnote #3. In Japanese, see Yoshida Takashi, "Uji to ie," pp. 35-38, which provides a concise historiographical overview.

themselves *ichizoku* or *ichimon* and include a wide body of relatives (and residences) within those terms. Smaller constituent house units (*shoke* 庶家 and *chakuke* 嫡家) are occasionally mentioned within *ichizoku*, but only when need arose to reference the natal groups of primary and secondary heirs within the broader network of kin. In fact, the conception of kinship visible in the Nejime and Ichikawa is much more agnatically-driven than the idea of an *ie* suggests, and rested on a wide base of relatives. Medieval warrior *ichizoku* were much more akin to the Birom *lo*, another term still translated as “house” or “family,” for an agnatic kin group with a shared corporate character described by Smedley as a compound or set of residences with both shared group identity and individual named groups (called *lalla*) within it.¹¹⁶⁰

Networked features both reduce the level of male dominance and of female subjugation in societies of male authority, which have been overemphasized by systematic approaches to particular cultures.¹¹⁶¹ As we observe in both of our medieval Japanese case studies, women could have significant, if unofficial or undesignated, power to determine and control their kin groups, and not only as collaterals or cognates; in their function and mothers, “wives,” “widows,” and indeed as group heads even within a mostly patrilineal society, women remained vital participants and even leaders of their kin groups, and had much more than transitional authority; the Confucian parental hegemony present in warrior society was gender-neutral.

¹¹⁶⁰ Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patriliney: Gender and Environment in West Africa*, p. 83.

¹¹⁶¹ For other examples of female generative power in patrilineal systems, see Donna Leonetti and Benjamin Chabot-Hanowell, “The Foundation of Kinship: Households,” in which the authors examine hunter-gatherer systems of food production in which women’s “pivotal contributions in food processing and distribution likely promoted kinship, both genetic and affinal, and appear to be the foundation from which households evolved,” even in the case that those households were patrilineal. See also Cecile Jackson, “Modernity and Matrilocality: The Feminization of Kinship?” in which she asserts that matrilocality, as distinct from matriliney, requires more careful analysis across the board, and asserts that “relatedness under modernity tends toward matrilocality” (p. 1) and that “matrilocities are diverse and may be associated with variable levels of gender inequalities and well-being differentials” (p. 13), and “the everyday practice of kinship as relatedness offering more room for manoeuvre for women than imagined” (p. 21). In the context of AIDS orphanage, in “Flexible Kinship: Caring for AIDS Orphans in Rural Lesotho, South Africa, they reinforce patriarchal structure rather than threaten it. See pp. 711 and 722-723.

In her critique of the default view of patrilineal systems as automatically detrimental to women, Smedley finds that within the male-centric kin groups of West Africa, women had more freedom to participate in wider networks of social and economic interaction, and have “more room to maneuver within the system than do men.”¹¹⁶² This view of female unboundedness parallels Amino Yoshihiko’s conception of female access to participation in alternative lines of economy and markets in medieval warrior society, which crossed class lines and provided similar forms of unbounded access to market-going women.¹¹⁶³ Both focus on women’s prioritization of cash over land as a form of wealth accumulation, and note the freedom that a cash economy gives women to control malleable, movable resources.

It is highly unlikely that warrior kin groups would have limited female activity in these spheres, as growing political, economic, and military competition between neighboring groups meant that exhausting every possible avenue for resource control, including the control of non-landed resources and cash, could provide a vital competitive advantage in the contested political and military spheres of the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries. We know that in both the Ichikawa and the Nejime, cognates were actively supported as vital collaborators by main line inheritors, who profited from their success and were thus motivated to sustain their kin groups as networks rather than strict hierarchies.

Despite the unbounded nature of many female-authored documents from medieval Japan (through which we often have no way to determine even the basic social connections of these women), they are often seen buying, selling, or bequeathing significant concrete, independent properties, paying taxes, or developing other economic interests and relationships that were

¹¹⁶² Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patriliney: Gender and Environment in West Africa*, p. 234.

¹¹⁶³ These themes are present in several of Amino’s well-known books, but I would refer the reader first to his *Nihon no rekishi o yominaosu* and *Zoku Nihon rekishi o yominaosu*, available in English translation as *Rethinking Japanese History*.

wholly independent from men. This is visible even in communities where male-dominance of the primary, ostensibly patrilineal main line was well-established. Although their exact relationships are often unknown, these women come from those groups, and contributed to their economic and social sphere through independent property even after daughters stopped inheriting land from their parents. Their independent wealth, and indeed the wealth of all collaterals or cognates, was generated separately from both patriline and the centralized system of land control.

Similar to the West African families in Smedley's book, a view of kinship that focuses only on males, which is the default view of the documents and many resulting histories of medieval Japanese society (and, I regret, a limiting factor in the Ichikawa and Nejime documents, especially after the fall of the Kamakura regime), provides only an incomplete image of the social "system" at work.¹¹⁶⁴ More research on warrior women as independent as well as co-dependent and supporting actors after the fall of Kamakura is needed to calculate and corroborate their roles both within and without increasingly patrilineal kin groups. The increasingly visible trend in studies of kinship, including historical studies of kinship in nominally patrilineal societies such as premodern China, should prompt a reevaluation of the position of women post-Kamakura warrior kin groups.¹¹⁶⁵

¹¹⁶⁴ Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patriline: Gender and Environment in West Africa*, p. 10.

¹¹⁶⁵ For example, see Linda Walton, "Kinship, Marriage, and Status in Song China: A Study of the Lou Lineage of Ningbo, c. 1050-1250." This article forces the reevaluation of women's roles in kin networks in Song China. Walton emphasizes that women, traditionally cast as that of pawns within arranged marriages, were the key participants and architects of kinship bonds, and were responsible for the emphasis on lateral links with other families that served to keep elite families viable in the competitive world of Song period elite society. See also Patricia B. Ebrey, "Shifts in Marriage Finance from the Sixth to the Thirteenth Century," in which Ebrey argues that dowries, previously viewed as an outward gift of wealth to other families, should instead be conceptualized as female inheritance, which encouraged daughters to positively network for their families, which would benefit them personally through a larger marital reward from their natal group. See also Beverly J. Bossler, "'A Daughter Is a Daughter All Her Life': Affinal Relations and Women's Networks in Song and Late Imperial China," in which Bossler argues that women provided the flexibility necessary to sustain the patrilineal system in China. In Bossler's description, repeated intermarriage blurs affinal and agnatic bonds, a scenario that was regularly the case in medieval Japan, where an entire sub-region might identify by the same choronym or clan name, some through fictive and others through lineal affiliation to a root ancestry that could have highly variable weight. See also Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, in which

That structural systems sometimes fail to capture the kinship of various places and times is not indicative of their lack of essential value, but rather the limits of their potential. Raymond Smith, who studies marriage in the West Indies, has similar problems with systemic approaches, particularly when patriarchal structures are expected in nuclear families. He states that:

High illegitimacy rates, unstable conjugal unions, and a high proportion of female-headed households pose a problem for theories which assume that nuclear families are necessary in all societies and that men are the natural heads of families. Those theories generally adopt the distinction between ‘domestic’ and ‘politico-jural’ domains, assigning women to the one and men to the other. Because of its deep roots in European culture, that distinction continues to be a preoccupation of modern feminist writing, but the Caribbean case shows that it obscures more than it illuminates.¹¹⁶⁶

The “domestic” and “politico-jural” domains Smith describes are identical to those gendered boundaries and roles proposed in the late medieval and early-modern cross-class “*ie*” or “household,” and in broad view they have useful application, especially to the more codified realm of early modern Japanese family. Yet this conception of domesticity and publicity in also persists in views of premodern “households,” and proposes deeper roots than one discovers in medieval sources from warriors, where natal groups might not form a block of kinship, and parents might not acknowledge an affinal relationship even when both contributed property to their child. To that end, medieval Japan demonstrates that kinship does not require structure, or at a minimum, that such structures (such as the rough patriliney of medieval Japanese warriors) can be highly flexible, and allow for evolving patterns that meet material or social needs.

These reflective and cross-cultural views highlight the inability of overarching systems of kinship to adequately measure the social situations of real, human communities. These studies and the comparisons we can draw to the systems (*sei*) of medieval Japan should give pause to

she outlines shifting documentary production, the weight of funerary rituals, and multiple vectors of marriage and descent in Sung China.

¹¹⁶⁶ Raymond T. Smith; “Hierarchy and the Dual Marriage System in West Indian Society,” p. 163.

anyone attempting to apply such broad ideas of society to a diverse and unevenly mapped populace (which is a far more “universal” scenario than one of anything like a uniform one, when speaking globally). This applies especially well to Japan, where variance is constantly noted as particularly pronounced by historians of all backgrounds and specializations, especially regarding to the warrior class, its emergence, and its mercurial nature.¹¹⁶⁷

Throughout this dissertation I have conceded that a detailed analysis of medieval warrior kinship is beyond the scope of available sources. Yet instead of relying on broad systemic frameworks to fill in the gaps, I have built on the intersections of kinship analysis, local political/military events, and the confluences of social and environmental history to paint as complete a picture as possible of the Nejime and the Nakano/Ichikawa. In these case studies, the importance of social flexibility and structural variance, which arose from locally-specific factors, is clear. In my opinion, it is no coincidence that the Nejime built a broad horizontal structure from the core of their floodplain and into the surrounding land-and-seascape, and that the Ichikawa built a vertical structure in their isolated, mountainous homeland. The agency of the landscape is always visible in the development of these two groups, and their socio-political histories call for integration with environmental analysis, an approach that Stephen Mosley called for a decade ago and which is helping to pave new approaches to premodern studies,

¹¹⁶⁷ To provide a few examples from prominent works in English scholarship, Conrad Totman describes this variability in terms of the “...consequences of growth within geographical constraints” in *Japan: An Environmental History*, p. 1. In his adherence to the idea of a *sōryō* “system,” Jeffrey Mass regularly refers the “ambiguity” and “flexibility” of the concept of *sōryō*, and to the late Kamakura period (after 1270) as a period when “...disparate conditions contributed to the era’s volatility” and “...a variety of situations was possible.” See Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*, pp. 79 and 94. Mary Elizabeth Berry notes that, “The experience of military officers was predictably diverse.” *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*, p. xxv. Karl Friday, on the foundational structures of warrior landholding and titles from the Heian period, points out their ephemeral nature, namely that “The exchange of obligations that accompanied warrior partnerships during Heian times was far less palpable, and the nature, extent and durations of these obligations much less precise, than those attendant to the land-holding system of the period.” See Karl Friday, *Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, p. 54.

particularly in the field of premodern Chinese history, where multiple recent works such as those from Ling Zhang and Joseph McDermott have found utility in well-integrated environmental, political, and socio-historical approaches.¹¹⁶⁸

Conclusion

I have attempted to point out common elements and themes in medieval warrior society, presented through the Ichikawa and Nejime records, as well as to explore the anachronisms and generalizations that plague the study of early warrior kinship. At its heart, my argument is for a more nuanced view of early medieval social shifts, which were not uniform, omnidirectional, or even consistent from generation to generation within a single group. The tendency to encapsulate medieval society within set of systems of unidirectional development leads to a predetermined late-medieval and early modern state of headship, household, and gender divisions that is loosely indicated in some early medieval kin groups, but contradicted in others.

As I discussed in the Introduction, recent trends in anthropology have taught us that beginning with a central system (usually brought forth from European culture, as is also the case in “medieval” Japan) and applying it to a foreign culture can seem quite convincing to the outside observer. However, once one takes a closer look, cracks in these systems are usually too numerous to hold together, and the weight of the flaws sink many of the conclusions drawn from standardized, non-specific analysis of native people and terminology. In the case of early *bushi* kin groups, to understand one set of warriors is not enough to understand them all, nor is the application of a scattered set of surface-level comparisons sufficient to understand warrior

¹¹⁶⁸ See Stephen Mosley, “Common Ground: Integrating Social and Environmental History.” On premodern China, see Ling Zhang, “Changing with the Yellow River: An Environmental History of Hebei, 1048-1128” and *The River, The Plain, and The State*, as well as Joseph McDermott, *The Making of a New Rural Order in South China*, especially the introduction, p. 2, regarding the “lineage and its social roles” which are “far less regulated and uniform than previously thought.”

kinship. The application of social systems to a loose and variegated class is an equally unsatisfying endeavor. It is for this reason that when interpreting the records of individual warriors and their surrounding bodies of kin, a close, specified reading of their individual modes of kinship should preclude any broader conclusions drawn from or about their circumstances. This reading should not be limited to texts, as environmental studies can help to reveal the material realities that may have motivated the decisions visible in documents.

At its core, my argument is for a greater sense of particularity, and it is no wonder that I have, here, latched onto the culturalist turn in kinship studies for inspiration to find it. The Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa demonstrate that within medieval Japanese society, a variety of potential forms of kinship existed, the study of which requires clear, locally specific inquiry that is not tainted by expectations of a regimented and systematic form of evolving kinship, but rather embraces the organic humanity of these historical subjects and the constructed nature of social identity, which is always couched in locality, specificity, and adaptability. After all, the evolution of kinship theory is born from modern social shifts.¹¹⁶⁹

I also encourage greater caution in applying a systemic view to premodern Japanese kinship or warrior society. I argue that families did not, and do not “progress” from one type to another. There are no “early” or “late” stages that apply to the mercurial realm of human relatedness, which do not operate on a fixed continuum of social development. Instead there are constant, highly individualized conceptions and re-conceptions of mutuality (and some broad trends within them). As the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime case studies demonstrate, one generation might undo the efforts of another just as easily as they would choose to follow them.

The chaos of the premodern age likely had a great deal to do with such relational

¹¹⁶⁹ This is a key point of Maurice Godelier’s *The Metamorphoses of Kinship*. See especially the post-script on pp. 552-553 on the “contemporary metamorphoses of kinship,” as well as the introductory chapter.

fluctuations; it was often impossible to plan for the future in a systemic (or “traditional”) way when the realm was in such flux. That warriors were aware of this is evidenced in their wills, in both various cataclysmic terminology regarding “uncertainty” or the “uncertainty of the world” (*fujō* 不定 or *sekken fujō* 世間不定), and in the process of writing and re-writing wills, often to the very last days of life. Kamakura warriors could not predict the Kenmu revolution, Nanbokuchō warriors could not predict sixty years of split courts and infighting, and their successors could not predict the depth and breadth of the ongoing fragmentation across the provinces, which would consume the archipelago for another 200 years. This chaos was in many cases amplified at the provincial level, where competing forces within warrior networks and political factions subdivided even further and formed and reformed over time. Local warriors in the fourteenth century and beyond were pulled in different directions by influential figures, powerful rebellions, and the repeated toppling of the high by the low.

For premodern Japanese warriors, numerous modes of kinship, household, headship, and identity were always available. A broad range of highly variable localized factors and conditions pushed kin groups toward different ideas of who they were and how they should organize to survive the perils of the age, in which the influence of central powers gradually dissolved. New terminologies of relatedness evolved over time, and were not uniform or shared across the archipelago. Inventive individuals found solutions to the unique problems they faced through thoroughly creative processes of kinship. This was a time when much of shared warrior culture was eroded, not developed, and each local group found its own subculture of kinship to thrive on as central politics weakened. We should not expect all warriors to operate under the same conceptions of group function or identity, for it was to the advantage of each *ichizoku* to adapt and survive the specific obstacles they faced.

Appendix 1: Premodern Japanese Kinship and Inheritance Terminology

Note: this list is not comprehensive, and only includes terms discussed in this dissertation, almost all found within the *Nejime* and *Ichikawa Monjo*, as well as those well-known to the field of premodern Japanese studies. Terms are listed alphabetically, except in the case of multiple related terms with overlapping meaning, in which case the first term is alphabetical and is followed by associated terms.

<i>aiyake</i>	相舅	Mutual father-in-law.
<i>kojūto</i>	小舅	Male in-law (son of a father-in-law).
<i>ama</i>	尼	Lay-nun, a woman who has taken the tonsure and retired from lay-life. Women gained personal (Buddhist) names at this stage in life, often for the first time. Used as a nominal prefix.
<i>nyūdō</i>	入道	Lay-monk, a man who was taken the tonsure and retired from lay-life. Men gained personal Buddhist names at this stage in life, often replacing their personal names, but not necessarily their childhood names, which were often used alongside the Buddhist name and <i>nyūdō</i> designator. Used as a nominal suffix.
<i>shamini</i>	沙弥尼	A female Buddhist novice. Used as a nominal prefix.
<i>shami</i>	沙弥	A male Buddhist novice. Used as a nominal prefix.
<i>chakushi</i>	嫡子	Main heir (gender neutral, male-inclined, singular).
<i>chakunan</i>	嫡男	Male main heir.
<i>chakujo</i>	嫡女	Female main heir. Often clarifying a female <i>chakushi</i> 's status as the primary heir.
<i>shōshi</i>	庶子	Secondary heirs (gender neutral, plural).
<i>shisoku</i>	子息	Usually “Child” or “children,” but also used to reference laterally related heirs (brothers, sisters), to integrate them into the

<i>gusoku</i>	愚息	language of descent. In such a case, “heir” or “heirs” is a more accurate translation. An uncommon derogatory reference for a child. Male inclined. Literally “my stupid/foolish son.”
<i>chichi</i>	父	Father.
<i>haha</i>	母	Mother.
<i>chichihaha</i>	父母	Parents (father and mother).
<i>oya</i>	親	Parents.
<i>daidai</i>	代代	Many generations, often used to denote longstanding property.
<i>jūdai</i>	重代	Same as <i>daidai</i> , indicating successive generations.
<i>kodai</i>	後代	Future generations, generations of people hereafter.
<i>oyadai</i>	親代	The parent’s generation.
<i>oyashiro</i>	親代	An adoptive parent.
<i>eboshi</i>	烏帽子	A black-lacquer hat worn by male warrior adults.
<i>eboshina</i>	烏帽子名	Adult name taken by males around age 15.
<i>eboshigo</i>	烏帽子子	Godson.
<i>eboshi-oya</i>	烏帽子親	Godfather.
<i>eitai</i>	永代	“Permanent,” usually in the context of a property grant that could be passed down freely by the recipient.
<i>ichigo</i>	一期	“Lifetime,” usually in the context of a property grant that was only to be held by one cognate, then returned to the main line or to another pre-designated grantee via a specific limitation listed in a bequest (<i>yuzurijō</i> or <i>okibumi</i>).
<i>genin</i>	下人	Hereditary servants, similar in status to <i>shojū</i> .
<i>shojū</i>	所従	Heritable servants or slaves whose children were also property, and who appear in bequests as the property of individual warriors. Passed down as individuals or in groups (<i>ichirui</i> 一類).

<i>goke</i>	後家	“Widow,” literally “after house,” a woman imbued with some rights, prerogatives, and responsibilities over the estate of a dead man, with whom she usually had children and often mutual heirs. <i>Goke</i> were often not referred to as “wives” and were not “married” to the men whose property they oversaw after death, but instead replaced them as the arbiters of their estates in a form of transitional succession.
<i>gozen</i>	御前	“You,” an honorific term for a grown woman used in place of a personal name, before she took the tonsure and gained a Buddhist name.
<i>hakuba</i> <i>shukuba</i>	伯母 叔母	Aunt (older than the parent). Aunt (younger than the parent).
<i>hakufu</i> <i>shukufu</i>	伯父 叔父	Uncle (older than the parent). Uncle (younger than the parent).
<i>oi</i> <i>mei</i>	甥 姪	Nephew. Niece.
<i>ichizoku</i>	一族	A group of kin or “family,” the most common term for an extended kin group, which included both co-residents and extended members living in the same area but not in the same domicile.
<i>ichimon</i>	一門	Another common term for an extended unit of kin.
<i>ichizoku ikki</i>	一族一揆	A “family league,” usually bound together through a contractual agreement, which united multiple collateral lines of descent into a body of kin allied in military matters and often engaged internally in conflict resolution, eschewing external courts.
<i>ichimon</i> <i>hyōjō</i>	一門評定	A “family council,” created internally as an alternative to warrior courts, employed by <i>ichizoku ikki</i> and other large networked kin units, especially those of <i>higokenin</i> status who were not integrated with the Kamakura or Ashikaga polities.
<i>ie</i>	家	“House,” a much-debated term found mostly in the early-modern period and thereafter, much less common than <i>ichizoku</i> in the medieval period. Generally considered to consist of domestic residence members, including servants, but not those residing separately.
<i>kashin</i>	家臣	“Retainer,” a subordinate military follower of a warrior group.

<i>kenin</i>	家人	“Retainer,” same as above.
<i>kyōdai</i>	兄弟	Siblings (gender neutral, male-inclined) – “brothers” or “siblings”
<i>harakyōdai</i>	腹兄弟	“Belly brother,” an uncommon term for a brother from the same mother. Also written 一腹兄弟 (<i>ippaku kyōdai</i>), which may reference twins (literally, brothers of the same “litter”).
<i>shimai</i>	姉妹	Female siblings – “sisters,” a gender-specific variant of <i>kyōdai</i> .
<i>ani</i> <i>oto</i>	兄 弟	Older brother. Younger brother.
<i>ane</i> <i>anemuko</i>	姉 姉婿	Older sister. Older sister’s “husband.” An uncommon term.
<i>imōto</i> <i>imōtomuko</i>	妹 姉婿	Younger sister. Younger sister’s “husband.” An uncommon term.
<i>menoto / uba</i>	乳母	“Wet nurse,” literally “milk mother.” Can also indicate adoptive female parenthood, wherein a child is raised by a wet nurse.
<i>menoto</i>	乳父	A male affine or natal relative of a wet-nurse, who could act as an adoptive father. A rare term that has recently seen some study. ¹¹⁷⁰
<i>nyōbō</i>	女房	Literally “lady,” often used to designate a female affine, or “wife,” seen more frequently from warriors than <i>tsuma</i> .
____ <i>haha</i>	____ 母	Mother of _____, used in place of marital terminology to reference a female affine. Often found in warrior bequests, wherein mothers frequently gained temporary or permanent authority over lands nominally bequeathed to their children.
<i>shinrui</i>	親類	“Kin,” a nebulous term originally indicating close familial membership and/or affiliation. Later, a term for quasi-kin alliance or retainership, which could be driven by military, economic, or geographic ties. By the mid-late fourteenth century, this term had morphed to include those with other surnames who were part of a kin group in terms of military service alone alongside close kin. In this later use, <i>shinrui</i> often constituted a form of invented kinship used to designate military inferiors as part of a kin-centric military unit, especially in petitioning superiors for reward, reporting to battle, or recounting military service.

¹¹⁷⁰ See Akiyama Kiyoko, “Menoto ni tsuite” and “Yōkun ni miru kodomo no yōiku to kōken,” Nishimura Hiroko, “Menoto, menoto kō,” and Akiike Hiromi, “Buke no ‘menoto’ ni kansuru oboegaki.”

<i>sōden</i>	相伝 相傳	Inheritance and/or succession. A common term used alongside <i>jūdai</i> to indicate a longstanding successive estate, property, or office, used to certify its heritability within a kin group. An almost ubiquitous phrase in inheritance documents and property lawsuits.
<i>aitsugu</i>	(相繼)	Succession, similar to the above but less common.
<i>sofu</i>	祖父	Grandfather.
<i>sobo</i>	祖母	Grandmother.
<i>sofubo</i>	祖父母	Grandparents.
<i>sosofu</i>	曾祖父	Great-grandfather, a much more common term than great-grandmother (<i>sosobo</i> 曾祖母), which is almost unused.
<i>sōryō</i>	惣領 総領	A singular group head, also a verb used to denote leadership. Used variously, and not always definitive of singular headship.
<i>sōryō-shiki</i>	惣領職 総領職	An internally-generated title or office for a group head, present in only some warrior kin groups.
<i>tanin</i>	他人	“Outsider.” Those not identified as part of the kin group; especially common in prohibiting the sale or bequest of property to non-kin.
<i>tsuma</i>	妻	“Wife.” A term often used by warrior legal officers in attempts to resolve suits, but less often by warriors themselves, usually indicating a female affine with some right or claim to property.
<i>otto</i>	夫	“Husband.” The male version of the above, also little-used in records from warriors, but commonly employed by the judiciary.
<i>otome / fusai</i>	夫妻	“Husband and Wife” or a “married” couple. Not necessarily indicative of shared residence or property, but of mutual offspring.
<i>ujime</i>	氏女	A general term for daughters, who usually had no personal names, and might be known by the place they lived or the external groups with whom they created affinal bonds or had children with.
<i>uji</i>	氏	A shortened version of <i>ujime</i> . Not to be confused with a general reference to “clan” or “lineage group” (below), which shares the

		same character but is rarely meant as such in early medieval documents.
<i>uji / shi</i>	氏	A consanguineous lineage group. Previously translated as “clan,” this categorization has fallen out of favor. Replaced by <i>ichizoku</i> as functional units of warrior kinship by the late classical or early medieval period. The use of <i>uji</i> names as a marker of elite status continued throughout the pre-modern and early-modern periods as (often fictive) choronyms with implied links to the imperial court, but which typically had no social significance. Shared choronyms did not indicate kinship (unlike in China).
<i>yōshi</i>	養子	An adoptee, often an adult, selected to inherit property regardless of the presence of biologically-related potential heirs (gender neutral, male-inclined).
<i>yōjo</i>	養女	An uncommon female variant of <i>yōshi</i> .
<i>yōbo</i>	養母	Adoptive mother.
<i>yōfu</i>	養父	Adoptive father.
<i>muko yōshi</i>	婿養子	Adoptee by marriage. “Son-in-law adoption.”
<i>yuzurijō</i>	讓狀	The most common form of bequest, transmitting titles, property, and often including some level of instruction for heirs. An author might write one or many, and was free to modify and re-write them over time, even after transferring property.
<i>okibumi</i>	置文	A document of instruction, which could either expand upon the contents of a <i>yuzurijō</i> or stand on its own as a singular bequest, often addressed to multiple heirs and including more detailed instructions regarding taxation, limits on authority and rights, clarifications of borders, etc.

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